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The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XII. *January, 1906.* *No. 1.*

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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The The University

Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XII. *January, 1906.* *No. 1.*

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.[1]

The Catholics of Belgium have always been thoroughly alive to the paramount importance of a highly organized system of education for the defence and preservation of the faith. As far back as 1758 the attempt of the Emperor Joseph II to wrest from the bishops the control of the education of the clergy was one of the principal causes which led to the "Révolution Brabançonne." And when in 1829, King William of Holland attempted the same thing, the Catholics of Belgium united with the Liberals in asserting their constitutional rights, a patriotic movement which brought about a new revolution and resulted in the establishment of Belgian independence. On December 13, 1830, Mgr. de Méan, Cardinal Archbishop of Mechlin, addressed the National Congress then engaged in preparing the Constitution of the kingdom and urged it "to guarantee to the Catholic Church that full and perfect liberty which alone can ensure its peace and prosperity." The first liberty which the Cardinal demanded after freedom of worship was freedom of education. "Religion," he said, "is so closely and necessarily bound up with education that there can be no freedom for one without freedom for the other. The Congress should therefore establish full and unrestricted freedom of education; it should guard against all interference from the government and it

[1] The author of this article is a professor in the Department of Law in the University of Louvain, and an author of much distinction. [EDITOR.]

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should leave to the courts alone the duty of repressing all abuses in matters of education."

This program was adopted in all its details by the Constitutional Congress, and article 17 of the Belgian Constitution declares: "Education is free; all interference by the government is prohibited; the punishment of offences shall be regulated solely by law." The Catholics of Belgium made abundant use of this liberty. They established and still maintain thousands of primary schools, more than one hundred colleges for secondary education, classical and technical, and above all a university—the University of Louvain—for many years the only one in the world that could justly claim the title of Catholic.

The bishops of Belgium quickly realized that it was not sufficient to erect large numbers of primary schools for the Christian education of the poorer classes, nor to offer to the children of the wealthier classes an advanced education in colleges or institutions whose teaching should be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christianity. As early as 1833, the Belgian hierarchy, assembled at Mechlin, resolved to establish a university. The authorization of the Holy See was given by a brief of Gregory XVI, December 13, 1833. The organic statutes were promulgated June 11, 1834, and the new university was opened November 4, of the same year, at Mechlin. It was soon removed to the old university town of Belgium, Louvain, eleven miles from Mechlin. Louvain offered to the young institution the prestige and fame of a former university, and the city authorities placed at disposal of the bishops the almost gratuitous use of some of the many buildings formerly devoted to education, and which had become public property. The bishops readily accepted such desirable proposals, and on December 1, 1835, the Catholic University was installed at Louvain. The establishment of an institution for higher education was an act of courage and splendid confidence in a small country with only four millions of inhabitants, with limited means, scarcely freed from the throes of a revolution and whose permanent existence was yet questionable. The bishops showed their trust in Providence and their reliance on the strong faith of the Belgian people.

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The University thus established by the bishops of Belgium, includes, according to the customary organization of European universities, five faculties: Theology, Law, Philosophy, Letters, and Sciences. It is placed under the authority and supervision of the Belgian hierarchy. The management is entrusted to a Rector Magnificus, selected from the clergy; his appointment and removal rest solely with the bishops. The professors, whose number is not limited by the statutes and is regulated only by the needs of the institution, are also appointed by the bishops on the nomination of the Rector, in such a way that the bishops must either accept or reject candidates thus proposed and cannot initiate any appointments. The professors are divided according to faculties. The full (ordinary) professors of each faculty choose their own dean and secretary, and determine the courses of study subject to the approval of the Rector. The Vice-Rector, who is especially charged with the discipline of the students; the deans of the faculties and the secretary of the University make up the regular Council of the Rector which meets every month, to place before the Rector the wishes and requirements of the faculties, to advise with him, and to decide certain questions.

The bold and confident spirit of enterprise which animated the founders of the university in 1834 was transmitted to all those who subsequently presided over its destinies. During many years they found it necessary to devote all their attention and all their resources to the organization of the five faculties, in order to ensure the life and activity of these essential elements of the University. Even when success was assured, and the continued existence of the University was certain, the increasing number of students required a development of the program of studies, and an increase in the number of professors. The time had not yet come for the establishment of distinct institutes for the teaching of special branches, nor for the erection of new buildings. So far the colleges of the old university proved amply sufficient for all needs.

Within the last thirty years, however, under the pressure of modern needs, the University has undergone an almost complete transformation. It will forever be creditable to the

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Rectors who governed the University and the hierarchy which controlled it that they understood so well the need for indispensable enlargements and reforms, that they so well met, and even forestalled, the march of progress in the organization and methods of education. In the last quarter of a century the special schools annexed to the faculties have enlarged the domain of investigation and of technical instruction, while the teaching in the various faculties and departments has been transformed by the introduction of new methods.

The starting point of this movement for extension and renovation was the celebrated Congress of Mechlin, in 1863, which exercised such an enormous influence on the lives and activities of the Catholics of Belgium. This congress formulated the wish that the plan of studies in the University should be perfected by adding to the Faculty of Sciences special Schools of Civil Engineering, Mines, and Industry. This was a great and difficult task, for it meant the complete organization of an entirely new department. However, by the end of the year 1867, it was already accomplished. Nine years later, 1876, another School was established, that of Agriculture. Its need was apparent; for the competition of the New World had revealed the necessity of substituting scientific processes for the old traditional and haphazard methods of agriculture. The University wished to offer to the great landed proprietors, as well as to the farmers, a school which would be a center of study and research for the advance of agriculture, and which would afford to their sons an education at once sound and liberal. Thenceforward, the movement of extension and transformation in the University made rapid strides; in 1882, the University established a special course in Thomistic Philosophy, which, by degrees, has developed into the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie and the Séminaire de Léon XIII. In 1888 a School of Brewing was annexed to the Agricultural Institute. In 1892 a School of Political and Social Science, and in 1898 a School of Commercial Science, were opened in conjunction with the Department of Law. In 1900 an Electro-Mechanical Institute rounded out appropriately the studies of the Schools of Mining and Civil Engineering.

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During the same time, however, the methods of teaching underwent a complete change in the main departments. Thus in the Faculty of Medicine and in the Faculty of Sciences the experimental gradually replaced the lecture system, while practical conferences and "seminars" gave to the students of Law and Philosophy an opportunity for personal investigation and individual research. The general adoption of the experimental method naturally required the transformation and the enlargement of the University equipment; the old buildings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could hardly be adapted to such unforeseen demands. More space was needed, also new buildings better suited to the purposes of modern education. In providing for these new buildings difficult problems presented themselves to the academic authorities. The colleges of the old University are scattered in narrow and crooked streets in the heart of a very ancient town. It was impossible, or at least too expensive, to build beside the old structures; there are naturally no vacant spaces in a city whose narrow territory had long been enclosed and fortified. However, these difficult conditions did not daunt those who presided over the destinies of the University. It was a case where expense and effort were necessary if they were to maintain education in a Catholic University on the same level with that of its rivals; courage and sacrifice were called for and they were forthcoming. The last twenty-five years have witnessed the erection and organization of the following Institutes: The Justus Lipsius College for the students of medicine and the sciences, the Rega Institute which contains the Laboratories for Histology and Physiological Chemistry, the Agronomic Institute, the Pharmaceutical Laboratory, the Institut Vésale with its Dissecting Amphitheatre, the Museums of Anatomy and Hygiene, the Laboratory of Neurology, the Carnoy Institute including the Laboratories of Microscopy and Cytology, of Comparative Animal and Vegetable Histology, of Embryology, Microbiology, and Biological Chemistry. To these were added the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, the Bacteriological Institute, and the Electro-Mechanical Institute. During this time,

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the already existing Laboratories of Chemistry and Physics, the Museums of Geology, Paleontology and Anthropology, and the Geological Museum were so increased or transformed as to become in many cases almost new institutions.

Finally, this period is conspicuous by the extension of the program of studies and the development of practical courses in the Faculties of Law and Philosophy. The Catholic University of Louvain has often taken the lead in the creation of these new branches of study. Thus in 1886 the Faculty of Philosophy inaugurated a radical change in philological studies which the Act of 1890 afterwards imposed upon all the Belgian universities. Again, in 1892 and 1898, Louvain showed the other universities of Belgium the way to organize instruction in political, social and commercial sciences.

The establishment at Louvain of *practical courses* and of *seminars for research work,* really antedates the last quarter of a century; more than fifty years ago, the "Oriental School" produced works which spread its reputation throughout the world.

This is not the place to enumerate the many associations formed by the students of the various departments in which are presented works of a scientific or a literary character; the chief object of these societies is to train the students in the art of public speaking. The Societas Philologa, established in 1873, is the oldest of the actual practical conferences, all of which have sprung up within the last twenty years. At present there are attached to the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, besides the Societas Philologa, a Conference for the History of Greek and Latin Literature, and a Conference for Romance Philology, a Circle for the History of Art and Archæology, divided into two sections, one for Classical and the other for Christian Art; a Circle for History, likewise divided into two sections, one for Ancient and the other for Modern History. The Historical Seminar is subdivided into a section for historical discussions, a section for practical research work on mediæval institutions, and a section for the critical examination of sources. To the School of Political and Social Sciences belong the Seminar for Social Economy,

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the Seminar for Constitutional and Political Science, and the Seminar for Diplomatic History.

Throughout this marvellous development the authorities of the University have always held in view the two-fold purpose which a true University must follow. They sought, indeed, to enlarge and strengthen the various branches leading to a liberal education, and to give sound technical instruction to future lawyers, doctors, engineers. But they also aimed at something higher, to encourage and foster the disinterested study of pure science, and to promote scientific research and progress in all directions. Thus, beside the special Schools of Civil Engineering and Mining and the Commercial School devoted to professional studies, the University established the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie and the School of Political and Social Science with the sole aim of acquainting its students with the methods and the results already attained in these branches. So, too, while the Electro-Mechanical Institute aims chiefly at giving future engineers a technical training, the various laboratories of the Carnoy Institute are specially organized with a view to research and advanced work in Microbiology, Cytology, Histology and Biological Chemistry. Moreover, all the laboratories attached to the Medical and Scientific departments are intended for a double purpose: on the one hand to enable the students to familiarize themselves with the experimental method by the direct observation of natural phenomena, and on the other hand to supply professors and a few chosen students with the experimental material for detailed investigation that is necessary for scientific research and discovery. Finally, nearly all the above-mentioned Seminars and Circles are devoted to the study of pure science.

At the present time there are in the University of Louvain ninety-eight professors and twelve instructors, who are not, strictly speaking, professors. Among these men there are at least twenty whose entire academic activity is absorbed by studies and scientific research entirely unconnected with professional education.

The bishops of Belgium thoroughly understood the supreme necessity of a center of the highest scientific culture.

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In an age which carries the love of science to the point of fanaticism, it is necessary for Catholics to give positive proof that they do not dread science; that on the contrary, they love it because they love truth; that they can cultivate and advance it. Today, when their beliefs are assailed from all sides and on all grounds, Catholics should have men well armed and thoroughly prepared to repel all onslaughts from whatever side they come, from philosophy, philology, history, or the natural sciences. The best guarantees of the life and success of a university will always be its scientific prestige, the strength of its institutions, the fame of its professors and the high standing of its graduates.

The history of the University of Louvain proves the truth of this assertion. When the University opened its courses in 1834, it numbered only eighty-six students; six years later, in 1840, when the organization of the five faculties was completed, the students numbered five hundred and twenty-eight. Twenty-five years later, in 1865, the student-roll amounted to only seven hundred and sixty-eight. But scarcely had the University entered on its new period of extension and transformation when the number of its students began to increase with rapidity. The following figures exhibit this development, first by periods of five years, and then for the last five years separately:

In 1870	986	students.
" 1875	1,200	"
" 1880	1,512	"
" 1885	1,700	"
" 1890	1,800	"
" 1895[1]	1,669	"
" 1900	1,961	"
" 1901	2,011	"
" 1902	2,070	"
" 1903	2,148	"
" 1904	2,163	"

In 1905 it is expected that the number will reach 2,200.

[1] About this time, through accidental causes, the number of students in all the Belgian universities was considerably reduced, though the reduction was least noticeable at Louvain.

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Nothing shows better the excellent results of the development of strictly scientific studies than the increase in the number of foreign students. Twenty years ago, in 1884, the register of the University of Louvain showed only ninety-one students from abroad; most of these belonged to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, the Danubian principalities, or the Central or Southern American republics—states, in a word, or countries that did not yet possess fully organized universities. The central and western countries of Europe were scarcely represented. Germany sent six students, England six, France six, Holland ten, Italy one, Switzerland one. Today, since the fame of its scientific institutes has been established and made known abroad, its foreign students have greatly multiplied. They numbered two hundred and forty-eight in 1904, and will be still further increased during the present year. Moreover, most of these foreign students come from countries which possess old and renowned universities of their own. Thus in 1904 the university-roll included thirty-two Germans, sixteen Englishmen, thirty-three Frenchmen, fifty-six Hollanders, four Italians and three Swiss. These students evidently come to Louvain in order to pursue scientific studies and not to seek a strictly professional education, since their degrees would hardly admit them to practice in their own countries. Finally, it is a source of pleasure, and very gratifying to the university, to observe the slow but continuous increase in the number of its American students; from five, in 1884, it reached fourteen in 1891, and fifteen in 1902, 1903, 1904.

It is owing to this constant zeal for scientific progress that the University of Louvain maintains the first rank among the Belgian universities. There are in Belgium besides the University of Louvain, two universities established and organized by the State, and richly supported from the public treasury; there is, moreover, a Free University at Brussels, the anti-religious tendencies of which place it in direct opposition to the University of Louvain, and which receives grants of money from the city of Brussels and from the province of Brabant. The student-roll for the year 1903 in these universities showed:

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Louvain	2,148	Liège	1,816
Brussels	1,054	Ghent	860

The figures for Liège, that approximate those of Louvain, exhibit mainly the numerous students attracted by the well-established reputation of its School of Mines, which in 1903 was attended by more than 1,000 students.

How does the University of Louvain meet the enormous expenses required for the organization, the maintenance and the development of its numerous scientific institutions? How does it provide for the yearly outlay in salaries to its 110 professors and instructors and to its many employees, and for the extraordinary demands made upon it for the building, furnishing and equipment of the new institutes? Judging by the appropriation made for the government universities the yearly expenses of a university in Belgium ought to amount to about 1,500,000 francs ($300,000). The total sum obtained each year by the University of Louvain from the students for matriculation, tuition, and examination fees, is about 350,000 or 400,000 francs. Hence more than a million francs ($200,000) must be found each year in order to meet the ordinary needs of the University. It would seem also that during the last twenty years more than 5,000,000 francs ($1,000,000) have been expended in acquiring new property, in erecting new buildings, in the equipment of new and the enlargement of old laboratories.

A special difficulty here confronts the University. It has no charter of incorporation and does not constitute, according to the terminology of civil law, a "personne civile." It follows that the University can accept no bequests and no donations by legal conveyance, nor any endowments whatsoever; it is thus deprived of very valuable sources of income. This condition offers, moreover, an almost insuperable obstacle to the enlargement of the university buildings. It seems that the university as such cannot, from a legal standpoint, acquire or possess an inch of land, or strictly speaking a single piece of furniture. When it was about to erect institutes and laboratories, the University was compelled to find reliable men who consented to loan their names and to appear

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in the deeds and before the courts as proprietors of the new university buildings. This condition is becoming more and more delicate and involved, in proportion to the increase in the number of university institutes of all kinds. A bill laid before the Belgian Parliament proposes to incorporate both the University of Louvain and the Free University of Brussels, but this is so far no more than a proposal, and one which meets with opposition and hesitation in various quarters.

Lacking as it does the legal right to hold property, to receive degrees, bequests or donations, the University has not been able to accumulate any capital whose income would enable it to provide for the larger part of its expenses. It is compelled to live and work in a precarious way, trusting to the charity and generosity of the Catholics of Belgium. Moreover, its resources are not drawn from a small group of wealthy Catholics, but from the mass of the people. Belgium is not a country of huge fortunes and newly acquired riches; its wealth is scattered rather widely among a large number. There are, indeed, large fortunes in Belgium and many have grown rich in trade or manufacture. As a rule, however, it is not in such quarters that the University of Louvain looks for sympathy and aid. It finds them more frequently in old families whose wealth has descended through several generations. This means that the university can rarely expect really important bequests. It looks upon donations of 25,000 or even 10,000 francs as something extraordinary. It is consequently the numerous small donations contributed by all classes in Belgium which enable it to meet the heavy demands for its ordinary sustenance. Every year on the first and second Sunday in Lent, a special collection is taken up for the benefit of the University at all the services in all the chapels and churches of Belgium. In this connection the generosity of the clergy of Belgium is deserving of special notice. Every Belgian priest, notwithstanding the many demands made upon him for the maintenance of schools, and of the charitable or social institutions under his direction or connected with his parish, considers it an honor to make a yearly contribution for the support of the Catholic University. Moreover, the

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bishops never fail to place at its disposal all their available resources.

The University of Louvain can justly claim that it has always proved itself worthy of this noble popular devotion and unfailing generosity. The Church in Belgium occupies to-day a position which might justly be envied by any of the Catholic countries of Europe. It has encountered enemies as determined, aggressive, and relentless as can be found anywhere and has experienced all the assaults made elsewhere on the Catholic Church. If it has been victorious in repelling these attacks, and has emerged triumphant from the fiercest combats, its success is largely owing to the University of Louvain which prepared for it many generations of champions and defenders, learned, clever, full of zeal, tenacity and the spirit of self-sacrifice. The graduates of Louvain can be found to-day in every part of Belgium, in all the professions and the higher walks of life, always ready to defend the rights and interests of the Church and to devote themselves to the foundation, management, and support of Catholic works. They are the best helpers of the priests in the organization or maintenance of works of religion, education and charity. Above all, the University has largely contributed to create and keep alive a solid unity amongst the Catholics of Belgium, whom differences of interest, of race, and language might otherwise have separated. It brings together every year young men from all parts of the country, and unites students from the various provinces in the ties of college friendship. In this way every one of them can at least learn to know and understand the sentiments and even the prejudices of the others. It may be said, therefore, that the Catholic University of Louvain is not only a great center of scientific work and a fruitful source of Catholic life, but that it is at the same time a powerful element of national unity.

LÉON DUPRIEZ.

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PSYCHICAL DISPOSITIONS IN EDUCATION.

Mental processes, after their disappearance from the field of consciousness, leave in the mind permanent traces of their passage. This is evidenced not only by the fact of memory, by the power of reviving and recognizing past impressions, but also by the influence which present mental activity exercises on the future activity and attitude of the mind. That our present process, our views of things, our theoretical and practical judgments, our character, our whole personality, depend on past processes and are largely determined by them may be inferred even from a superficial study of mind.

In the interval that elapses between the first appearance of a mental state and its revival in consciousness, something must have remained, else reproduction and recognition would be impossible. Psychologists commonly hold that the mental state does not persist. A mental process is essentially conscious and transitory; what remains is unconscious and permanent. Hence to speak of an unconscious idea seems contradictory. In the same manner, mental habit does not consist in the persistence of the action which we call habitual. Facility in performing certain actions results from the repetition of these actions, but is not identical with them. In memory and habit, what the mind preserves is not the idea or the action, but rather the effect of the actual process. This, if referred to the past process in which it has its origin, may be called a trace or a vestige. Considered in its more important aspect, namely, its future results, it is an aptitude, a tendency, or better, a disposition.

Needless to say, the theory of psychical dispositions is not a new discovery—any more than the facts which it seeks to account for. It may have received different names, but in substance it is as old as psychology itself. In our time, however, it has been elaborated with more care, and stated with greater precision. Nor is the term "psychical disposition," commonly used to-day, of recent origin, but it has acquired a more restricted and more clearly defined signification.

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By psychical disposition we mean a permanent change or modification of the mind. It results from some past activity and tends to influence future states. It is the essential basis of memory and of mental habit. The existence of physiological dispositions also is admitted, and their importance is fully recognized. It cannot be denied that the organism preserves traces and dispositions of past functions. But these are insufficient to explain mental processes such as conscious reproduction and recognition. They account only for the sequence and character of organic functions, and consciousness cannot be explained by these. The materialistic position which regards the relation of body and mind as that of cause and effect, is generally abandoned to-day.

At the same time, the concept of a substantial soul distinct from the mental processes is also commonly set aside as unnecessary, unscientific and antiquated. We have conscious states running parallel to brain processes; their series together with their various relations of dependence is supposed to constitute the whole mind. Once this view is accepted, there is a special need of physical dispositions. They are the indispensable substitute for the substantial soul; they are asked to furnish the explanation of the facts of memory, mental facilitation, unity and continuity of the mental life, permanence and identity of the self notwithstanding the uninterrupted flux of its states. To use F. H. Bradley's statement: "The soul is the dispositions which it has acquired."

A question naturally suggests itself: Is this theory consistent? Can the affirmation of psychical dispositions be reconciled with the denial of the soul? If the dispositions are to be real, is not the substantial soul their necessary support? This question I have tried to answer elsewhere,[1] and the discussion led to the following dilemma: Either admit psychical dispositions,—and then, to be consistent, you must also admit that the mind is a substantial, personal agent that can be "disposed." Or, if you reject the soul, psychical dispositions have nothing whereon to stand; they cease to be real explanations; they become mere words and abstractions.

In the present paper my purpose is to suggest briefly the

[1] "The Theory of Psychical Dispositions" reviewed in this number, p. 124.

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application of the theory of dispositions to the theory and practice of education. Not that the concept of dispositions gives us any new principles of education, but that it is the real groundwork of the principles which are commonly received. It is when considered in the light of psychical dispositions that such principles have their real value and their true educational import.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to recall to mind some of the conclusions of psychology respecting psychical dispositions. The function of a disposition is a vicarious one. It takes the place of an idea which has disappeared from consciousness, and makes the revival of that idea possible. It is therefore essentially potential, and derives its value from the effects which it can produce. Let us suppose that two men have in consciousness exactly the same actual contents. Yet we know that their minds differ greatly. The actual contents of consciousness are a very small part of the mind, and, taken in themselves, have comparatively little value. Far more important is the power to acquire and revive ideas, to perceive their relations; and all this is potential. The real worth of man, both intellectual and moral, is found in his latent possibilities.

The disposition enables the mind to reproduce an idea similar to one that has disappeared from consciousness. But this is not its only result; it also influences the production of other ideas, and gives them a certain tone and character. It may not be possible to analyze in all their details the reasons why several individuals will view the same thing differently, nor why that same thing will suggest to their respective minds ideas that may have very little in common. It is certain, however, that these differences depend on the dispositions which previous processes have left in the mind. It is because of these dispositions that men frequently fail to understand one another, or that they pass different judgments on the same book, speech or argument. We say that our appreciations and points of view depend on our character and on our frame of mind. What is that but another name for dispositions which have remained from past mental processes?

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From this it already appears that, since they are so important in psychology, dispositions will also be essential to education. Education means two things. First, it implies the storing of the mind with useful information, both theoretical and practical; it means the power of acquiring, retaining and recalling to mind the knowledge of facts and laws of the physical and of the moral order. In the second place, it means an increase of power and the full development and harmonious working of all the faculties. The aim of education is to fit man for his special vocation, and at the same time to enable him to reach the end common to all human life: the perfection of his faculties, the knowing of the true, the loving of the good, the striving after all that is upright and noble.

All human faculties must be educated. We enter life without any innate knowledge, and with faculties that are only in a rudimentary state. They must be developed and adapted to serve their purpose in life. And, as man is a most complex agent, this development must take place according to due proportions. The respective importance and subordination of the activities must be preserved.

Nature provides for the earliest education of the child. In the infant the higher functions of the mind are wanting altogether. The senses are far from what they are in the adult with regard to range, accuracy, discrimination. The movements are not voluntarily coördinated, nor has habit as yet facilitated them. We are so accustomed to the use of our "educated" faculties that we can form no adequate idea of their early functions in the infant. But nature has provided the necessary conditions of development: the external objects on which activity can be exercised, and the internal impulse to act. There begins at once a progress that depends on natural circumstances and surroundings. Little by little, exercise increases the facility in acting and the perfection of the action. Soon, in addition to the senses, the higher mental functions begin to appear, at first very indistinct, then gradually growing in importance.

At this point nature must be helped and directed. Its share in education, though fundamental, is nevertheless in-

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sufficient. Within ourselves, side by side with innate aptitudes and tendencies to good actions, we find many germs of evil. Outside, we find objects and events that exercise an influence detrimental to the perfect education of our faculties. Both the internal and the external factors of development must be selected and controlled. This is the task incumbent chiefly on parents and teachers. The work is urgent and must be begun early, for we know that in proportion as the child grows older, it becomes more difficult to correct bad habits, and to develop those that are good and useful. To direct the faculties of the child from the beginning is much easier than to turn them from the path which they have been accustomed to follow.

Nature and the lessons received from others are essential to education, but of themselves they would never complete it. I know that a young man who has graduated in a college is said to have completed his education. It should be said rather that he has just acquired the necessary foundation of it, the power to interpret and profit by his own experience. Experience is our best and most successful teacher. It is concrete, real and actual for ourselves, whereas the lessons of others are always abstract, and the pupil sees their application only in a more or less distant future. If previous training has fitted a man to profit by his daily experience, this will be a better means of progress than any lessons he might receive from others.

All progress, all education, all mental development evidently supposes the persistence of dispositions. Unless transitory processes leave traces that affect the future, education becomes impossible. That exercise strengthens the faculties is known from personal experience, and this implies that exercise modifies the faculty. If mental states were like sparks thrown off by an engine, giving forth their light for a few instants and then disappearing completely, how could the past influence the present? How could the present prepare the future? The retention of knowledge and the acquisition of habits are directly based on the theory of dispositions. From this we are led to distinguish a twofold function of

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dispositions: one being the possibility of recalling an idea to consciousness, of acquiring knowledge,—as such they are the basis of memory; the other, an increase of energy, an attitude, a habit, that results from the activity exercised,—as such they are the basis of mental habituation and mental power.

Limiting ourselves at present to the general idea of education, we may reduce the importance of dispositions to the three following points. They are the unconscious substitutes of conscious ideas. They accumulate unconsciously past conscious effort. Finally, they mean an increase of power.

Only some few ideas can be present in consciousness at the same time, and the present idea will soon disappear to be followed by others. No amount of effort will succeed in keeping the same idea before the mind, even for a comparatively short time. And yet if it is to serve any future purpose, there must be, after its disappearance, some disposition left in the mind, by means of which it can be recalled when needed. A mirror reflects the images of objects, but no trace is left, no disposition remains once the objects have been removed. The mirror will not reflect the same image unless the same object be brought before it again. We can hardly realize the pitiful condition of a mind which would have no power of recalling past ideas. Judgment, reasoning, speech, would be impossible, since they suppose memory. Mental states would be a disconnected series of units bearing no relation whatever to one another. The fact of memory shows that past ideas have left dispositions on which the possibility of revival depends. The perception of present objects would avail but little were it not for the power of using ideas of objects that are absent.

Habit also, which is of primary importance in education, is based on acquired dispositions. Any action, especially if it is complex, requires at first many conscious efforts. Each element, each successive step of the action, must be thought of separately, and must be the object of distinct attention and of special effort. Frequent repetition makes this less and less necessary, until finally the action becomes automatic. Once it is started, all its elements, which at first were felt

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separately in consciousness, follow of themselves unconsciously. Thus habit means economy of time and of conscious effort. From our present point of view it implies that conscious effort is not merely effective for the present, but also for future action. It has left an unconscious disposition the effects of which are clearly seen when the action is performed again. The energy of the mind can then be applied in overcoming new difficulties, and thus actions of increasing difficulty and complexity can be successfully undertaken.

Although they are unconscious, or rather because they are unconscious, psychical dispositions are the essential factors of mental life, of all progress and development. Without them a mental process, once past, would be utterly lost and of no value to the mind. The present would have no meaning, since it derives its significance from associations with the past and from the anticipation of the future. The grouping of dispositions forms our general attitude and bent of mind. They are the unseen spring that impels to certain actions, the secret power that moulds the mind and influences the whole activity. They may become so strong as to take complete control of the mind, and make all attempts at resistance useless. Hence in all activity, it is not so much the present transitory process that is worthy of attention as the lasting effect which it will produce.

So far we have spoken in general of the importance of psychical dispositions in all mental development. We must now give a more detailed account of their bearing on certain well-known educational principles. The educator's mission is to teach the child and form its mind, to give instruction and education, to make the child acquire knowledge, and to see that the faculties, while growing and developing, take the right direction. These two ends cannot be separated; the teaching must be done in such a way as to develop and form the pupil's mind. While imparting useful information, it is necessary to see what effect it will have on the general culture of all the faculties.

We may state at once that the net result of mental education consists in the psychical dispositions acquired. That which

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is true of physical culture is true also of the education of the mind. What is the purpose of bodily exercise? It is not merely the performing of actions that involve difficulty or afford pleasure. These are only means to an end, and that end is to acquire a certain bodily disposition: strength, skill, health, grace of deportment and the like. Various exercises are selected and practiced in order to develop these general dispositions, or such are chosen as will be conducive to some special end or disposition. The real value of exercise is not in the actual and immediate result, but in its future and lasting effect on the organism. To this, therefore, special attention is due. It is also necessary to consider the present disposition of the body in order to avoid overtaxing it or imposing exercises which, though beneficial to some, are not proportioned to the actual strength and endurance of others.

The same is true of mental education. Besides the value of the lessons in themselves, the teacher must always have in view the aptitude of the pupil to grasp them, and the future effect they will have on his mind. Considering only the contents themselves of the knowledge imparted, whatever is true might be taught, since all truth is the object of the intelligence. But not all truths are equally important. Some are of absolute necessity for the good conduct of life, others are more or less useful, and others finally can be termed the luxuries of the mind. All this must be taken into consideration. But it is not enough to look at the absolute value of the materials; they must be considered in relation to the different classes of pupils, and first of all it must be ascertained whether the mind is apt to receive them. In other words, the teacher must know the pupil's dispositions, both innate and acquired, and adapt himself to these in his methods and teaching. Otherwise the present lesson will be an isolated unit, and have no significance whatever for the pupil. The teacher's efficiency depends on, and is in proportion to, his ability in entering the child's world of experience, and in bringing his explanations to the level of each mind.

It will not suffice to consider the present disposition of the pupil's mind. Even if the lesson is easily understood,

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the teacher must know what future effect it will produce, and how it will affect the mind. He has to see that the disposition which is left will not be a hindrance to future teaching, that it will not interfere with, but contribute to, mental development, and that, even if it perfects the intellect, it will not be injurious to other faculties. The educator should imitate the physician who, when prescribing food or remedies for a patient, does not consider only their nutritive or restorative virtue, but also the actual disposition of the organism, and thus foresees what the future effects are likely to be. Having ascertained the value of the remedy, its beneficial effect on the patient, the proper quantity to be administered, he must moreover be certain that it will not have any noxious effect on other organic functions, that it will not be an obstacle, but a help, to an effect which he intends to produce in the future with another remedy or treatment.

In like manner, the teacher sees the child day after day, and, besides giving true information, he must endeavor by to-day's lesson to prepare the mind for future studies. Failure sometimes comes from the fact that the teacher himself has attended too exclusively to the present. He has not disposed the mind for the future; or he has even placed positive obstacles which in various degrees prevent future lessons from reaching the mind. A worse result may follow from the imprudent teaching of certain facts or laws which are of such a nature as to bewilder the child's imagination, excite beyond measure certain feelings and emotions, weaken or mislead the will. They are true, but they are not to be taught to all indiscriminately, nor to all in the same manner. See the practice of Saint Paul who did not preach at once to all men the highest and most sublime doctrines for the reception of which their minds were not prepared. "I gave you milk to drink, not meat, for you were not able as yet." Milk, he says elsewhere, is for little children, "but strong meat is for the perfect." The teacher also must accommodate his lessons to the minds of those for whom they are intended. He must above all remember that the present lesson will leave

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a permanent effect that may have the most serious consequences for the pupil's future life.

When the pupil knows the lesson, there remains in the mind the power to recall it. The acquisition of knowledge is generally conceived as the storing of ideas in memory. But this storing in memory does not mean that ideas will always be present in the mind. It means that we always retain the power to revive and use them. The mind must not be conceived as a receptacle, as a storehouse, of greater or smaller dimensions, in which ideas are to be collected. The fact that it is never filled up, and that, if properly trained, it becomes capable of always receiving new ideas, shows the falsity of such a conception. No limit can be assigned to its power of knowing, and this again shows that the potential, and not the actual, element is paramount in the mind's development. We may speak of memory as a treasure of ideas, but we must remember that this is a metaphor. Memory is not like a purse or a safe in which a certain quantity of money can be laid up for future use, and from which, after many years, the very same coins can be taken out without loss or gain. It is rather like our modern banking system. Money is not deposited in a bank to remain idle; nor does a man expect to receive the identical coins or bills he has deposited, but only their equivalents. Meanwhile the capital circulates, serves various purposes, is used for different schemes. Substitutes and equivalents are preserved, but the capital is constantly undergoing modification, and is increased as much as possible. It produces a greater or smaller interest according to the various uses which it serves. The real capital of the bank does not consist of the actual sums to be found in its safes, but of their substitutes, of the titles, and of the use that is made of the sums which these represent.

So it is with the mind. Its real value consists not of actual ideas, but of their substitutes, the mental dispositions, and of the use that is made of them. To know much is to have many such dispositions at the mind's command. This being the case, all the means taken to make the pupil acquire learning are really means to acquire and strengthen the disposi-

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tions which remain after the actual process of learning is past. All the means taken to form the mind are really means toward the proper use of the dispositions, which are the capital on hand. This is, in the last analysis, their real signification. We insist, for instance, that the teacher should be interesting, that the lesson should not be dry nor too abstract, that, when possible, it must show the things themselves rather than give a mere description. This is nothing but the application of a primary law of psychical dispositions, namely, that they are stronger and more lasting in proportion as the activity from which they result has been more intense, and the attention greater.

The "cramming" system of instruction is justly condemned and abandoned to-day. Yet the practice of some educators would lead one to believe that they consider the child's mind as essentially receptive, and that instruction consists in furnishing it with ideas. Good ideas, to be sure, are selected and taught according to the best methods. The best means are devised to make them enter the mind more easily, to classify them, and to ensure their retention. All this is essential, but incomplete. Ideas are not stored, as it were, in a particular nook of memory to be taken out when needed. They are powers, forces, dispositions, the value of which depends on future use; and the child must be directed to use them to the best advantage.

Even for the simple acquisition of ideas, the child's activity must be exercised. Knowledge is not to be infused from without into the mind. Since the end is not merely to instruct, but to educate, knowledge must rather, when and as far as the matter allows, be drawn out of the pupil's mind. The truth which he is led to find for himself has more value for him than the same truth learned from others. The child needs help, but its activity cannot be replaced by that of the teacher. All means used to arouse the curiosity and to increase the eagerness to learn contribute also to intensify the mental action, and in consequence the remaining disposition is stronger. The memory becomes more the memory of the child's own event, of its own experience in which it has

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taken an important part, of which it has been the central figure. It is no longer the memory of a mere disinterested spectator, but that of the main actor.

Again we know that a disposition is strengthened by the recall of the idea to consciousness. Hence the utility of repetition, of general reviews and of examinations. Besides the advantage of giving more general and more complete views, of showing every idea in its true context, they make the impression deeper. The same applies to recitation. The purpose of recitation is not merely to ascertain whether the child knows the lesson. The attention being concentrated anew on the subject, previous dispositions are made more permanent. Speaking and hearing add new dispositions, and all these being associated multiply the chances of revival of the idea.

It is not enough to acquire knowledge, it has to be assimilated. The food taken into the body is of no value unless it is digested and made one with the organism. The mind also is a complex organism, and it is necessary that ideas be incorporated with the knowledge already possessed. This is the condition of growth and power, and without it the knowledge of facts and laws remains valueless. Assimilation means that acquired dispositions must be made really mine; they must be organized within that complex unity which I call my mind. Their organization constitutes my personality. Thus an idea which is recalled presents itself with those special features which it has acquired from contact with other mental constituents. Assimilation helps memory, but its chief merit is in linking and organizing all dispositions, so as to make knowledge, not a collection of disparate units, but a well-connected system.

Some dispositions may lose their individual character so completely as to be incapable of reviving the idea which they represent. The knowledge which one has acquired is often forgotten. Of all the facts, dates, events, ideas of all kinds that have, at some time or other, been in consciousness, a small percentage only will remain in memory. Does this mean that study has been fruitless, and that most of the time devoted to it has been lost? Certainly not. In the first place,

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through the frequent revival of certain ideas, their dispositions have been strengthened, and thus the ideas themselves may be recalled at will. Even what has been forgotten can be learned again more easily. The disposition has been weakened; but, although insufficient of itself to recall the ideas, it has not entirely disappeared. This is shown by the fact that, if the same studies be taken up again, a certain sense of familiarity will be experienced and the process of learning will be facilitated.

Forgotten knowledge has contributed to mental development even more effectually by the attitude which it has helped to create, and by the habits that have been acquired. The idea seems to have vanished altogether, and to have left no recognizable trace. Yet the disposition is present; but it is so thoroughly assimilated to the whole mental structure that it cannot be separated from it. It cannot reach its individual purpose, the recall of the idea; it can only coöperate with other dispositions. The rules of speech, of spelling, of grammar may have slipped from memory; no effort brings them back to consciousness in their explicit form. And yet the rules are observed unconsciously. The adult has perhaps forgotten most of the details of physical science, but he has retained the power of observation which they have contributed to develop. If dates, proper names and historical events have disappeared from the mind, there remains a certain mental accuracy, a tendency to appreciate events and examine critically human testimony,—not to speak of the moral dispositions resulting from the examples that have been presented to the mind. Mathematical demonstrations have left but a faint trace, yet they have contributed to habits of precision and exact reasoning. Even if the various arguments on which a conviction rests have been forgotten, the conviction itself remains, and, in practical matters, it regulates the conduct. Certitude may exist although the motives of assent are out of consciousness. One simply remembers the general fact that they have been there in the past and were then found sufficient.

The end of education being to give useful knowledge and to direct all the faculties during their growth, it follows that

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nothing essential must be neglected. If religion and morality are essential to the complete man; if they must pervade his whole life, show themselves in his attitude, and direct his actions, they must be taught at the same time and on the same level as other sciences. To be effective, dispositions must strengthen one another, and, blended together, form the character, or, as it has been called, the mental set of the individual. While the mind is allowed to grow without religious and moral training, the other activities develop. They appropriate the mental energy; and, the seeds of morality and religion being sown later, their growth will always remain inferior.

And here again we note that it is not the acquisition of positive knowledge that will make a truly religious and moral man. This knowledge is to be assimilated so that its influence will permeate all other mental activities. Moral education, since it refers to the regulation of all our actions, is an essentially practical affair. Of itself, a knowledge of the rules of conduct will not make a good man. The disposition left in the intellect, that is, the mere knowledge of the rules, will effect nothing if there is not at the same time in the will a disposition to obey them and a sufficient force to follow the dictates of reason. The moral disposition must influence the whole activity, it must enter all faculties to direct and govern them. It is this conformity, this assimilation, that is of primary importance. It is not enough to have dispositions by which man is enabled to recall to mind all his knowledge; such dispositions, if isolated, will produce no practical fruit. The teacher must also impress the disposition to regard the rule as concrete and as applying to the child itself, the disposition to obey the law in all circumstances. The will has to be so educated as to be always guided by the rules of morality. By repetition, actions become easier, and habits are gradually contracted. It is needless to insist on the importance of habits in life. Experience shows what a power, often irresistible, they constitute. Education will be of no value if, while the child is taught the rules of human actions, it is not accustomed to observe them in every-day life. A small transgression of

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the school rule, a breach of discipline, an act of disobedience, an occasional negligence, are of very small importance in themselves, but they may be most serious in their consequence. Besides the transitory action or behavior of the child, attention must be given to the disposition which these leave in the mind. Such means of correction are to be used as will produce the best and most lasting result.

Religion, like morality, is not merely the affair of one day in the week. Nor is it simply a creed. It is a mental attitude, a general view of things, of men, of actions, in the light of their relations to God. What does this imply? It implies that man is truly religious in the measure in which the religious disposition is found in his whole mental activity, and incorporated in his personality. It implies therefore that such a disposition should be acquired along with other mental dispositions, and not apart from them. The teaching of religion in the Sunday-school exclusively is likely to give at best a Sunday religion, that is, it tends to make of religion a special activity separate from everything else and having only a secondary importance in life. The knowledge imparted in the Sunday-school seems to be an accidental adjunct of other school instruction, and so, later on, religion tends to become an accidental adjunct of human activities.

To sum up briefly the preceding consideration, we may say that psychical dispositions are the *sine qua non* of all education. The value of education is to be measured by that of the dispositions which have been acquired. Psychical dispositions, though invisible, are the real basis of the rules laid down by modern educators. Because they are latent, there is a danger of overlooking their importance. And yet, if the foundation be deficient, the whole edifice will lack strength. We cannot neglect conscious processes; they are at the surface, and force themselves on our attention. But dispositions are unconscious, and, while we are engrossed with the present and transient processes, we are apt to neglect the undercurrent which exercises such an influence on all our activities. Attention to that which is actual in the mind, must not withdraw our attention from that which is potential. The value

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of conscious ideas is derived in a large measure from the dispositions they leave in the mind. These dispositions prepare future mental action and constitute the true power and the true worth of the mind.

C. A. DUBRAY, S.M.

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A VINDICATION OF QUEEN MARY TUDOR.[1]

The publication, a few years ago, of a new "Life of Mary Tudor," the first queen-regnant of England, marked the final discrediting of a tradition which had for centuries wrongfully held a prominent place in the pages of history. For many generations Queen Mary has been held up to popular execration as a woman of a gloomy, morose turn of mind, a merciless persecutor of the followers of the reformed religion, and a "narrow-minded bigot, whose life was utterly unproductive of good to England." That this popular conception has been in a great measure done away with, through the researches of the latter half of the nineteenth century, is true; nevertheless Miss Stone has rendered a real service to the cause of historical truth by building up from original documents, both public and private, an accurate account of the life and reign of this much misrepresented queen.

The history of the English Reformation has been practically re-written during the past fifty years. Previous to the middle of the nineteenth century, the student who did not consult the original authorities had few but prejudiced and one-sided narratives of that period at his command. John Foxe published his "Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs," on the continent in 1559 and in England in 1563, and this partisan and highly colored account of the persecution of the Protestants in the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary formed the basis of the majority of the histories of those times written within the next three hundred years. Strype and Burnet among the older writers, and Hume and Froude among the moderns, drew largely upon the pages of Foxe for their accounts of the events of the sixteenth century, and a host of minor historians have copied slavishly from them. In 1849, however, Dr. S. R. Maitland, librarian to the Archbishop of

[1] "The History of Mary I, Queen of England, as Found in the Public Records, Despatches of Ambassadors, in Original Private Letters, and Other Contemporary Documents," by J. M. Stone. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1901. 8vo, pp. 545. Cf. BULLETIN, July, 1902, pp. 340–342.

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Canterbury and keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth, published his "Essays on Subjects Connected with the Reformation in England." In this work he examined the Puritan accounts of the reign of Mary, paying particular attention to John Foxe. His conclusion was that the martyrologist had greatly misrepresented the events of that reign, that those who carried out the laws against heresy then existing on the statute books of England were not the bloodthirsty monsters that Foxe had painted, and that a goodly number of the victims were far from deserving the compassion so earnestly besought for them by their eulogists. Dr. Maitland's work called the attention of scholars to the wrong that had been done and inaugurated a more careful study of the original documents of the period. Its result has been the discrediting of Foxe's work and of the partisan writers who copied his exaggerated accounts, and the tardy justification of Queen Mary and of those of her Council who directed the affairs of England during her reign.[2]

Miss Stone's history of Mary Tudor is constructed almost entirely from contemporary documents. The greater part of the material has been gathered in the archives of Austria, Venice, Belgium and England, from contemporary private letters preserved there, and from the despatches originally sent to their home governments by the ambassadors accredited to the English Court from the various European nations. With these for a basis, the gaps in the story have been filled in from the contemporary narratives of Stowe, Holinshed, Machyn, Wriothesley, Foxe, etc. In this way she has given us a correct picture of the times, and it is hardly too much to say that the present work finally disposes of the fictitious representation of Queen Mary that has obtained in the popular mind for so many generations.

[2] Cf. "Essays on Subjects Connected with the Reformation in England," by the late Samuel Roffey Maitland, sometime Librarian to Abp. Howley and Keeper of the MS. at Lambeth. Reprint with an introduction by Rev. A. W. Hutton, M.A. New York, John Lane, 1899. "Reginald Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury," by F. G. Lee, London, Nimmo, 1888. "History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century, from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary," by James Gairdner, LL.D. London and New York, Macmillan, 1903. Chaps. XVI to XX. "The Cambridge Modern History," edited by A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes, Vol. II, "The Reformation." New York, Macmillan, 1904: Chap XV, "Philip and Mary," by James Base Mullinger, M.A.

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The book is divided into seventeen chapters. Chapters I to VIII, inclusive, treat of Mary's life as princess, during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI; chapters IX to XVI are taken up with the events of her own reign, and a final chapter, entitled, "Veritas temporis filia," contains a summary of the whole, with an appreciation of her character as a woman and as a queen. An appendix of thirty-two pages, including, among other documents, a letter from the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey to Queen Mary, a translation of Cranmer's oath of allegiance to the Roman See, and a copy of Mary's last will, together with a copious alphabetical index, adds much to the value of the work.

Mary Tudor, the sole issue of the marriage of Henry VIII and Katharine of Aragon, was born on the 18th or 19th of February, 1516. Even in her infancy, many plans for her marriage were under consideration. By the year 1527, when she was ten years old, no less than five different matrimonial alliances had been proposed for her, with princes of the various reigning houses of Europe. None of these negotiations came to anything, it being Henry's constant policy to play one nation against another, but never to commit himself by entering into a binding alliance with any one of them.

The education of the Princess Mary, who was then as after, described in the despatches of the European Ambassadors as of more than ordinary beauty, "the pearl of the kingdom," was conducted with great care and thoroughness, some of the most renowned classical teachers in Europe being brought to England for her instruction.[3] She was well versed in the ancient as well as the modern languages, and translated from Latin into English with ease when less than twelve years old. Her character was carefully formed by her accomplished and virtuous mother. Her contemporaries are unanimous in their praise of the piety, virtue and true charity toward the afflicted which distinguished her whole life, and, doubtless, it was to the early training received from Queen Katharine that she owed the development of these noble qualities.

[3] Among her teachers was the celebrated humanist, Juan Luis Vivès. During his first year at the English court (1523) he published his admirable work "De institutione faeminae christianae," the earliest comprehensive attempt at a systematic education for women.

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Until Henry began to tire of his lawful wife and to move the question of the validity of his marriage with Katharine, Mary's life was happy; but as soon as the licentious king repudiated her mother, Mary's troubles began. It may truly be said that they ended only at her death. Too upright to side with her father in the question of the marriage, she shared in the trials that befell her mother as a consequence of the divorce. Katharine and Mary were first banished from the court; afterwards they were forced to live apart from each other, and even in her last illness, the Queen was not allowed to receive a visit from her daughter. At the same time, Henry endeavored, by persuasion and threats, to force Mary to acknowledge that the marriage of her father and mother had been invalid and her own birth illegitimate. During her mother's life even the threat of death failed to persuade Mary to this, but in 1536 she signed a paper, drawn up by the King's Chancellor, Cromwell, in which she declared that Henry was the head of the Church of England, that the marriage of the King and Katharine was invalid from the beginning, that she herself was illegitimate, and as such had no claim to the throne. She has been severely criticised for this, and it was certainly the weakest act of her whole life. Some excuse is to be found for her in the fact that in this she followed the advice of the Emperor Charles V, to whom her mother had taught her to look for counsel; and there is little doubt that, had she refused to sign, there was, as the imperial ambassador wrote to his sovereign, "no remedy in the world for her."[4] From that time until the death of Henry, existence was tolerable for Mary. She was never entirely free from danger, but through the exercise of prudence, she contrived to escape the serious displeasure of her father. In his last will she was named to succeed to the throne, failing the issue of her brother Edward.

During the six years of the reign of Edward VI, Mary was subjected to constant annoyance on account of her religion. She was several times ordered by the King's Council to discontinue the celebration of Mass in her house, and her chaplains and servants were punished more than once on account of it. She, however, was resolute in refusing to accede to their

[4] J. M. Stone, op. cit., p. 126; Gairdner, op. cit., chap. X, p. 172.

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demands, and finally, through fear of the Emperor, they desisted.

On the death of Edward, in 1553, the crown descended to Mary, as next in the line of succession. But through the ambition of the Duke of Northumberland, and the fear of the Protestant party that Mary would favor the old religion, Edward was persuaded to leave the crown to Lady Jane Grey, daughter-in-law of Northumberland and granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary. The story of her nine days' reign is familiar to every reader of history. Aided by the loyalty of the English people, Mary completely defeated the rebels, almost without striking a blow. Though victorious, she was merciful, and of twenty-seven who were brought to trial as actively engaged in the rebellion, only the Duke of Northumberland and his two chief advisers suffered the death penalty. Lady Jane Gray and her father, the Duke of Suffolk, were spared, and, had they continued loyal to Mary, they would doubtless never have come to the block.

Mary's reign, which opened amid the rejoicings of a loyal people, was destined to be disturbed throughout by sedition and rebellion, and she was fated to lose the affection of the faithful multitude who had placed her on the throne of her fathers. The most valuable portion of Miss Stone's work is her discussion of the causes which led to this condition of affairs. She shows plainly that it was not due to any innate cruelty in Mary's character, but to a combination of circumstances brought about by those whose interests were served by disaffection and disturbances in England. Charles V and Henry II of France were the most powerful among the contemporary sovereigns, each jealous of the other's influence in the politics of Europe, and both eager to obtain the friendship of England. Mary was naturally inclined to favor the Emperor; she had been guided by his counsel in the trials of her early life, and she chose now to follow his advice in the direction of the affairs of her kingdom. Thus, in July, 1554, she gave herself in marriage to his son Philip, against the wishes of her Council and in spite of the opposition of Parliament. France was,of course, displeased at this alliance between England and the Empire, and from the moment that Mary announced her

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intention of marrying Philip, De Noailles, the French ambassador, strove, by every means in his power, to create and increase disloyalty to Mary throughout the country. Most of the disturbances of Mary's reign are directly traceable to this man, and there is a good deal of evidence to show that he was more than once instigated, or at least countenanced in his nefarious work by the French King.[5] The spirit of opposition to the Spanish marriage, fomented by De Noailles, broke out in Wyatt's insurrection of 1554 when the Duke of Suffolk, already pardoned for his share in Northumberland's rebellion, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Courtenay, Earl of Devon, took up arms with the avowed intention of marrying the Queen's sister, Elizabeth, to the last named nobleman and placing her on the throne. Through the prompt measures taken by the queen, the rising was quickly suppressed, the ringleaders, Suffolk and Wyatt, beheaded. At the same time, Lady Jane Grey and her husband suffered a like penalty, for Mary saw then that while they lived the peace of the kingdom was menaced. Merciful as ever, Mary pardoned four hundred of the rebels who had been taken in arms.[6]

In November, 1554, England was formally reconciled to the See of Rome by the Legate, Cardinal Reginald Pole. In December of that year, Parliament passed an Act, reviving three old statutes for the punishment of heretics. To understand the persecutions which ensued, we must take into account much besides Mary's natural desire to see the old religion reëstablished. At the outset, there was no persecution, and the teachers of the reformed religion had been allowed to leave England without molestation. But "the very mildness of Mary's beginnings had encouraged both heresy and treason."[7] The aversion of the people for the Spanish match, the intrigues of the French ambassador, and, not least of all, the scurrilous pamphlets in which the absent reformers attacked the government and person of Mary, kept the disaffected in London in a state of active opposition to the ruling powers. Many of those who suffered for heresy had also committed treason. Cranmer and Ridley, the most famous of the "martyrs" be-

[5] Cf. Lingard, "History of England," Vol. V, Chap. V.
[6] Gairdner, op. cit., Chap. XVI, p. 330.
[7] Ibid., p. 336.

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longed to this class. Both had been active in rebellion against the queen.

The most casual reader of Dr. Maitland's "Essays on the Reformation" can perceive how much of a justification for persecution was furnished by the reformers themselves. At home they were continually stirring up disloyalty; from abroad the exiles were sending to England slanderous pamphlets intended to inflame the people against Mary as a woman and a "papist," and to make Philip and his countrymen hateful to the English. In the face of these things, it is not surprising that the laws against heresy were enforced with vigor.[8]

But the persecution was not as general nor as bitter as Foxe would have us believe. The bulk of the people was still Catholic—the fact that of the two hundred and seventy-seven persons who perished in Mary's reign, almost all suffered in London and Essex, and the Northern uprisings for the old religion in the reign of Elizabeth, show this plainly. In this connection also it may be remarked that "it is now generally admitted that the part played by Bishop Bonner was not that attributed to him by Foxe, of a cruel bigot who exulted in sending his victims to the stake."[9]

Thus the myths of past generations take their rightful place in the realm of fiction, along with the fables of antiquity. Outside of the points already noticed, there is no controversy about the reign of Mary, but it is of great consequence to the student to know that he has at last at his command a portrait of Queen Mary that accords with the facts of history. It were vain to deny that she made mistakes; her blunders, however, were rather of the head than of the heart. She misjudged the temper of the people, particularly of the Puritan Londoners, whose hatred of the old religion she failed to estimate. Too confident in the disinterestedness of the Emperor's advice, she followed it in many things with disastrous results —witness the unpopularity of the Spanish marriage. But withal, she meant and tried to do right and to rule well; that she failed was the fault of the spirit of the times in which she lived, for which she had no sympathy, either by nature or by education.

DONALD J. MCKINNON.

[8] Maitland, op. cit., Essays III to IX, inclusive.

[9] Mullinger, loc. cit., p. 533; cf. Maitland, op. cit., Essay XX.

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THE PRESENTATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

In the popular works upon American history as well as in the more scientific treatises upon the subject there is often apparent both a lack of logical sequence in the arrangement of topics and an absence of any adequate treatment of elements which contributed greatly to determine the character of events. In the discussion of several very important epochs in our history these defects may be noted. Indeed, in examining some of the very best narratives of the first great era of American history, the period of discovery, one finds an illustration of these deficiencies.

By the historians of a former generation the discovery of new lands, and the consequent extension of geographical knowledge, was ascribed to the explorer's desire for fame; by later inquirers we are told that such voyages were undertaken solely in expectation of profits to be derived from trade with the natives of those distant regions. In the discovery of America the personal element and the economic force were undoubtedly present. There was, however, as well in the preceding discoveries as in that great achievement a religious element which was not without its influence in shaping the successive events which brought a Spanish expedition to the Bahamas.

Almost a thousand years before the birth of Columbus, Christian missionaries manifested an activity and zeal which in a few centuries added somewhat to the geographical knowledge of their times. Still later the religious spirit carried multitudes into western Asia, where they learned something of the productions of India and the remoter East. Though the apostolic spirit of the thirteenth century appears to have been no important factor in directing to Cathay the uncles of Marco Polo, it soon became a connecting link between Pekin and Avignon. To the zeal and intelligence of Franciscan missionaries Europeans of that age were chiefly indebted for their knowledge of the people and the resources of Cathay. The consecration, in the fourteenth century, of Friar John of Monte

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Corvino as archbishop of Cambulac (Pekin) as well as the appointment of suffragan bishops implies the existence in China of a numerous body of Christians. If examined carefully the communications from those early eastern missionaries with Avignon and Rome would afford the historical student of to-day a better notion of what was then known concerning the people and the resources of China than could be conveyed by even the most ingenious speculations upon the subject. So far as the writer is informed this ground is practically untravelled. The historical activity of the present time, however, will not long neglect the cultivation of so promising a field.

In discussing the more important incidents in the Spanish exploration of America the early authors of school histories of the United States present them as so many isolated events, and the immature student never suspects the existence between any two of them of the slightest possible connection. The example of these pioneers in the text-book field has been imitated by their more scholarly successors. At first sight it may not appear entirely clear that the conquest of Peru had any influence upon de Soto's exploration of the southeast; that the same event was in the least affected by the ill-fated expedition of Narvaez or that his enterprise received its impulse from the conquest of Mexico; yet those achievements are united by circumstances of unusual interest. Though the entire epoch between 1492 and 1565 was filled by the most varied activity, the conspicuous events were not unrelated. In intrinsic interest a narrative based upon these incidents would be little inferior to the creations of fiction. History thus presented would be more easily remembered than the barren and uninviting collection of dates and names which is commonly placed before the student, and which scarcely any system of mental economy is capable of mastering. Similarly it will be found that running through the mazes of English exploration, especially in the second phase of British nautical activity, a fixed purpose may be discerned. The existence of a plan regulating the succession of French enterprises is no less evident.

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Even in the limits of a school book these plans could be traced in outline. It may be objected that so ample an account as would be necessary to carry out the proposed arrangement would make our school histories unduly large. It is well known to teachers, however, that the condensed history is seldom the brief one. A meager narrative in even the best of our American history text-books is perhaps the most marked limitation.

In treating the colonial period even the more complete accounts say little or nothing on the very important subject of finance, though it was the crude methods of raising and applying public resources that explain the very inadequate fiscal system of the Revolutionary era. The immature student believes that the expedients for defraying the expenses of the continental government were devised by the statesmen of 1776, and, perhaps, it never occurs to him that many of the main features of that system were inherited from Colonial times. Of itself, indeed, this item of information is of no extraordinary value, but the loss to the student is considerable for he fails to perceive clearly the law of progress in governmental affairs. If, on the other hand, the connection between the systems is clearly established, the student will not imagine, as otherwise he is almost certain to, that a gulf separates the events of 1774 from those of 1784.

In examining the causes of the War for Independence too much attention is commonly given by school books to a discussion of questions mainly academic. Even if America had been granted representation in Parliament, the restraints upon trade would have been no less burdensome; besides, representation upon terms less than equality is insufficient for defensive purposes. In the minds of the patriots the great issues were always more or less closely bound up with economic considerations. Constitutional questions always began to assume a new interest to the owners of ships when they found their vessels condemned as prizes in a court of admiralty.

Nearly all the earlier historians of the Revolution treat the memorable struggle as a revolt against British authority. In its origin, indeed, it was nothing more. Long before its con-

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clusion, however, it was but part of a public war, and any narrative of its later stages is defective which takes no note of the incidents of the struggle beyond the jurisdiction of the United States. If there is in our popular histories any account of the brilliant campaign of Galvez along the shores of the Mexican gulf, the writer has not seen it. Yet that young officer's achievements were surpassed by few or only by the very ablest of the commanders in the continental army. Then, too, his successes weakened the common enemy. But even before Spain became a party to the war her indifferent enforcement at New Orleans of neutral obligations was a source of strength to the American cause. This, together with the operations of hostile fleets in the Gulf, is a theme worthy of investigation and was not without some influence upon the conclusion of the war. But strange as it may appear so interesting and instructive an incident of the Revolution has received from our historians no attention whatever. For this neglect, the tendency to construct books upon the models of former generations may be somewhat responsible. From the pens of the commercial historians we can seriously expect no contribution to a subject requiring research. It is easier to do over what was already in good literary form and by invoking the assistance of the representative arts impart to the familiar the appearance of novelty.

Whether one examines the epitome in the school history or the more comprehensive account in the treatise there is never any lack of grateful acknowledgment to our first and most generous ally. The splendid services of France are never concealed, but for reasons somewhat difficult to understand their precise nature is always left a trifle vague, and except to those who have had an opportunity of examining the diaries of those who were a part of the struggle few Americans are familiar with the full extent of the early national obligation to France.

Every school boy and school girl in America is aware that Brunswickers, Waldeckers and Hessians served during the Revolution in the armies of England, and, perhaps, this knowledge is not without its influence in forming their estimate

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of the German people. For this service, petty German princes and the British government were mainly responsible. But then there were great numbers of that race serving with distinction, in the armies of France. For this assistance, it is true, national gratitude is due to the French and not to the German state, but it is the duty of the historian to relate all the facts. This habit of taking a contracted view of the War for Independence is chiefly responsible for the fact that one seldom or never finds in a school history of the United States any allusion to the friendly attitude of Holland or any statement of her services.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

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CONSTANTINE THE GREAT AND THE CHURCH.

The conversion of the Emperor Constantine, while on his famous march from Gaul to Rome in the year 312, may be regarded as marking the end of the first age of the Church—the Age of the Martyrs. The last great persecution, the persecution of Diocletian, had been formally ended the previous year by an edict issued in the names of the Emperors Galerius, Constantine and Licinius. It is significant of the great change near at hand to find the name of the first of these Emperors attached to an edict of toleration, for Galerius was the real author of the final attempt of the Roman State to destroy Christianity. After the abdication of Diocletian Galerius was the senior Emperor, and thus fate ordained that he who had persuaded a reluctant colleague several years before to sign the edict against the Christians, was now compelled to admit the failure of his terrible efforts, and to take the first steps towards establishing a lasting peace between the Church and the Empire. How hard this duty was to the rough soldier is apparent from the tenor of the edict of toleration. He was already dying from a loathsome disease, which, according to Lactantius, was the prime cause of his decision to put an end to the horrors that for years had disturbed the Empire. "Overcome by calamities he was obliged to acknowledge God, and he cried aloud in the intervals of raging pain that he would . . . make atonement for his misdeeds." The atonement, however, was made with a bad grace. The aim of the persecution, he says, had been to bring the Christians back to the religion of their fathers. But they, through caprice and folly, still persisted in their opinions, and induced others to share them. In view of their obstinacy the Emperor in his clemency decided to be indulgent towards the Christians, and permitted them to reëstablish the places of their assemblies; but in return for this great concession it was their duty "to pray to their God" for the Emperor's and the public welfare and for their own.[1]

[1] Lact. De mort. persec., 33, 34; Euseb, H. E., VIII, 17.

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Two years later a Christian Emperor reigned, and conjointly with his pagan ally and colleague Licinius promulgated at Milan another and much more generous edict of toleration than that forced by circumstances from the reluctant Galerius. In a conference held at Milan to discuss various matters relative to the commonweal, the Emperors Constantine and Licinius, this new edict informs us, were both of the opinion that "among those things which are profitable to mankind in general, the reverence paid to the divinity merited" their first and chief attention. The colleagues further agreed "that it was proper that the Christians and all others should have liberty to follow the form of religion which to each of them seemed best." Accordingly they judged it "a salutary measure, and one highly consonant with right reason, that no one should be denied leave of attaching himself to the rites of the Christians, or to whatever other religion his mind directed him, that thus the supreme divinity," to the worship of whom the Emperors devoted themselves, might continue to vouchsafe His favor and beneficence.

Freedom of worship was thus assured both to pagans and Christians, and lest there should be any misunderstanding on the subject the concession of absolute toleration of all creeds was insisted upon repeatedly.[1] The pre-occupation of Constantine in behalf of his co-religionists was also manifested in his reiterated insistence in the edict of Milan, on the unconditional character of the liberty accorded Christians. "Without regard to any provisos in our former orders to you concerning the Christians, all who choose that religion are to be permitted, freely and absolutely, to remain in it, and not to be disturbed in any manner, or molested; . . . the indulgence which we have granted in matters of religion to the Christians is ample and unconditional."[2]

The immense boon of religious freedom thus conceded to the long and sorely tried body of Christians was naturally received throughout the Empire with every manifestation of joy.[3] The shadow of persecution was forever dissipated.

[1] Cf. Boissier, "La Fin du Paganisme," I, 44.
[2] Lact., op. cit., c. 48; Eus. H. E., X, 5.
[3] Eus. H. E., X, 1 sqq.

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In her long and bravely sustained contest for freedom of conscience the Church had won. Better still, the Emperor who eventually decided in her favor was himself a Christian. A new and glorious era in the history of the Church would now open under the leadership of the young and brilliant Emperor to whom she owed so much. At such a moment only a pessimist would anticipate trouble, yet at the same time thoughtful people might be pardoned if they foresaw that difficulties might arise in defining the respective spheres of the Church and the State. During the three previous centuries of her existence, for example, the Church in all that concerned her internal administration was entirely free from interference on the part of the State. The pagan Emperors were either persecutors or indifferent; but a Christian Emperor would naturally expect to exercise considerable influence on the direction of the Church. But what were to be the limits of this influence? That was a question for the future to answer; meanwhile no one entertained the slightest misgiving on the subject. The bishops of the Church who had gone through the last persecution in daily fear for their lives now suddenly found themselves among the great dignitaries of the Empire. Favors of the most appreciable kind were granted them; they were relieved from many civic burdens; they received generous indemnities for their losses in the recent persecution; new and splendid churches were everywhere in course of erection at the expense of their great imperial benefactor. Invitations to the court came unsolicited, and, that the poorest and the humblest bishops of the Empire might be able to accept them, the imperial post was placed at their disposition. What a vast change a few years had made in their circumstances! Surely nothing that the principal personages in the Church could do would be too great to show their appreciation of the benefits conferred on them.

I. Donatism.

That such were the sentiments of the bishops as a class is the obvious inference from several subsequent events of Constantine's reign. The first of these events attracted general attention a short time after the promulgation of the edict of

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Milan. This was the Donatist schism, which broke out in the year 311 over the election of a successor to Mensurius, the late bishop of Carthage. Much to the disappointment of two ambitious priests, Botrus and Celestius, the archdeacon Cæcilian was elected to the vacant see by the bishops of the province of Carthage, on the recommendation of the people. The new bishop had been the archdeacon of Mensurius, and in the discharge of the duties of that office he had incurred the enmity of a wealthy woman named Lucilla, by prohibiting some superstitious practice. The pride of Lucilla was greater than her supposed piety, and accordingly when Cæcilian was elected Bishop of Carthage she was quite ready to form a conspiracy with Botrus and Celestius for his deposition. Some laymen also, who had been detected in an attempt to betray a trust confided to them by the late bishop Mensurius, joined the conspiracy.

But these various parties would have been able to effect little against Cæcilian had they not received the support of Secundus, primate of the ecclesiastical province of Numidia. Secundus and his suffragans had not been invited to take any part in the election of a successor to Mensurius,[1] although Numidia was under the jurisdiction of the primatial see of Carthage. Secundus, therefore, as events proved, was rather pleased at the opportunity which the troubles arising from the election of Cæcilian gave him of intervening at Carthage, ostensibly for the reconciliation of the two parties. But the nature of the intervention of Secundus was soon revealed. A commission appointed by him to inquire into the state of affairs in the primatial city espoused the cause of Cæcilian's opponents from the moment of their arrival. Encouraged by this opportune support the next step of the malcontents was to invite the Numidian bishops to Carthage to give their decision on the validity of Cæcilian's election. In response to this invitation Secundus and some seventy of his suffragans arrived in Carthage, and, like the commissioners, from the moment of their arrival, they fraternized with the opponents of Cæcilian.

[1] On the question whether the bishops of Numidia had a right to participate in the election of the Bishop of Carthage see Hefele, "Conciliengeschichte," I, 194.

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The Numidian bishops, ignoring completely the suffragan bishops of Carthage, then assumed the right of being sole judges of the disputed election. They rejected the proposition of Cæcilian to attend a regularly convened synod which would decide on the merits of the case, and instead they summoned the new Bishop of Carthage to appear before their assembly.

But despite their animosity the Numidian bishops did not find it an easy matter to produce evidence of any grave character against Cæcilian. The worst they could charge him with amounted to nothing more than, perhaps, a too rigorous enforcement, during the late persecution, of a prohibition as old as St. Cyprian to visit confessors of the faith in prison. Failing on this side they looked about for a more serious accusation, and found it, as they thought, or assumed to think, in the fact that Cæcilian was consecrated by Felix of Aptunga, an alleged traditor during the persecution of Diocletion. The question of the validity of orders conferred by a bishop guilty of an offense which was virtually apostasy had not yet been decided by competent authority; but the Numidian bishops assumed the responsibility of regarding as invalid the orders conferred by a traditor. Yet in a council held at Cirta in 305, under the presidency of the same Secundus who now presided over the conciliabulum of Carthage, it was shown that several of the Numidian bishops present at the latter assembly had been guilty of the crime charged against Felix of Aptunga. Secundus himself was accused by Purpurius of Limata of delivering to an imperial officer copies of the Holy Scriptures, and practically admitted the truth of the charge by his decision that each of the bishops present at Cirta should render an account to God for his conduct in this matter. Moreover, Secundus and the traditor bishops of Cirta, after treating themselves so indulgently, appointed and consecrated as Bishop of Cirta the deacon Silvanus who had been guilty of delivering up the Scriptures in 303.[1] Yet these were the men who now presumed to judge so rigorously in the case of Felix of Aptunga. Cæcilian was deposed as invalidly

[1] St. Aug. contra Cresc., III, 29 and 27; cf. Hefele, op. cit., p. 145 sq.

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consecrated and the lector Majorinus, the favorite candidate of the pious Lucilla, was elected Bishop of Carthage.

Majorinus survived his elevation to the episcopal throne but a short time, and was succeeded by Donatus, from whom, as well as from Donatus, Bishop of Casæ Nigræ, the schism of the Donatists derived its name.

After accomplishing to their satisfaction the object for which they had assembled the Numidian bishops returned to their homes, and of course industriously circulated their account of the troubles at Carthage.

A schism was the natural result of the deposition of Cæcilian whose adherents had no intention of submitting tamely to the arbitrary and unlawful deposition of their bishop. Outside the ecclesiastical provinces of Africa Cæcilian was acknowledged as the legitimate Bishop of Carthage,[1] and in this character he received a letter, accompanied by a large sum of money, from Constantine the Great shortly after the Emperor's conversion.[2] That the news of the troubles in Africa had already reached Constantine is to be inferred from an allusion in his letter to Cæcilian. He has heard, he says, that some men of unsettled mind wished "to turn the people from the most holy Catholic Church by a certain method of shameful corruption." Hence the Emperor has given orders to the proconsul Anulinus and to some of his subordinates to coöperate with Cæcilian in putting an end to the division which threatened the peace of the African Church.[3] In obedience to these instructions Anulinus endeavored to restore harmony between the two parties, but the schismatics insisted on laying their side of the case before the Emperor. They asked the proconsul to forward to Constantine documents "containing charges against Cæcilian and furnished by the party of Majorinus,"[4] requesting him to designate some Gallic bishops, as more likely to be impartial, to pronounce judgment on the question at issue. Constantine granted their petition for an examination of the case by

[1] St. Aug., ep. 162, 7.
[2] Eus. H. E., X, 6.
[3] Eus., l. c.
[4] St. Aug., ep. 88, 2.

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bishops outside the African Church. In a letter to Pope Miltiades the Emperor states that he has commanded the bishops of Autun, Cologne and Arles to proceed to Rome and associate themselves with the Pope for the purpose of investigating the case of the schismatics against Cæcilian. The Emperor also informs the Pope that by his orders Cæcilian with twenty African bishops, ten from each party, shall proceed to Rome, so that both sides of the question may be presented to the judges. The purpose of Constantine, he explains, is to prevent a schism in the Church, and to effect this the Pope is enjoined to consider the best means of arriving at a just decision.[1]

In compliance with the instructions of the Emperor a synod presided over by Pope Miltiades was opened in the Lateran palace in October, 313. Nineteen bishops were present, fifteen, besides the Pope, from Italy, and the three Gallic bishops of Autun, Cologne and Arles. Their decision was unreservedly in favor of Cæcilian, against whom the schismatics, headed by Donatus of Casæ Nigræ, were able to produce neither documents nor witnesses. Yet though their case against Cæcilian was dismissed the bishops of the synod of Rome adopted a most conciliatory attitude towards the Donatists. Only Donatus of Casæ Nigræ was condemned; the other bishops of his party who desired to return to communion with the Church would be allowed to retain their sees.[2]

But the schismatics were in no mood to accept the favorable terms granted them by the Roman synod. The following year they again represented to the Emperor that their side of the question had not received at Rome the attention it deserved, and that the principal issue was whether the consecrator of Cæcilian, Felix of Aptunga, had proved a traditor in the persecution of Diocletian; if he had, then, in their view, the consecration of Cæcilian was invalid. Though highly displeased at their refusal to accept the decision of the judges they had themselves requested Constantine, always animated by the desire for harmony within the Church, again yielded to

[1] Eus. H. E., X, 5.

[2] Gesta purg. Cæciliani, Migne, Patrol. Lat. VIII., 747 sq.; St. Aug., ep. 43, 4; cf. Hefele, op. cit., p. 199 sq.

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their importunities. By his order a synod was held at Arles in August, 314, which again decided against the Donatists. A previous investigation ordered by the Emperor had shown that the charge against Felix of Aptunga was without foundation.[1]

After rendering judgment on the particular case before them, the fathers of Arles then took up the general question of the validity of orders conferred by a traditor bishop. Felix of Aptunga had been pronounced innocent of the charge of being a traditor; but supposing that he had been guilty, would his guilt invalidate the orders conferred by him? The synod of Arles, in its thirteenth canon, decided in the negative; neither the sanctity nor sinfulness of the bishop has any bearing on the validity of orders.[2]

The majority of the Donatist party again refused to accept the decision of an ecclesiastical tribunal, and immediately appealed from the judgment of the synod of Arles to the Emperor himself, thus virtually recognizing the supremacy of the head of the State in a matter that was clearly ecclesiastical. Constantine was highly indignant at this course of procedure. "What," he asked. "They demand judgment from me—from me who await the judgment of Christ! But I say that the judgment of priests ought to be regarded as if the Lord himself sat in the tribunal. . . . What then do these wicked men, truly instruments of the devil, mean? They institute an appeal in this as in a purely civil cause."[3] Yet he finally consented to receive their appeal, and after hearing both parties, he declared Cæcilian innocent and his accusers calumniators. The churches of the schismatics who refused to submit to the decision of the Emperor were confiscated and their bishops exiled.[4]

The severity of Constantine in this case must be attributed to his own initiative; there is nothing to indicate that he was

[1] St. Aug., ep. 68, 4; Eus. H. E., X, 5; cf. Hefele, op. cit., p. 203.

[2] Cf. Hefele, op. cit., p. 211 sq.

[3] Migne (P. L.), VIII, 488. Meum judicium expectant qui ipse judicium Christi expecto. Dico enim, ut se veritas habet, sacerdotum judicium ita debet haberi ac si ipse Dominus residens judicet, etc.

[4] Migne (P. L.), VIII, 750; St. Aug., ep. 88, 3; Brev. coll. dies, 3, 22, 23.

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influenced thereto by the Catholic party. On the contrary, in a letter which he wrote to the Catholic bishops and people of Africa a few years later the Emperor alludes to their conciliatory attitude towards the schismatics, whose leaders he at this time permitted to return to their homes.[1]

The attitude of the Catholic bishops in the Donatist controversy thus far was, therefore, both moderate and charitable. In the synods of Rome and Arles their decisions were based on facts laid before them; the Donatists could prove none of their allegations against the primate of Carthage or Felix of Aptunga; on the contrary, the malice of the accusers was abundantly evident. Yet the fathers of both synods dealt gently with those whom they knew to be calumniators. Their first aim was to win the schismatics back to the Church, and when the Emperor, after the failure of his attempts at reconciliation, punished them by confiscation and banishment, the Catholic bishops, it would seem, influenced his ultimate decision to recall the exiled bishops.

II. Arianism.

But before the exiled schismatics had received the imperial pardon a new and still more serious controversy had arisen in another part of the African continent. Some time between the years 318–320, Arius, a priest of Alexandria, began to teach the doctrine that the Son of God is only the first-born of creatures and consequently did not exist from eternity; in other words he denied the divinity of Christ. In spite of the efforts of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, to control this heresy the partisans of Arius daily increased in numbers. The heresiarch obstinately refused to retract his views at the command of his bishop, and so the latter convoked a synod of the bishops of Egypt and Libya to deliberate on the measures to be taken under the circumstances. The synod, composed of nearly a hundred bishops, met at Alexandria in 320 or 321 and anathematized Arius and his adherents,[2] two of whom were the bishops of Ptolemais and Marmarica, Secundus and Theonas.

[1] Migne (P. L.), VIII, 492.
[2] Soc. H. E., I, 6.

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Arius, however, refused to accept the verdict of the synod of Alexandria, and to escape what he regarded as "persecution" at the hands of his bishop, sought assistance in Palestine. From Palestine he proceeded to Nicomedia on the invitation of Eusebius, bishop of that city, who warmly espoused his cause. Eusebius had formerly been Bishop of Berytus, but had succeeded in obtaining the more important see of Nicomedia, despite the fact that the translation of bishops was forbidden by the canons. Through the influence of this courtier prelate, who was on friendly terms with the Emperor Licinius, and enjoyed the confidence of his Empress Constantia, the doctrines of Arius spread rapidly in the Orient, and the heresiarch soon counted among his supporters a number of influential Oriental bishops, among them the celebrated church historian, Eusebius of Cæsarea. A synod was held in Bithynia by some of these episcopal patrons of Arius which addressed an encyclical letter to "all the bishops," requesting them "to hold communion with the Arians . . . and to require Alexander (of Alexandria) to hold communion with them likewise."[1] The Bishop of Alexandria, however, refused to receive the heresiarch back to communion, but, apparently owing to the disturbances attending the war between Constantine and Licinius at this time, Arius was able to return to Alexandria where we find him after the victory of Constantine over his opponent (September, 323). The empire was now united under the sway of a Christian Emperor whose most ardent desire was to establish "a common harmony of sentiment among all the servants of God."[2] The Donatist schism had already disturbed this harmony, to the Emperor's surprise and grief. And now that the end of the African dissensions seemed at hand he learned with inexpressible sorrow that a new and still more serious division disturbed the Church of Alexandria. With the hope of reconciling the leaders of the parties in a controversy the importance of which he failed to grasp, the Emperor addressed a letter to Alexander and Arius deploring their disunion and exhorting them to peace. The cause of the trouble, as he understood it, was a

[1] Soz., I, 15.
[2] Vita Const., II, 65.

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question of little moment. Alexander, he had been informed, demanded of his presbyters their opinion on a certain passage of the Law that had no especial importance. Thereupon Arius insisted on an opinion of his own which either he should never have thought of at all, or having thought of should have kept to himself. Both Alexander and Arius were, therefore, to blame, the first for having proposed such a question for debate, the second for provoking over it a controversy which rent the holy people into "diverse parties," and destroyed the unity of the Church. Since then the difference between Alexander and his presbyter was not any "of the leading doctrines of the Law," nor in any sense a new heresy, the Emperor, their "fellow-servant," exhorted the two persons responsible for the controversy to mutual forbearance and to become reconciled.[1]

The Emperor's letter was forwarded to Alexandria by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, who enjoyed his confidence and esteem. But the Spanish bishop failed in his mission of reconciliation. This decided the Emperor, probably on the advice of Hosius and other high ecclesiastics,[2] to convoke a General Council of the bishops of Christendom for the settlement of the Arian controversy, and some other questions of importance about which differences of opinion existed, especially in the Oriental Church.

The first Œcumenical Council of the Church assembled at Nice in Bithynia in May, 325. The invitations to the council had been sent out by the Emperor, who, in letters expressing the esteem in which he held them, requested the immediate attendance of the bishops at the place designated.[3] Three hundred and eighteen bishops responded to the imperial invitation. Preliminary meetings were held immediately after the bishops assembled, but nothing was decided definitely until the arrival of the Emperor. The solemn opening took place about the middle of June with an address of the Emperor explaining the object for which he had summoned them to Nice. The impression made by the presence of the head of

[1] Vita Const., II, 69 sqq.
[2] Cf. Hefele, op. cit., pp. 8 and 281.
[3] Vita Const., III, 6.

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the State on the assembled bishops, the majority of whom had not yet grown accustomed to the idea that the ruler of the Empire was one of their co-religionists, is described by Eusebius. When the purport of the Emperor's summons had previously been made known to the bishops, he tells us, they all looked forward eagerly to the day of assemblage, so ardent was the general desire, not only of settling all questions in dispute, but of beholding "the person of so admirable an Emperor."[1] The longed-for moment was now at hand. In a large hall or church the bishops were disposed according to their rank, awaiting in silence the coming of Constantine. At length he appeared "like some messenger of God, clothed in raiment which glittered, as it were, with rays of light; reflecting the glowing radiance of a purple robe, and adorned with the brilliant splendor of gold and precious stones." An address of welcome was delivered by one of the bishops, and in reply the Emperor explained the purpose for which he had called them together. Intestine strife within the Church of God he regarded as "far more evil and dangerous than any kind of war or conflict." When, therefore, after he had gained a decisive victory over his enemies he had heard of the dissensions among the bishops he judged it a matter of prime importance to find means of removing the evil without delay. For this purpose he had invited them to the council. They were the ministers of God, and the faithful servants of Christ, the Lord and Saviour; ought they not in consequence to be all united in judgment, and ought not the spirit of peace and concord prevail amongst them? Without delay then they should begin to remove all causes of disunion; by so doing they would act in the manner most pleasing to the Supreme God, and confer an exceeding great favor on their fellow-servant, the Emperor.[2]

On the conclusion of the Emperor's speech the debate was opened by the ecclesiastical presidents of the council. Constantine remained an attentive listener to the discussions, and when these became too warm he intervened and exhorted the disputants "in mild and gentle words," endeavoring to bring

[1] Vita Const., III, 6.
[2] Vita Const., III, 12.

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them all "to one mind and one judgment respecting every disputed question." Constantine was indeed, throughout the course of the council, the central figure of the scene. The bishops repeatedly appealed to his judgment; and "he gave patient audience to all alike, and received every proposition with steadfast attention; and by occasionally assisting the argument of each party in turn, he gradually disposed even the most vehement disputants to a reconciliation."[1] So ready in fact were both parties to recognize the right of the Emperor to interfere in matters which clearly belonged to the ecclesiastical sphere, that mutual accusations and petitions were presented to him the moment of his arrival at Nice. The Emperor was less eager to accept than these appellants virtually to concede a right that belonged to ecclesiastical judges: the complaints and petitions were by his order burned unread.

The deliberations of the council ended with the adoption of the Nicene Creed which was subscribed by all the bishops present except five. Three of these dissentients, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice and Maris of Chalcedon, yielding to the threat of banishment, afterwards subscribed. Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemaïs, however, refused to accept the decision of the council and shared the punishment of exile inflicted by the Emperor on the heresiarch Arius.[3] A circular letter of the Emperor issued at this time, addressed to the bishops and people of the Empire, ordered the writings of Arius to be consigned to the flames, and all persons were prohibited under pain of death from concealing his publications.[4]

The decisions of the council were communicated to the Church of Alexandria, the Church most directly concerned in the Arian controversy, in a synodal letter of the bishops. The impiety of Arius and his adherents, they declare, had been examined into *in the presence* of the Emperor, and his heretical doctrines unanimously anathematized. Other measures against Arius must be already known, or if not, soon would

[1] Vita Const., III, 13.

[2] Soc., I, 8; Soz., I, 17; Ruf., I, 2.

[3] Soc., I, 8.

[4] Soc., I, 9. The authenticity of this letter is contested by Seeck, Zeitschr. für Kirchengeschichte, 1896, p. 48.

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be known to the people of Alexandria; the bishops did not wish to allude to them lest they should seem "to trample on a man who has received the chastisement which his crime deserved."[1] Constantine also wrote to the Alexandrine Church recounting the great work performed by the council, He, the Emperor, "by divine admonition," had assembled the bishops at Nice, and they, with himself as an associate, had undertaken the investigation of the truth. The result of their labors was that more than three hundred bishops, remarkable for their moderation and intellectual keenness, were unanimous in their confirmation of one and the same faith. Wherefore all should reject the error of Arius, and accept the decision of the council; for that which commended itself to the judgment of three hundred bishops, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, could not be other than the doctrine of God.[2]

Before the departure of the bishops to their homes they were invited by the Emperor to a banquet given on the twentieth anniversary of his accession to the throne. It was probably on this occasion that Constantine defined his relation to the Church by claiming to be, like his guests, in a certain sense, a bishop. "You are bishops," he said, "whose jurisdiction is within the Church; I also am a bishop, ordained by God to overlook whatever is external to the Church."[3] Presents were distributed to the guests at the conclusion of the banquet, and in a farewell address the Emperor exhorted them all to the maintenance of peace and concord.

Having now, as he fondly supposed, succeeded in restoring harmony within the Church, the Emperor was highly satisfied with his work. Yet, a few months after the close of the council Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nice began to give evidence of the insincerity of their submission to its decrees by admitting Arians to communion. For this offence they were exiled to Gaul.

Several years now passed without any developments of importance in the Arian controversy. The Bishop of Alexan-

[1] Soc., I, 9.

[2] Soc., I, c.

[3] Vita Const., IV, 24; cf. De Broglie, "L'Eglise et L'Empire Romain," tome II, p. 61, note 3.

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dria, Alexander, the first to enter the lists against Arius, died in April, 328. He was succeeded in the following June by the deacon Athanasius, who had taken a prominent part in the discussions at Nice, and was destined in the future to be the greatest antagonist of Arianism. About this time also the attitude of the Emperor towards the heretical party began to undergo a momentous change. Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nice obtained their recall from exile and were restored to their sees by imperial edict; the two bishops, Amphion and Chrestus, who had been appointed in their stead at the time of their exile, were summarily set aside.[1] These two diplomatic prelates by their pretended zeal in the cause of unity within a short time after their return succeeded in their efforts to regain the confidence of the Emperor. This was their first triumph in the campaign which now opened for the destruction of the work accomplished at Nice. Their second manœuvre, to obtain the recall of Arius, was equally successful.[2] This important step was gained in the following manner. Summoned to the death-bed of his sister Constantia, the widow of Licinius, Constantine, at her request, took into his service a priest who was secretly an Arian. The dying Empress herself had been won to the Arian cause by this personage, and she took advantage of the occasion to warn Constantine that he was in danger of incurring the anger of God and the loss of his empire for his unjust condemnation of "good men" to perpetual banishment.[3] After the death of Constantia her Arian protégé quickly won the favor of Constantine, and, prompted thereto by Eusebius, he obtained the Emperor's assent to a re-examination of the case of Arius. The heresiarch was summoned to court, and presented to Constantine a profession of faith which seemed orthodox, but which carefully avoided the decisive term "consubstantial." Having satisfied the Emperor that Arius really held the Nicene Creed, the next article of the Eusebian program was to restore him to his

[1] Soc., I, 14; Soz., II, 16.

[2] According to Socrates and Sozomen Arius was recalled before Eusebius and Theognis, but on this point cf. De Broglie, op. cit., II, 132, n. I; and Hefele, op. cit., p. 449.

[3] Soc., I, 25; Soz., II, 27.

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former place as a priest of Alexandria. To effect this Eusebius wrote to the new bishop, Athanasius, asking that Arius be restored to communion. In case he should refuse the bearers of the letter were instructed to endeavor by means of threats to attain their object.[1] But neither letter nor threats availed with Athanasius. Eusebius then induced Constantine to command Athanasius under pain of his grave displeasure to restore Arius. Constantine's letter on this occasion indicates the rapid expansion of his views in five years since the council of Nice as to the authority in the Church of the "bishop of the exterior." "Having, therefore, knowledge of my will," he tells Athanasius, "grant free admission to all who wish to enter the Church." And if Athanasius will not comply with this command he shall be deposed.[2]

But the imperial command, enforced by so grave a menace, was no more successful with the Bishop of Alexandria than the letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia. Athanasius, indeed, convinced the Emperor that his position in the matter was the correct one, and Constantine now appears to have decided that the rehabilitation of Arius should be left to a synod.[3]

Failing to attain their end by the means described, Eusebius and his party now adopted new tactics. Their principal opponents must be discredited in the eyes of the Emperor and deposed. Eustathius, the orthodox Bishop of Antioch, was one of the first victims of this policy; he was accused of Sabellianism and of disrespect to the Emperor's mother and sent into exile. But the people of Antioch, who held Eustathius in the highest esteem, were not willing to remain passive spectators of the injustice done their bishop by his enemies. Their feelings manifested themselves in a riot, which, of course, was just what the Eusebians desired; Eustathius was banished to Thrace by the angry Emperor as a punishment for the mistaken zeal of his friends.[4]

The Bishop of Adrianople was also deposed, because of his opposition to Eusebius of Nicomedia, and expelled from the

[1] Apol. contra Arianos, c. 59.
[2] St. Athan., l. c.
[3] Hefele, op. cit., p. 456.
[4] Soz., II, 19; Soc., I, 20; St. Athan. ad monach., c. 4.

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city. A number of other bishops on various pretexts, and with no further warrant than an imperial letter, shared the same fate; the places of all were filled by Arians.[1]

Having succeeded with little trouble in disposing of their less important opponents the Eusebians now brought all their forces to bear on the chief object of their hostility, the greatest champion of orthodoxy, Athanasius of Alexandria. So long as this determined enemy of Arianism occupied the see of Alexandria minor successes were of little account. But everything indicated a comparatively easy victory in this case also, for they had secured the all-important coöperation of Constantine. Calumny was a favorite weapon of the heretical party, and they employed this weapon, which had proved so successful in other cases, against Athanasius with the most unscrupulous determination. An alliance was formed between Eusebius and the Meletian schismatics from which the former expected important aid in attaining his object. The Meletians, so-called from the founder of the sect, Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis in the Thebais,[2] had been treated with great leniency by the council of Nice,[3] but they for the most part were little grateful for the consideration shown them. Their quarrel, like that of Arius, had been with a bishop of Alexandria, and accordingly they were quite ready to form an alliance with the Arian party for the destruction of Athanasius.[4]

The first attempt of the allies against the Bishop of Alexandria resulted in a victory for the latter, and a severe rebuke of the Emperor to the Meletians. Under the instructions of Eusebius three of the Meletian clergy set out for Nicomedia with a trumped-up accusation against Athanasius, but on their arrival they unexpectedly found at the court two priests of Alexandria, Apis and Macarius, who easily refuted their charges. The Emperor, nevertheless, summoned Athanasius to appear before him, and on his arrival he was called upon to answer a wholly new charge, namely, of assisting with a purse

[1] St. Athan. ad monach., l. c.
[2] Cf. Hefele, op. cit., I, 147.
[3] Soc., I, 9; Theod., I, 9.
[4] St. Athan. Apol., c. 59.

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of gold a certain Philumenus who had been guilty of high treason. Macarius also was accused by the Meletians of having broken the chalice of a priest of their party. They failed, however, to sustain either charge, and were driven from the presence of the Emperor; Athanasius returned in triumph to Alexandria.[1]

These failures damped the ardor of the Meletians for some time, but, urged on by Eusebius, their chief bishop, John Archaph, the successor of Meletius, charged Athanasius with the murder of a bishop named Arsenius. The story of the broken chalice was again brought forward and both accusations were laid before the Emperor. Constantine deputed his nephew, the Censor Dalmatius, to make an investigation, which, like the previous one, resulted in establishing the innocence of Athanasius and in the confusion of his enemies. Arsenius who was supposed to have been murdered was discovered in hiding in a monastery where he had been bribed to betake himself.[2]

Though foiled a second time the indefatigable Meletians continued their opposition to the Bishop of Alexandria. This course was adopted in agreement with the Eusebians in order to give them another opportunity of attacking Athanasius. In view of the troubles in Egypt, therefore, they suggested to Constantine the desirability of calling a new council for the settlement of all disputed questions, and, yielding to their wishes, a council was convened by the Emperor at Tyre in the year 335.[3]

Knowing that the proposed council would be composed largely of his personal enemies, Athanasius at first refused to attend, but a peremptory order of Constantine compelled him to choose between attendance or exile.[4] He accordingly set out for Tyre accompanied by forty-eight of his suffragans; the treatment he might expect he could gauge from the fact that the priest Macarius, long since acquitted on the broken chalice charge, was again arrested and taken in chains to Tyre.

[1] St. Athan., op. cit., c. 60.
[2] St. Athan., op. cit., c.c. 65–67; Soc., I, 27; Soz., II, 28.
[3] St. Athan., op. cit., c. 71; Eus. Vita. Const., IV, 40–42.
[4] St. Athan., l. c.; Eus., op. cit., IV, 42.

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The council opened with the Count Dionysius, an Eusebian sympathizer, as its official "protector," and under the presidency of Eusebius of Cæsarea. A letter from the Emperor addressed to the council was read exhorting its members to restore the "concord . . . which the arrogance of a few individuals" had destroyed. Dionysius, the Emperor further stated, was there to superintend the proceedings, but especially to maintain good order. If any of the bishops commanded to attend failed to appear they were to be banished "in virtue of an imperial edict."[1]

The Eusebians might now congratulate themselves on the success that so far attended the plot against Athanasius. A majority of the bishops of the council were on their side; the accusers, Meletian schismatics, were the bitterest enemies of the Bishop of Alexandria, while the Emperor, who had hitherto remained neutral, was evidently convinced that Athanasius was a disturber of the peace and the principal obstacle to the restoration of unity. Yet matters did not turn out so well as the allies had every reason to expect. The principal accusation, that of murdering Arsenius, which was again revived, was disproved by the appearance of this personage on the floor of the council-room. This wholly unlooked for *dénouement* might naturally have been expected to bring confusion on the accusers, and convince any person with a sense of justice of the existence of a conspiracy. But the enemies of Athanasius were determined on his ruin, and all means to achieve this end were in their eyes legitimate. With unparalleled effrontery they explained that a bishop under the jurisdiction of Athanasius had at the command of his chief bound Arsenius in his own house which was then set on fire; that Arsenius succeeded in escaping through a window, and that not having heard of this they naturally supposed him to be dead.

Various other accusations of violence were now brought against the Bishop of Alexandria by the Meletian party, but apparently they were unable to sustain them even before judges so well disposed. The plotters at last were compelled

[1] Eus., l. c.
[2] Soz., II, 25.

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to fall back on the story of Ischyras, the pretended priest of the Mareotis, and his broken chalice. But with the witnesses at hand they were unable to prove even this absurd charge. They consequently persuaded Count Dionysius to send a committee to the Mareotis for the purpose of securing new evidence, and the commissioners appointed, despite the protests of Athanasius, were all of the Arian faction: Theognis, Maris, Ursacius, Valens, Macedonius and Theodorus.

The commissioners set out with a military escort, taking with them the self-confessed imposter Ischyras,[1] but leaving the accused priest Macarius behind in chains. The result of an investigation conducted in such a manner was a foregone conclusion. Ably seconded by the Prefect of Egypt, an apostate from Christianity, they took the testimony of catechumens, Jews and heathens, refused to listen to the protest of the priests of Alexandria, and returned with their report to Tyre. This, notwithstanding all their efforts, was not at all satisfactory. So manifestly irregular in fact had been their mode of procedure that they dared not communicate a copy of the evidence to Athanasius, who only some time later received a copy of it from Pope Julius.[2] Yet it was the best they could procure, and they were resolved to attain their object. Athanasius was deposed, (1) because of his refusal to attend a synod at Cæsarea the previous year, and thereby "set at naught the commands of the ruler"; (2) because he had presumed to bring with him to Tyre a large retinue (namely, of the Egyptian bishops) and when there caused disturbance; (3) he had been proved guilty of breaking a chalice.[3]

But Athanasius, realizing that the Eusebians were determined on his deposition, had departed from Tyre before the return of the Mareotic commissioners. The Egyptian bishops and Alexander of Thessalonica protested to Count Dionysius against the conspirators, and the Count heeded their repre-

[1] St. Athan., op. cit., c. 63 sqq.

[2] St. Athan., op. cit., c. 83. The Eusebians were indignant with the Pope for having forwarded these documents to Athanasius.

[3] Soz., II, 25. The Meletians at first charged Macarius with breaking the chalice but afterwards Athanasius himself was accused of this offence. Cf. St. Athan., op. cit., cc. 63 and 66.

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sentations so far as to warn the Eusebians against a one-sided investigation.[1] In a second letter written some time later the Egyptian bishops requested Dionysius to reserve the hearing of the case to the Emperor.[2] But Athanasius had already decided to appeal to Constantine for justice. After leaving Tyre he proceeded to Constantinople, and, having succeeded with some difficulty in obtaining an audience, he requested the Emperor to summon the bishops from Tyre to Constantinople for a new examination of the witnesses in his own presence. Constantine had at first received Athanasius coldly, but this proposal was so evidently reasonable that it could not be rejected. A letter was immediately forwarded to the bishops summoning them to Constantinople. The imperial missive reached them at Jerusalem, whither they had proceeded from Tyre for the dedication of the new basilica of the Resurrection. The tone of the summons was not reassuring. Constantine's suspicions were evidently aroused, for he commanded them peremptorily to proceed at once to the court and prove to his satisfaction that they had pronounced an impartial judgment.[3] The Eusebians, knowing what they had to expect if detected in their machinations, now determined that only a deputation of bishops on whom they could rely absolutely should go to Constantinople. By working on the fears of some of the bishops, and by intimidating others, they attained their end, and only Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Theognis, Maris, Patrophilus, Ursacius and Valens set out for the capital. On their arrival they had a new surprise ready for Athanasius. They ignored completely the former accusations against him, and in their place brought forward a new charge, namely, of threatening to prevent the departure of the food supply of Constantinople from Alexandria. Four bishops, they testified, had heard language of this tenor from the lips of Athanasius. This grave accusation, to all appearances well substantiated, was decisive. The Emperor would not even listen

[1] St. Athan., op. cit., cc. 78–81.
[2] St. Athan., op. cit., c. 79.
[3] St. Athan., op. cit., c. 86; Soz., II, 28.

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to the defence of Athanasius, but commanded him to depart for Treves in Gaul, an exile.[1]

The Eusebians had every reason to be satisfied with their victory; their greatest opponent was disposed of, as they hoped, forever. And that the whole Empire might be impressed the more with the triumph of Arianism they now resolved that Arius should be solemnly readmitted to communion in the Eastern capital. The heresiarch hastened to Constantinople for this purpose and again submitted a satisfactory profession of faith to the Emperor. But apparently Constantine was not quite convinced of his sincerity; "if thy faith be right," he said to Arius, "thou hast done well to swear; but if thy faith be impious—God judge thee according to thy oath."[2] In spite of the opposition of the Bishop of Constantinople, the Eusebians made all arrangements for the restoration of Arius, and on the day appointed for this event a triumphant procession set out joyfully for the church where the ceremony was to take place. But just as the principal participants arrived near the forum of Constantine a sudden illness seized the heresiarch and in a few moments he was dead (336).[3]

Constantine was greatly impressed by the death of Arius, but nevertheless he rejected the petition of the Alexandrians for the return of their bishop. Athanasius, he informed them, was a fomenter of sedition, justly condemned by the judgment of the Church. The famous hermit St. Anthony, for whom Constantine entertained the greatest esteem, also wrote in favor of Athanasius, but even he failed to remove the Emperor's prejudices.[4] The influence of his friends was, however, unable to save the Meletian bishop John Arcaph from the fate of Athanasius; as a disturber of the Church he was banished from Alexandria.

The end of Constantine's eventful reign was now drawing near. In the early part of the year 337 his health began to fail, and as none of the remedies adopted was able to stay the

[1] St. Athan., op. cit., c. 87; Soc., I, 35; Soz., II, 28.
[2] St. Athan, ep. 64, 2.
[3] St. Athan., l. c.; Soc., I, 38; Soz., II, 30.
[4] Soz., II, 31.

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progress of his disease he turned his thoughts to the preparation for eternity. Notwithstanding his long and close association with the Church and the great interest he had taken in her progress, he was not yet even a catechumen. He was now admitted to this probationary stage and shortly afterwards baptized, probably by Eusebius of Nicomedia. As the end approached the Emperor appears to have taken a more favorable view of the case of Athanasius, and there is some reason to believe that he was only prevented by death from restoring him to his see.[1] His prejudice against the Bishop of Alexandria, fostered by the Eusebian party, was perhaps due in part to the naturally independent character of Athanasius. He never questioned the orthodoxy of Athanasius, but he was wearied by the constant mention of his name as a fomenter of dissensions, and the chief obstacle to the restoration of unity. Under these circumstances the grave and apparently well-substantiated charge on which Athanasius was at length deposed was fatal. The terrible death of Arius, which was generally looked upon as a judgment of God on the heresiarch, and the repeated letters of St. Anthony in favor of Athanasius, were, perhaps, not without influence on the final decision of the Emperor, which was carried out the following year by his son Constantine. Constantine the Great died at Nicomedia on Whit-Sunday, May 22, 337, and was interred in the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople.

Such are the principal facts of the relations of the Church to the first Roman Emperor who made a public profession of Christianity from the time of his conversion to the end of his reign. From an examination of these facts it is quite clear that while the Church derived many important advantages from her union with the State, she at the same time stood in grave danger of losing by this connection a right which for three centuries she had successfully maintained: the right to regulate her internal affairs without interference from the State. Yet it is at the same time true that in the early stage of his Christian career Constantine entertained no desire to usurp any part of the purely spiritual jurisdiction of the

[1] Soz., III, 2; Theod., I, 32.

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Church, or to occupy in her regard a position similar to that which he, as well as his predecessors, occupied towards paganism. He regarded himself indeed as the official protector of the Church, and esteemed it the first duty of this self-imposed office to promote the interests of his faith by coöperating with the ecclesiastical authorities. Thus in complying with the first request of the Donatists to have their case heard before Gallic bishops, his primary aim was to prevent schism, of which he entertained the utmost dislike. Yet it is strange at this early stage of his career as a Christian to find the Emperor convening a synod of Christian bishops, and giving orders to the Pope as to the manner in which the proceedings should be conducted.[1] In convening the synod of Arles also Constantine was animated by the hope of satisfying the Donatists and preventing schism. And even when he received the Donatist appeal against the decision of this assembly of bishops he was not, apparently, conscious that he was trespassing on the domain of the Church's jurisdiction. Nevertheless by constituting himself a court of last appeal in a cause entirely ecclesiastical he established a precedent which was not forgotten by most of his successors.

The purpose of Constantine in summoning the bishops of Christendom to the council of Nice was the same that led him to convene the synods of Arles and Rome. He could not understand the perversity of those who seemed bent on the destruction of the unity of the Church for a question which he regarded at first as of little moment. And when he afterwards saw that the point in debate was by no means so unimportant all his energy was devoted to restoring harmony. Acting again in the character of protector of the Church, or, as Eusebius expresses it, "like some general bishop constituted by God,"[2] he convoked the first General Council. Constantine, we have seen, attended the sessions of this assembly, and nobody for a moment thought of objecting to his presence; on the contrary, the bishops were greatly flattered

[1] . . . Perpendet gravitas vestra, quonam modo supra memorata controversia accuratissime dijudicanda sit, et ex prescripto justitiae terminanda. Migne (P. L.), VIII, 480.

[2] Vita Const., I, 44.

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by his condescension.[1] All of these indeed were filled with admiration at his zeal in the interests of the Church and one at least of their number was disposed to canonize him during his lifetime.[2] The bishops were, however, regarded by Constantine as the sole judges of the questions in debate; his duty as protector, or "bishop of the exterior," was to carry out their decisions. But while his intentions in this respect were always good the Emperor was led in the course of time by the bishops who directed his ecclesiastical policy into several serious usurpations of the Church's rights. We find him, for example, taking upon himself the decision of the orthodoxy of a profession of faith submitted to him by Arius, and commanding the Bishop of Alexandria under pain of deposition to receive him into communion. Yet on the representation of Athanasius that he was acting contrary to the canons in this matter he at once yielded and left the decision to a synod.

The readiness of Constantine in this instance to observe strictly the canonical procedure is a proof of his desire not to encroach on the jurisdiction of the Church. And had he been fortunate enough to have had at all times an Athanasius as adviser there can be little doubt that he would have scrupulously confined himself to his proper sphere. But unfortunately he was already coming under the influence of the unscrupulous Eusebius of Nicomedia, to whom his subsequent mistakes must be largely attributed. It is doubtless true that the Christians as a class regarded it as a point of honor to show as much deference to the head of the State as the pagans to whom he was still the Pontifex Maximus.[3] But at the same time it can not be supposed that the bishops of the Empire as a whole would have tolerated any grave infringement on the part of the Emperor of the constitution of the church. The reign of Constantius furnishes abundant proof of this. But what the episcopal body would never have allowed a large and influential party in the Oriental Church were already prepared to concede. The Arian party, headed by Eusebius of Nicomedia, placed all their hopes of success in the civil

[1] Vita Const., l. c.
[2] Vita Const., IV, 48.
[3] Boissier, op. cit., p. 57.

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power, and were accordingly quite willing to acknowledge the Emperor as the final arbiter in ecclesiastical disputes. It was this party indeed which invited the Emperor's arbitrary intervention in all cases where they were unable to attain their ends by recourse to the regular canonical procedure. Bishops were deposed and exiled by imperial decree; the Emperor's approval was asked for the transfer of the historian Eusebius from Cæsarea to Antioch,[1] thereby inaugurating the pernicious custom of imperial confirmation; and the bishop of the second see in Christendom was deposed on a trumped-up charge of his known enemies without being given the slightest opportunity of defence. In the eyes of the Eusebian bishops, therefore, Constantine was what Eusebius of Cæsarea calls him, a sort of "general bishop," and—their dupe. For although they were all this time working for the overthrow of the decisions of Nice, the Emperor believed himself to be the most staunch defender of the orthodox faith. The real defenders of orthodoxy were represented as disturbers of the peace, whose deposition and exile would restore the unity of the church. Thus to attain their own ends the bishops of the Arian party, prototypes of the tribe of court bishops whose influence has been at all times baneful to the Church, encouraged the usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the head of the State, with the result that at the death of the first Christian Emperor a heresy was triumphant which denied the fundamental dogma of Christianity.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

[1] Soz., II, 19.

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BOOK REVIEWS.

The Bible, Its Origin and Nature. Seven lectures delivered before Lake Forest College on the foundation of the late William Bross. By the Reverend Marcus Dods, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology in New College, Edinburgh. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905. 8°, pp. xi, 245.

The Bross Fund was established "to call out the best efforts of the highest talent and the ripest scholarship of the world, to illustrate from science, or any department of knowledge, and to demonstrate the divine origin and authority of the Christian Scriptures." In these seven lectures delivered before Lake Forest College, Professor Dods deals with (1) the Bible and other Sacred Books, (2) the Canon of Scripture, (3) Revelation, (4) Inspiration, (5) Infallibility, (6) the trustworthiness of the Gospels, and finally (7) with the miraculous element in the Gospels.

We never understood how—especially at the present time—faithful Protestant scholars justified their belief in "the divine origin and authority" of Holy Scripture; still less, how the ordinary, lay Protestant could be "ready always to satisfy every one that asketh him a reason of that hope which is in him" (1 Petr. 3, 15). This book shows how, with "the best efforts of the highest talent and the ripest scholarship," Protestants nowadays try to vindicate their position. The author is a man of great learning and may be considered in this matter as representing the highest Christian scholarship outside the Catholic Church. We sincerely hope that many Protestants will read his thoughtful and most interesting work. In our opinion a Catholic could hardly show with more clearness that the Protestant standpoint is absolutely untenable.

A few quotations will give a sufficient idea of the general line of argument followed in this critical and theological study on *The Bible, its origin and nature*—which we recommend especially to the Catholic priests working among Protestants.

"If you ask a Protestant why he believes that just these books bound up together in his Bible are canonical, and neither more nor fewer, I fear that ninety-nine Protestants out of a hundred could give you no answer that would satisfy a reasonable man" (p. 31).

"Denying the authority of the Church, he (Luther) was compelled to define clearly the authority on which he rested. Claiming the

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words of God as his sole authority, he must set forth with distinctness where the Word of God is to be found and how he can recognize it to be the Word of God" (p. 37). "Why is Luther so urgent on this point? He is urgent because he sees that the whole difference between himself and Rome hinges here" (p. 40). This last statement is not entirely true. We Catholics maintain the necessity of the Church even after the divine authority of the Bible is proven. But the author's statement is true if limited to Christian belief in the Bible and its divine authority. To Protestants there was practically nothing left but the Bible.

Now then, by what criterion does Luther distinguish the inspired books from the numerous other writings which circulated in the first centuries of the Christian era? How can he know what books were not only written by saintly men, like Thomas a Kempis, but were inspired by God Himself, in such a way that they have to be considered, and are the *Word of God*? Luther's only criterion is this: "God must say to thee in thy heart: This is God's Word" (p. 39). As regards the number of inspired books: "Herein agree all the genuine holy books, that they all preach and exhibit Christ. This, indeed, is the right touchstone (der rechte Prüfstein) to test all the books" (p. 45).

Nor has Professor Dods another criterion. "We can only justify the admission of those books on some such general ground as that of Luther—their congruity to the main end of revelation" (p. 53). "Therefore I would be disposed to say that the two attributes which give canonicity are congruity with the main end of revelation and direct historical connection with the revelation of God in history" (p. 54).

If by "direct historical connection with the revelation of God in history" Professor Dods means anything else than that the book was written by an author who was "in historical connection" with Christ or his Apostles his criterion is extremely vague.

Protestant readers may answer the question whether this "touchstone" is sufficient to justify their Canon—even of the *New* Testament writings—which, historically, they received from the Catholic Church.

As far as Luther himself is concerned, we learn (pp. 43 ff) what was the result of applying his "touchstone" to *Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation.* His criticisms on the Apocalypse, for instance, are very outspoken. "My spirit," he says, "can't accommodate itself to this book: the reason being that I do not think Christ is taught therein" (p. 44).

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"This, it will be said, leaves a ragged edge on the Canon. It leaves much to be decided by the individual. A man may say to Luther, 'I do not find in the Gospel of John agreement with the three synoptic Gospels, and as you throw over James because he does not agree with Paul, so I throw over John because he does not agree with the synoptists.' And Luther could have made no satisfactory reply. Better, he would think, let a man accept Scripture from his own feeling of its truth than compel him to do so by some external compulsion. Indeed, his boldness in pronouncing his own opinion is quite equalled by his explicit and repeated allowance of liberty to every other man. Thus though he himself did not accept the Apocalypse as the work of John, he hastens to add: 'No man ought to be hindered from holding it to be a work of St. John or otherwise as he will.' Similarly, after giving his opinion of the Epistle of James, he concludes, 'I cannot then place it among the chief books (that is to say, the canonical books), but I will forbid no one to place and elevate it as he pleases' " (pp. 48–49).

"The same vagueness which marred the Lutheran doctrine of canonicity affected the Calvinistic position. The inward witness cannot reasonably be expected to be sufficient for the task of certifying every word that God has uttered to man. It cannot, in other words, be expected to form of itself a sufficient test of canonicity" (p. 50).

Nevertheless, Professor Dods is obliged to conclude his study on the Canon of Scripture by saying that Protestants "can only justify the admission of these books on some such general ground as that of Luther" (p. 53). But he is obliged to allow at the same time that Protestants should be cautious in speaking of the Canon as a well defined collection of writings, the divine inspiration of which is thoroughly ascertained. "The position taken by one of the greatest champions of Protestantism, Chillingworth, is one," he says, "that commends itself: 'I *may* believe even those questioned books'—that is to say, seven of the books of our New Testament, regarding which in the early Church doubts were entertained—'to have been written by the Apostles and to be canonical; but I cannot in reason believe this of them so undoubtedly as of those books which were never questioned: at least I have no warrant to damn any man that shall doubt of them or deny them now, having the example of saints in heaven, either to justify or excuse such doubting or denial.' This was the position of Luther and of the Reformers generally, and for my part I think it a pity it was ever abandoned" (pp. 55–56).

We believe that many Protestant readers will not agree with Professor Dods when he continues: "It is not a calamity over which one need make great moan" (p. 56).

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"Sometimes Romanists have taunted us with the absurdity of inviting each Protestant, educated or uneducated, to settle the Canon for himself. The taunt is based on a misconception. It is the *right* of every Protestant to inquire into the evidence on which certain books are received as canonical, and the more that right is exercised the better. But even when the right is not used, it is not thereby resigned" (p. 57). Professor Dods knows, of course, that Catholics also have a right to examine the evidence. But the question is whether the bulk of Christian people are able to use that right; since inspiration is invisible, the question is whether, even for a scholar, there can be sufficient merely historical evidence regarding the divine or inspired character of those books; the question which Professor Dods has to answer here is, "what ought to be the attitude of the ordinary, lay Protestant toward this subject of the Canon" (p. 56). "Protestants," he says, "receive the Canon as they receive historical facts, on the testimony of those who have pursued this line of inquiry. . . . So on this subject of the Canon, the lay Protestant accepts the judgment of the Reformed Churches, feeling tolerably confident that after all the research and discussion which learned men have spent upon this subject, the result cannot be seriously misleading. . . . The Protestant accepts the decision of the Church precisely as he accepts the decision of engineers or medical men or experts of any kind in their respective department—he accepts it as the result arrived at after deliberation by competent men" (p. 57).

If at the present time the ordinary lay Protestant is to solve the Canon question in this light, we do not see how it will be possible to avoid the conclusion of Scepticism: "We do not know and will never know." How many great scholars nowadays reject the inspired character of the Bible and put the Canonical books, in this regard, on the same level with the other contemporary writings! Whether or not these scholars belong to the Reformed Churches, is of course of no importance to a Protestant who rejects the authority of the Church, as such. Thus, then, since the ordinary Protestant is confronted with the fact that there are a great many very able biblical scholars who gave up Christian belief—at least in the sense in which he understands it—what must be his conclusion? Moreover, the scholars of the Reformed Churches themselves do not know how to solve the question. Professor Dods is sufficiently explicit on this point. Whether in olden times the Catholic Church agreed or disagreed on the inspired character of some biblical book, what difference does it make to a man who rejects the divine authority of that Church, and who knows that as far as scholarship is concerned, modern critics stand far above the represen-

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tatives of historical science in earlier days? How can a Protestant know that these books are really inspired, and are indeed the Word of God?

"Here we touch the true touchstone of Scripture. Why do I receive it as the Word of God? . . . The only possible ultimate ground for believing Scripture to be the Word of God is that there is that in the truth delivered which convinces me that God is its author. In the last resort you must depend solely on your own conviction that there God speaks to you" (p. 156 f.).

Thus a Protestant knows that the Bible is the Word of God because . . . he knows that it is the Word of God!

Further, if he is satisfied with that subjective feeling—which in reading e. g. Thomas a Kempis probably will be stronger than in reading many parts of the Old and even of the New Testament, and which in some other regard may be compared to that extraordinary impression which not a few oriental books make upon western minds —what practical value can a Protestant attach to the question, whether or not the Bible is the Word of God, if he does not know *in what sense* or *in how far* it is the Word of God?

Does it follow that there are no errors in the Bible? Even no material errors? Is it possible to deny *a priori* the presence of any such errors in the Scriptures? This method of dealing with the serious findings of criticism, Dods rightly says, "seems likely to blind men to the true nature of the Bible and to lead to disingenuousness, mischief and unbelief" (p. 137).

Some persons are opposed to the work of Christian critics and do not allow the possibility of any formal or material inaccuracy in the Scriptures, because in their minds this would lead practically to the ruin of the Bible; at least among Protestants to whom the Bible is the last resort in solving religious questions. These persons ought to realize, as this book teaches us again, that their own tactics are the most dangerous of all to Christian faith, if, in point of fact, there should be even *one text* which is evidently opposed to their interpretation of the divine character of the Bible. And, as a matter of fact, Professor Dods calls attention to several discrepancies between the Gospels. In our articles on *History and Inspiration* we saw how Catholics are able to maintain the ancient theological principles of the Fathers of the Church without feeling any difficulty in taking as they are the positive facts with which we are confronted in the Scriptures. But "the claim of literal infallibility advanced by well intentioned but inconsiderate persons is easily disposed of by means of these discrepancies—here are clear instances in which it is impossible

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to claim this kind of infallibility; and hence the inference is at once drawn that the Bible is not in any sense infallible" (p. 193).

But if such is the case, how then can the Bible be the only foundation of our Christian belief? In our opinion there can be only one answer to the next long series of questions put by Professor Dods; and that answer is quite different from what the learned author seems to hold.

"Again, it is frequently said, If there is the slightest error in Scripture, *then I must judge for myself what I am to receive*, and how am I to find out what is true and what is misleading? It may, I think, fairly be replied, This is precisely what every one who reads the Bible is already doing. . . . Who is at the reader's elbow as he peruses Exodus and Leviticus to tell him what is of permanent authority and what was for the Mosaic economy only? Who whispers to us as we read Genesis and Kings, This is exemplary; this is not? Who sifts for us the speeches of Job and enables us to treasure as Divine Truth what he utters in one verse, while we reject the next as Satanic raving? Who gives the preacher authority and accuracy of aim to pounce on a sound text in Ecclesiastes, while wisdom and folly toss and roll over one another in confusingly rapid and inextricable contortions? What enables the humblest Christian to come safely through the cursing Psalms and go straight to forgive his enemy? What tells us we may eat things strangled, though the whole college of Apostles deliberately and expressly prohibited such eating? Who assures us we need not anoint the sick with oil, although in the New Testament we are explicitly commanded to do so? In a word, how is it that the simplest reader can be trusted with the Bible and can be left to find his own spiritual nourishment in it, rejecting almost as much as he receives?" (pp. 160–61).

Many readers will conclude with us that, not only to know whether there is a written Word of God, and in what books it is to be found; but also correctly to understand and rightly to interpret Holy Scripture, the Christian people needs the authority of the Church. Professor Dods' answer to all these questions is: "Paul solves the whole matter for us in his bold and exhaustive words, 'The spiritual man—the man who has the spirit of Christ—judgeth all things'" (p. 161). We cannot believe that the author will convince any of his readers that this is the real meaning of St. Paul's words. We cannot help thinking that the readers will see in this answer merely a subterfuge, which the learned author feels compelled to adopt, because on one hand he will vindicate his religious belief and Christian standpoint,

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and on the other because he realizes that a Protestant cannot justify them in a better way.

However, this is not all. The question with which we are concerned, is not only a question of details or separate biblical teachings, which require an interpretation that cannot be given by the bulk of the Christian people—and sometimes not by the most learned scholars, who have no other authority but that of learning—we have not only to prove that the Bible is the *Word of God,* in order to allow such a use to be made of Holy Writ as was and is actually made of it by Christians at all times; but we have first of all to show something which might seem very trifling, that is to say, the ordinary *"credibility"* which is required for any book.

Now then, leaving aside the books of the Old Testament and taking only the Gospels—what is, according to Dods, "the true criterion of their credibility?"

This. "We find in them that which alone explains the *Christian Church;* the one key which fits the lock" (p. 205). "The testimony of an eye-witness is only accepted when he relates what is credible: and the testimony of one who is removed by half a century from the events he relates, may yet be accepted as trustworthy if the incident he relates is congruous with what we otherwise know of the person involved. So that credibility is the touchstone of testimony; and of credibility itself, the criterion is congruity with what is otherwise known. Things that would never be disputed if related of one person, will be doubted and contested if told of another. And in the claim of Jesus to be the Christ, and His acceptance as such by the disciples and the Church, we have the criterion by which the Gospels must be judged. It is this central fact which enables us to believe what they tell us of His miracles and His resurrection" (p. 206). "We can believe of this person, the Christ, what we could not believe of any other" (p. 206).

Thus then, according to the learned author, we believe in the resurrection and miracles because we admit that Jesus was the Christ, and "the fact that Jesus claimed to be the Christ, the representative of God on earth, and justified this claim by giving us in His life, death and resurrection, a *self-authenticating* revelation of God," this fact is credible because "it is in this fact that the Church finds its explanation . . ." (p. 206).

We confess that we feel unable to understand in what way this learned Protestant scholar justifies his Christian belief, if, at the bottom, his "true criterion" of the credibility of the Gospels differs from that to which St. Augustine appealed, when he wrote:

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"Ego vero Evangelio non crederem nisi me catholicae ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas" (Contra ep. fundam, ch. V, 6).

"What then, may we reasonably conclude from all this?" (p. 208). We conclude that in our opinion, although against his own will, Professor Dods wrote an apology for the Catholic Church.

H. A. POELS.

The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel. Eight lectures on the Morse Foundation, delivered in the Union Seminary, New York, in October and November, 1904, by William Sanday, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905. Pp. xiv + 268.

In the last four or five years several prominent scholars have denied the Apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel. Not content with denying that the author of the Gospel was the Apostle John, they have affirmed that the true author is entirely unknown, and that whoever he was he stood in no direct relation to St. John and was not a member of the Apostolic college. The historical character of the Gospel is discarded. In recent years the sharp antithesis has not been so much between stricter and less strict history as between history and downright fiction. The names of Jülicher, Schmiedel, Wrede, Wernle, Réville and Loisy, tell each its own story.

Since Loisy wrote his famous Commentary, the authorship and historical character of the Fourth Gospel have become among Catholics one of the burning questions of the day. One may admire the great learning of this French scholar, and may not by any means sympathize with the tactics used by some of his aggressors; but "there are many in these days, who, if they followed M. Loisy as a critic, would find it very hard to follow him as a theologian. They are not a little perplexed to understand how he himself can reconcile the two trains of his thinking" (Sanday, p. 203).

On this account the Commentaries on St. John by Calmes and Belser, and Jacquier's *Histoire des Livres du Nouveau Testament* deserved and attracted special attention among the clergy. It would be a great mistake to believe that these Catholic authors, following in the steps of several less recent Catholic scripturists, occupy an isolated position by maintaining the traditional thesis. Leaving aside the defenders of mediating and partition theories, we may quote, for instance, B. Weiss, Godet, Dods, Ezra Abbot, B. Lightfoot, Westcott, Stanton and Zahn, all of them scholars whose names carry weight. A book of special value for the defenders of St. John's Gospel, and which therefore deserves a special mention, is *The Character and*

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Authorship of the Fourth Gospel by Dr. J. Drummond, published last year. What was missing in Drummond is given to us by Sanday in these eight able lectures delivered in the Union Seminary, New York. *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* is a masterly piece of work.

Professor Sanday is the leading New Testament scholar of the Anglican Church. His great authority in matters of New Testament criticism is recognized by all scripturists. Therefore it is to be hoped that his recent publication will contribute a good deal to settling the question of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel among all lovers of truth.

"A profound dissent from the conclusion arrived at in the works" of Jülicher, Schmiedel, Réville and Loisy, was "one of the main reasons" why Sanday wrote this book (p. 4). Even in this strictly scientific work he does not conceal his "apologetic" purpose (p. 2). No one is more deeply convinced that "these (things) are written, that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, you may have life in his name" (John 20, 31); and for that reason Sanday cannot and does not pretend to write on the Fourth Gospel with his mind in the state of a sheet of white paper. There is an impression abroad that "apologetic" is opposed to "scientific." But there was no need for Sanday to refute a misunderstanding of this kind (pp. 3–5) since he himself is its living refutation. After having studied his works, every one will realize that the scientific character of Sanday's researches is not impeached by what he states *a priori* (p. 5): "I cannot but believe that there is a real presumption that the Christian faith, which has played so vast a part in what appear to be the designs of the Power that rules the world, is not based upon a series of deceptions." Catholics especially will agree with Professor Sanday when he continues: "I consider that, on any of the large questions, that view is preferable which does not involve an abrupt break with the past. It is very likely that there may be involved some modification or restatement, but not complete denial or reversal." (Cf. pp. 234 f.)

The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel contains valuable information regarding nearly every question connected with the subject. In this review, however, we must confine ourselves to the main topics: authorship and historicity.

The real crucial point in the critical researches relating to the Fourth Gospel is, whether the author was an eye-witness of the events which he describes or not.

Now then, after reading Sanday's book, "One broad conclusion seems to stand out from the evidence, internal as well as external.

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The author was an eye-witness, an Apostolic man—either in the wider sense of the word Apostle or in the narrower. So much seems to me to be assured" (p. 236).

As regards the internal evidence, he points out (1) that the author's standpoint is within the Apostolic circle; and (2) that the Gospel corresponds in its details to the real conditions of the time and the place in which its scene is laid, conditions which rapidly changed and passed away. "In any case it must be allowed that the narrative of the Fourth Gospel is in the strictest accordance with the religious customs of the time to which it relates, and not in accordance with those at the time when the Gospel was written" (p. 118).

The internal argument is strongly corroborated by the nature of the external evidence. But this side of the question is so thoroughly examined by other scholars, especially by Drummond, that Sanday does not dwell upon it in detail. In a few words he reminds us that at the end of the second century we find witnesses all over the world: Irenaeus in Gaul, Heracleon in Italy, Tertullian at Carthage, Polycrates at Ephesus, Theophilus at Antioch, Tatian at Rome and in Syria, Clement at Alexandria. More stress is put upon the earlier evidence, especially in Ignatius and in the Didaché. Sanday shows "that justice has rarely been done from this point of view to Ignatius" (p. 241 ff.). "That Justin also used it," that is to say, the Fourth Gospel, "I think we may take as at the present time generally admitted" (p. 246). "In view more particularly of the discussion by Schwartz, I think it may be said that Papias probably knew the Gospel and recognized it as an authority" (ibidem). On account of the extreme scantiness of the material from which evidence can be drawn in the period before the year 180: "To me the wonder is," he says, "that the evidence borne to the New Testament writings in the extant literature prior to this date should be as much as it is and not as little" (p. 240).

In our opinion, Professor Sanday has proven in the most scientific way that the author of the Fourth Gospel was an eye-witness of the events which he describes, and that this eye-witness was John, Christ's beloved disciple, who afterwards lived at Ephesus.

Nevertheless his dealing with the question of authorship leaves an "unsolved problem" if we have to attach any value to this statement or assertion in De Boor's Fragment: "Papias, in his second book, says that John the divine (ὁ θεολόγος) and James his brother were slain by the Jews." The arguments against this assertion are very strong. Still Sanday does not "feel that the statement altogether loses its force" (p. 251). "It is one of those statements that we can neither

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wholly trust, nor wholly distrust" (p. 252). If the Apostle John really perished at an earlier stage in history and were to be distinguished from John the Presbyter, there would be "no difficulty in identifying (John, the Presbyter) at once with the beloved disciple and with the author of the Gospel and Epistles. We should indeed have all the advantages of Harnack's theory without its disadvantages" (ibidem). "I should be much inclined to think that, if the statement is true, there was but one John at Ephesus, the beloved disciple who was also the Presbyter; and, if the statement is false, there was still but one John, who was both Presbyter and Apostle" (ibidem). In our opinion "the beloved disciple" must needs be identified with the Apostle himself. We expect that the historical value of the information drawn from De Boor's fragment will be thoroughly discussed when Dom John Chapman develops his argument—which Sanday saw in manuscript—that the only John of Ephesus was the son of Zebedee.

Once we know that the author of the Gospel was John, Christ's beloved disciple, the question of the historicity of this Gospel ought to be settled. Therefore we were much puzzled by reading in *The Independent* (October 26, 1905), before we studied Sanday's book, that the position of the great English scholar would be "in reality, a compromise." "He holds," so we are told, "to the authorship of John the son of Zebedee, one of the twelve, but he yields the historicity of the Gospel, and its authoritativeness as a source for the life and teachings of Jesus" (p. 987).

As a matter of fact Professor Sanday emphatically maintains the historicity of the Gospel. His position is not at all a compromise. But every historical source needs of course to be rightly interpreted. The writer in *The Independent* misunderstands Sanday's critical interpretation of the Gospel, and therefore attaches a false meaning to the clause: "I do not honestly believe that everything happened exactly as it is or seems to be reported" (p. 157). However, we would not wonder if readers who are not trained in critical studies, should make the same mistake. Hence we call their attention to some sections of Sanday's book, where the author himself sufficiently explains the bearing of this sentence.

Sanday's explanations apply to the plurality of the documents at our disposal for the history of the past; very few indeed were committed to writing just when the events happened which they relate. Hence a true understanding of the point in question is of great importance for the interpretation and valuation of historical sources. This will explain why we quote several parallel and almost identical pas-

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sages, where the author keeps repeating and developing the same truth. Professor Sanday seems to have foreseen that some of his readers, who are not accustomed to historical researches, would confound his critical interpretation of several details in the Gospel with a denial of its truly historical character; although it is evident that the main purpose of his book is to prove just the opposite, and to establish in a thoroughly scientific way, that the Fourth Gospel is a historical source of the very highest value!

The Fourth Gospel was written towards the end of John's life, after the publication of the other three. This being established by a great amount of internal and external evidence, what kind of historiography are we to expect, *a priori*, in the Fourth Gospel?

"A considerable interval is placed between the events and the date of its composition. That means that the facts will have passed through a medium. Unconsciously the mind in which they lay will have brought its own experience to bear upon them; it will have a tendency to mix up the plain statement of what was said and done with an element of interpretation suggested by its own experience. And this will be done in a way that we should call 'naïve,' i. e., without any conscious self-analysis. The mingling of objective and subjective will take place spontaneously and without reflection. The details will not be given out exactly as they went in; and yet the writer will not be himself aware that he is setting down anything but what he heard and saw" (p. 70).

"In looking back over a distant past it is always difficult to keep the true perspective; the mind is apt to forget, or at least to foreshorten, the process by which its beliefs have been reached; and when once a settled conviction has been formed it is treated as though it had been present from the beginning. It would have been very strange indeed if the aged disciple had nowhere allowed the cherished beliefs of more than half a lifetime to colour the telling of his story, or to project themselves backwards into those early days when his faith was not as yet ripe but only ripening. It would not in the least disturb our conclusion—that the Gospel is really the work of an eye-witness, of St. John—to admit that in the earlier chapters of the Gospel there are a number of expressions that are heightened in character and more definite in form than those that were really used" (p. 157).

"The longer discourses appear to grow out of the aphoristic sayings of which I have spoken. . . . It is true that the Evangelist permits himself to dwell on such sayings, to repeat and enforce them by expansions of his own, which keep coming back to the same point.

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It has often been remarked that we are constantly left in doubt where the words of our Lord end and those of the Evangelist begin. Probably the Evangelist himself did not discriminate or even try to discriminate. A modern writer, in similar circumstances, would feel obliged to ask himself whether the words which he was setting down were really spoken or not; but there is no reason to suppose that the author of the Gospel would be conscious of any such obligation. He would not pause to put himself questions, or to exercise conscious self-criticism. He would just go on writing as the spirit moved him. And the consequence is that historical recollections and interpretative reflection, the fruit of thought and experience, have come down to us inextricably blended" (p. 168). "It is a mechanical and, I believe, really untenable view to suppose that the author had simply taken over certain Synoptic sayings and adapted them to his own ideas. We form ourselves a far truer and more adequate conception if we think of these discourses as the product of a single living experience. They are from first to last a part of the author's self. The recollections on which they are based are his own, and it is his own mind that has insensibly played upon them, and shaped them, and worked up in them the fruits of his own experience" (p. 169).

The discourses of our Lord in this Gospel are actually different from those in the Synoptics. In St. John the parables, characteristic of the Synoptists, have dropped out; what he calls by this name is not exactly the same thing. Many of the discourses are longer. Their style is not like that which we find in the Synoptists and corresponds remarkably with the style of St. John's Epistles. All these things are true, and yet, as Sanday makes us see, we have a right to repudiate the inference that an ear-witness cannot have written this Gospel. On the contrary even these discourses plead in favor of the Johannine authorship. "Psychologically, the Gospel is more intelligible if one like St. John wrote it, one who drew upon his own memories and was conscious of speaking with authority" (p. 168).

Professor Sanday has solidily proven that John, the Beloved Disciple himself, is the author of the Gospel. As regards some details, which might seem to indicate a writer who did not know the state of affairs in the days of Christ, because these details refer to a later period, Sanday's explanation is perfectly satisfactory. "It was not to be expected that an evangelist sitting down to write towards the end of the first century should unwind the threads of the skein which, some fifty or sixty years before, had brought his consciousness to the point where it was. To him looking back, the evolutionary process

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was foreshortened and we have seen that as a consequence he allowed the language that he used about the beginning of the ministry to be somewhat more definite than on strictly historical principles it should have been. That he should do so was natural and inevitable—indeed from the point of view of the standards of his time there was no reason why he should be on his guard against such anticipations. If we distinguish between the gradual unfolding of the narrative and the total conception present to the mind of the writer throughout from the beginning, we should say that this conception assumes for Christ the fullest significance of Divine Sonship" (p. 209).

The Oxford professor does not deny, of course, that in questions of authorship the small details of a narrative or book, especially if they form a homogeneous group, often contain the strongest arguments. "I am myself of opinion that from the point of view of critical method, it is just these small incidental details that are most significant. They are the sort of details that an author throws in when he is off his guard. From them, far more than from his laboured arguments, we may tell what is his real standpoint and attitude" (p. 142). Hence, the main argument in Sanday's defence of the Johannine authorship consists in verifying the abundant details of the Gospel where the Evangelist had plentiful opportunities of tripping. "In no single instance is he really convicted of doing so, whereas in a vast number his record has been verified" (ibidem).

However, although the amount of such characteristic details, together with other arguments, indicate and prove in a convincing way that the author of a narrative is an eye-witness of the events related in his book, we may never lose sight of this sound rule or principle of criticism:

"Such indications do not in the least exclude the natural effect of lapse of time and the unconscious action of experience and reflection on the mind of a writer who sets down late in life a narrative of events that happened long before" (p. 259).

Sanday is right in considering this principle of criticism self-evident. But its obviousness has not prevented it from being too often disregarded.

These quotations show sufficiently in what sense we have to understand the eminent English scholar when he says: "I do not honestly believe that everything happened exactly as it is, or seems to be, reported" (p. 157).

His "principle of extensions" (p. 179) does not impeach the historical character of the Gospel. What Sanday holds about the historical truth of the miracles related in the Gospel, may be seen

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for instance pp. 172–179. He maintains that "the Evangelist always starts from something that he has seen" (p. 182). When he admits the possibility that St. John's mind, "acting retrospectively on his memory of the physical impression, may emphasize features in the impression that were not so distinct at the time when it was given" (ibidem), he does not "yield the historicity of the Gospel." If such were the case we would have to yield the historicity of almost every source which was not written at the very moment when the events happened. The highest authority in history is the testimony of eye- and ear-witnesses, who, moreover, are faithful men and intend to tell things as they saw and heard them. If we were to repudiate sources of this kind, there would be no historical science whatever. Where such sources are at hand, the only thing we need is a critical interpretation. The critic pays attention to the intellectual development of the observer, to the lapse of time between the event itself and the narrative which relates it, to peculiar circumstances of time or place, etc.; but when he is sure that the author was an eye-witness, and faithful man, the critic is entitled to ascend as a judge to the tribunal of historical science. When he interprets to us in what way the witness has to be understood, he does not deny the truthfulness or reliability of that eye-witness. When Sanday interprets John's testimony about things which happened in the days of Christ, he calls our attention to the time when John wrote his Gospel and shows us how the distance between the aged Apostle and the scenes which he describes, colors, and was bound to color his testimony or narrative: but meanwhile Sanday is proving the full truth of John's testimony and the thoroughly historical character of his Gospel.

At the same time Professor Sanday fully allows that in studying the discourses in the Gospel, "There is need for close scrutiny to determine what belongs to the Master and what to the disciple" (p. 168). "There are not wanting signs that a fuller examination of the relations between the teaching of Christ on the one hand and St. Paul and St. John on the other is the next great debate that lies before us" (p. viii).

However, whether Christ himself taught some doctrine explicitly or left the explicit teaching of it to his Apostles, is a question of no practical consequence to a Catholic. We know that Christianity is not confined to what Christ Himself preached to the Palestinian Jews in explicit terms; neither to that part of the preaching of Christ and His Apostles which was put to writing in the New Testament, that is to say, in those sacred books and Epistles which the Catholic Church received into her Canon and separated from the rest of early Christian

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literature. Hence the discrimination between what in the Gospel discourses belongs to the Master and what to the Apostles, is to us a matter of secondary importance, once we have proven the divine institution of the Church which is the authorized interpreter of Holy Scripture. The Church draws her interpretation of the Scriptures from the whole body of Christian revelation, preached by Christ and His Apostles, and transmitted to us by their successors under the guidance of "the other Paraclete." (Cf. BULLETIN, 1905, pp. 152 ff.)

Now then, to show from the Gospels and Epistles the divine origin and authority of the Church, it is sufficient to prove their thoroughly historical character. But the historical character of a Gospel evidently does not imply that some peculiar passages cannot offer difficulties. Although the Gospels are strictly historical, it does not follow that every sentence has to be understood in a strictly and rigorously historical sense. It is possible, for instance, that on analyzing a discourse, which the Evangelist puts into the mouth of Christ, even a critic feels unable to decide positively whether a determinate clause was indeed pronounced by Christ Himself; especially if the critic has proven first, e. g., by comparing the parallel discourse in the other Gospels and by examining its characteristic style—that the actual form of the discourse has to be attributed to the Evangelist. As a matter of fact such a difficulty will be as a rule of a merely literary character. Why? Because, while we know that the Evangelist is an eye- and ear-witness of the days of Christ and, moreover, a faithful historian, we know at once that—if he really antedates either some clear and explicit doctrine or the development of an institution, by a reflection of the time when he writes the Gospel in his memory of the past—he can do so only *unconsciously*. It is clear that, as a rule, this cannot happen but for details of no real bearing and that the "extension" must be in the same line.

Nevertheless, if Christ had not founded an organized and visible Church; if, after the death of Christ and His Apostles, there had been left to mankind practically nothing but the scattered books and Epistles, which a long time afterwards the Catholic Church collected in her Canon, and which we know to be all of them inspired for the sole reason that the Catholic Church has taught us so; if, in one word, we had nothing but the Bible, the difficulty of discriminating in the discourse of the Gospels "between what belongs to the Master and what to the disciple," would sometimes lead to the most serious consequences. So, for instance, we read in Mark that Christ "saith to them: Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another, committeth adultery against her" (10, 11). In Luke also Christ

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says: "Every one that putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery" (16, 18). But in Matthew, Christ is introduced saying: "But I say to you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, *excepting for the cause of fornication,* makes her to commit adultery" (5, 32). In reading and comparing these three texts several questions naturally arise. Does each one of those texts refer to divorce in the strict sense of the word? The Evangelists seem to give the same discourse of Christ: thus then, if we suppose that there is question of real divorce, must we admit that Christ never allowed divorce in the strict sense of the word, according to Mark and Luke? Or must we say that He made an exception in the case of adultery? Are we obliged to hold that Christ Himself added the clause: "excepting for the cause of fornification"; or are we allowed to believe that Matthew makes Him say so, while perhaps he identifies Christ's law on divorce, with the law on divorce as it was applied, we might suppose, among the Jewish-Christians in those days, when Matthew wrote his Gospel? If there is no official authority which has a right, and even an obligation to interpret the Bible, how can we tell a man, who for the cause of adultery will dismiss his wife and marry another woman, either that he is forbidden, or that he is allowed to do so? Especially, how can this question be solved by an ordinary man, who of course is not obliged to obey in such things another man who is merely more learned than himself? The conditions in this country sufficiently illustrate what can be the result of such doubts regarding the meaning of a single sentence or the origin of a short clause.

From all this it does not follow that the critical interpretation of the Gospels is wrong, because it leaves doubts which must needs be solved; but Catholics are seen to be right when, for this and other reasons, they maintain that the great work of Christ is the institution of the Church, speaking in religious matters with supreme authority, and that the Bible alone cannot be sufficient for the Christian people. (Cf. BULLETIN, 1905, pp. 152 ff.)

Criticism is ruining or rather has ruined Protestantism among the thinking classes of modern society. But Criticism is bound to build up Catholicism among those who, nineteen centuries after Christ, will assist at a great debate among the biblical scholars—"the next great debate" of the future, as Sanday calls it—about what Christ Himself really has taught and what indeed Protestants are bound to believe. We are much afraid that even after twenty centuries more Protestant scholars will not have settled the problem.

H. A. POELS.

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Das Buch Kohelet, kritisch und metrisch untersucht, übersetzt und erklärt von Vincenz Zapletal, O. P. Freiburg: Kommissionsverlag der Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1905. 8°, pp. 243.

A year ago, when he published *Die Metrik des Buches Kohelet,* the author announced his "discovery" that the book Kohelet or Ecclesiastes "sammt dem Epilog in einem regelmässigen Metrum geschrieben ist." This he attempts to prove in his new work. Zapletal himself, however, calls attention to the mistake he made, when he thought that he was the first to notice the metrical character of the book. H. Grimme, in 1897, and E. Sievers, in 1901, maintained the same thesis. But this does not in the least diminish the value of this important study on a book which puzzled so many of its readers.

In the Introduction (90 pp.) the learned Freiburg professor discusses the questions regarding the composition of the book, the influence of Greek philosophy, the authorship, the sacred writer's belief in immortality and some well-known difficulties against religious and moral principles.

As Zapletal points out (pp. 61–71), "heutzutage lässt sich der Salomonische Ursprung des Buches nich mehr verteidigen" (p. 61). He holds "das der Verfasser in der griechischen Periode gelebt und sein Buch etwas vor 200 v. Chr. geschrieben hat" (p. 66).

The chapter on Kohelet's belief in immortality deserves special attention. According to Zapletal "Kohelet hält fest an dem althebräischen Scheolglauben, aber er nimmt die zu seiner Zeit auftauchenden neuen Vorstellungen über die Unsterblichkeit nicht an" (p. 76).

"Weil aber nach den alten Ansichten das Schicksal der Toten in der Scheol dasselbe, oder fast dasselbe ist, so muss die Vergeltung vorher stattfinden" (p. 77).

Pp. 81–86 the writer proves that modern interpreters are mistaken in attributing false teachings to the author or editor of this canonical book.

The Commentary itself (pp. 91–243) is a remarkable piece of work. We confine ourselves to a single illustration of the way in which the author explains some difficult passages.

"Die vierundfünfzigste Reflexion (11, 9–12, 7): Geniesse das Leben, bevor das lästige Alter und der unvermeidliche Tod kommen. Die Komposition dieses Stückes ist ganz eigentümlich. Die Grundlage bilden sechshebige Disticha . . . welche ein Lied ausmachen, das zum Genuss des Lebens auffordert, bevor das lästige Alter kommt. Diesem Liede werden aber Bemerkungen angehängt . . . Es ist nun die Frage, was von Kohelet ist. Hat er das Lied komponiert und ist dieses dann von anderen glossiert worden, oder hat Kohelet vielmehr

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ein bekanntes Lied angeführt und demselben selbst seine Bemerkungen angeknüpft? Ich nehme das Letztere an, weil der Inhalt der Bemerkungen mit den Ideen Kohelets übereinstimmt . . ." (p. 230).

The Hebrew text of each chapter is given first, after that the metrical characteristics together with philological and theological explanations, and finally an admirable German translation.

H. A. POELS.

The Book of Ecclesiastes. A new metrical translation, with an introduction and explanatory notes by Paul Haupt. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1905. Pp. 47.

Zapletal's pamphlet *Die Metrik des Buches Kohelet* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1904) appeared after the publication of Haupt's metrical reconstruction of Ecclesiastes in *Koheleth oder Weltschmerz in der Bibel,* which was printed at Leipzig in 1905, but read at the International Congress at Basle, on September 1, 1904. "Zapletal's preparatory note informs us," Haupt says, "that the discovery that the Book of Ecclesiastes is metrical was made by him during the session 1903–4. He was therefore in no way influenced by my metrical version of Ecclesiastes which I read at the general meeting of the Second International Congress on the History of Religions at Basle, on September 1, 1904, nor by my metrical reconstruction of the Hebrew text which I exhibited in the Semitic Section of the Congress, although Zapletal attended the Congress and read a paper on Ecclesiastes' belief in the immortality of the soul at one of the meetings of the Semitic Section. This coincidence is evidently an interesting case of sympathy, unless Zapletal exercised some telepathic influence on me, so that I was able to anticipate his discoveries before he published them" (pp. 7–8).

The celebrated Professor of the Semitic Languages at Johns Hopkins University separates, in his metrical reconstruction of the canonical book, the genuine portions of the original Ecclesiastes from the numerous editorial changes, corrections and explanations, which, in his opinion, were added afterwards in the official recension, "which was not castrated but figleaved" (p. 3). In comparing, for instance, Haupt's analysis and reconstruction of Ecclesiastes 11, 9–12 (on pp. 32–33) with Zapletal's analysis of this same passage (pp. 230, 241) the readers will notice that sometimes Zapletal and Haupt agree remarkably well in solving the literary problems offered by the traditional text. However, we need not say that almost everywhere the readers will notice a difference between the theological standpoint of the Freiburg Professor and that of Haupt. A natural consequence of this difference of standpoint is to be seen in the special interest

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attached by Zapletal to the "editorial changes," introduced by the inspired author or editor of the canonical book. Haupt, who studies the book rather from a merely literary point of view, does not attach so much importance to those "orthodox glosses."

According to Haupt "the genuine portions of Ecclesiastes are out of place in the Canon. Their author is not a theologian, but a man of the world, probably a physician, with keen observation, penetrating insight, and vast experience." "I believe that the genuine portions of Ecclesiastes were written by a prominent Sadducean physician in Jerusalem, who was born at the beginning of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164) and died in the first decade of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (104–78 B. C.)" (p. 1; cf. p. 2). "The pessimistic poem may have caused such a sensation that it was impossible to suppress it. The Pharisaic authorities therefore decided to save the attractive book for the Congregation but to pour some water into the author's wine" (p. 3).

Bickel, *Der Prediger über den Werth des Daseins* (Innsbrück, 1884), endeavored to show that the confusion of the traditional text of Ecclesiastes was due to the mistake of a binder who misplaced the quires of the manuscript. In Haupt's opinion this view is untenable, but he admits that the confusion may be partly accidental. "This confusion was increased by the editorial changes introduced by the friends of the author who published the work after his death. It was further increased by the polemical interpolations of the orthodox Pharisaic editors, who finally admitted the Book into the Canon of the Sacred Scriptures in 90 A. D. Several of the most objectionable statements are less offensive if preceded or followed by orthodox glosses and scattered through less questionable sections; but combined in their proper order they would have been intolerable" (pp. 3–4).

Thus, then, Professor Haupt practically holds that on the background of our canonical book there is an older work, written by a Sadducean "pessimist" and his friends, whose sensational publication afterwards was corrected in the *new* work which we have now. Either contradictory or explanatory notes were added to the text of the older pessimistic book. Instead of leaving the dangerous Sadducean book to be copied and scattered among the people in its original form, and to write against it an entirely separate work, it was thought more suitable to take up the existing and well-known work, written by the Sadducean physician, but to explain the ambiguous passages and to show the false teaching contained in some clauses or sections.

A comparison between Haupt's and Zapletal's version and commentaries is to be recommended to all those who in the future will

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study the Book of Ecclesiastes, unparalleled in the whole range of biblical literature.

H. A. POELS.

Mariä Verkündigung. Ein Kommentar zu Lukas 1, 26–38. Von Otto Bardenhewer, Professor der Theologie an der Universität München. Freiburg: Herder, 1905. Pp. 179 (=Biblische Studien X, 5).

The bulk of Bardenhewer's new publication is a commentary on Luke 1, 26–38. No biblical passage has been more eagerly discussed during the last few years than this famous narrative of St. Luke's Gospel, where the Evangelist relates "the Annunciation" of the Virgin-Birth. In our opinion Bardenhewer's study rises high above all the other Catholic pamphlets recently issued on this topic.

The Commentary is preceded by an excellent introduction (35 pp.). In this prologue the author deals with several theories of modern theology concerning the Virgin-Birth, and examines Luke 1, 26–38, in the light of literary and historical criticism.

First of all we find an analysis of the objections nowadays raised against either the integrity and authenticity or the historical character of St. Luke's narrative. Bardenhewer has no difficulty in proving that false philosophical apriorisms lie at the bottom of all of them. "Nicht innere Verdachtsmomente geben zur Bestreitung der Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Erzählung Anlass, sondern die Scheu und Flucht vor allem Uebernatürlichen bedingt zum Voraus die Ablehnung eines jeden Wunderberichtes" (p. 5). The authenticity of verses 34 and 35 is established in such a way, that the author has a right to conclude: "Diese Verse streichen heisst deshalb aber auch allen Regeln literarischer Kritik ins Gesicht schlagen" (p. 14). Even without these two verses the narrative clearly indicates the supernatural character of Christ's birth (p. 15).

As regards J. Wellhausen, who by a single dash of the pen cancels the two first chapters of St. Luke, Bardenhewer confines himself to the very short, but altogether adequate and decisive answer: "Indessen ist das keine wissenschaftliche Kritik mehr, sondern gewaltthätige Willkür" (p. 26). The authenticity of these two chapters has been solidly demonstrated by scholars like Harnack and Zimmermann, on whom nobody would cast reflections because of their theological prejudices.

Thus then the authenticity and integrity of Luke 1, 26–38, being established in a perfectly scientific way, the Munich professor examines the historical value of the narrative.

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Unbelievers deny *a priori* the possibility of any miracle. They are answered by the Christian philosophers. In history their aprioristic method is entirely unscientific. But, moreover, Bardenhewer challenges them to explain the historical fact, which they cannot deny, that such a narrative is found in St. Luke's Gospel and that already at that time the Virgin-Birth was a dogma of Christian faith.

Usener and some other writers contend that the "saga" of Christ being the Son of God originated among the early heathen-Christians; and that this "saga" is to be compared to the numerous heathen legends relating how some great men and heroes of the past were born without a human father. Harnack and others admit and prove that it is impossible to explain in this way the undeniable historical fact with which we are confronted. They maintain therefore that the "saga" of the Virgin-Birth must be of Jewish-Christian origin. Harnack contends that it is merely the result of a misunderstanding and false interpretation of Isaias 7, 14.

After reading Bardenhewer's answer (pp. 16–26), an unbiased reader cannot hesitate, we think, in styling both solutions false and opposed to all rules of historical criticism.

The solutions proposed by Gunkel, Hilgenfeld and some other German critics, or rather philosophers, cannot even stand the test of a superficial investigation. Their theories are still less up to the mark than those patronized by Usener and Harnack. In a few lines Bardenhewer has done with them.

Consequently those who reject this point of our Christian belief are unable to explain the undeniable historical fact of the firm belief in the Virgin-Birth among the early Christians. This being settled, the author points out the high historical and scientific value of St. Luke's narrative.

St. Luke was a Greek and a heathen-Christian. But Bardenhewer shows that the chapters 1, 5–2, 52, cannot have been written originally by a Greek or a heathen-Christian "Dieser Bericht *kann nicht* von Lukas verfasst sein" (p. 29). Gunkel already had proven that these chapters are like a palimpsest and that, at the bottom of them, we discover a document written by a Jew, who had become a follower of Christ. Bardenhewer makes us see that, on one hand, "eine stilistische Ueberarbeitung der Vorlage nicht zu bezweifeln ist" (p. 30) and that the chapters in this form were written by Luke; but that, on the other hand, the question is scientifically settled that the Evangelist in these two chapters makes use of a still older document, written by a Jew of Palestine. Moreover, the document which Luke had before him, was a Greek translation of the Hebrew or Aramaic original.

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Thus then, one can hardly imagine a historical source of greater scientific value.

From a merely scientific standpoint also, the historical value of this document is strengthened by its insertion into St. Luke's Gospel. St. Luke was a well-informed and careful author. As is stated in the opening verses of his Gospel, he examined with great solicitude whatever had been written about our Lord, or was orally transmitted among the Christians as being told by Mary herself, the Apostles or their disciples. St. Luke accompanied St. Paul in his travels. He therefore was perfectly informed, not only regarding the traditions themselves, related among the early Christians, but also concerning the value attached to those traditions by the leaders of the Church.

The high historical value of the extremely old Jewish-Christian document is confirmed also by St. Matthew, whose narrative is independent of St. Luke's Hebrew or Aramaic Palestinian source.

Finally, even the calumnies about Christ's birth, spread among the Jews, may be called upon as an indirect confirmation of the Virgin-Birth. Zahn and other scholars try to prove that these calumnies were spread among the Jews from the very beginning, that is to say, even before St. Matthew wrote his Gospel. If it was not in order to shut the mouth of the Jews, proud of their royal house of Juda, why, indeed, should St. Matthew have mentioned in his genealogy of Christ three women of bad reputation, Thamar, Rahab and "her that had been the wife of Urias," Solomon's mother? Since these Jewish tales are mere calumnies, the fact that they nevertheless circulated, cannot be explained in a better way than by assuming as their basis the knowledge that Joseph was not the father of Christ.

This short analysis sufficiently shows the importance of Bardenhewer's *Einleitung* to his exegetical Commentary on St. Luke, 2, 26–38.

In this Commentary the author's profound knowledge of patristic literature rises in a flood. All priests who love the Blessed Virgin and sound her praise from the pulpit should read this commentary on Luke's narrative of the Annunciation. In carefully distinguishing between what is certain and what is merely the opinion of some theologians, between true history and either doubtful or false traditions, this study will afford a wholesome antidote to the readers of Fr. Meagher's book on "the minute details of Christ's life."

Many persons will be especially interested in the author's annotations concerning the year and the day of our Lord's birth, in his comments on the angels, in his explanations of the names Jesus, Mary and Joseph, in his answer to the question why Mary, since she was to

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remain a virgin, nevertheless did marry, and in his solution of several other interesting questions connected with or at least suggested by a critical investigation of St. Luke.

The reason why Bardenhewer left aside the very extensive English literature on this subject, may be found in the great similarity of objections raised all over the modern world against the miraculous character of the Virgin-Birth.

H. A. POELS.

Moses und der Pentateuch. Von Gottfried Hoberg, Professor der Universität Freiburg in Br. (= Biblische Studien, X Band, 4. Heft). Freiburg: Herder, 1905. Pp. xiv + 124.

Dr. Hoberg, professor at the University of Freiburg, defends the "thesis dass wir einen mosaischen Pentateuch, aber nicht eine von Moses veranstaltete Ausgabe besitzen" (p. 1). "Der Pentateuch als Gesetzbuch, das nicht allein den Kultus regelte . . . war mit dem israelitischen Volksleben auf das engste verwachsen; eine Aenderung der sozialen und politischen Verhältnisse hatte daher auch eine Abänderung der jene Verhältnisse regelnden Gesetze zur Folge" (p. 123). Hoberg shows that we are bound to admit numerous changes, omissions and additions; some of small, others of large extent (pp. 47–69).

However, he rejects the common distinction between Jehovist, Elohist, Deuteronomy and Priestcode. He does not believe that the Jewish lawbook, as we have it now, is a stratification of three different codifications of Mosaic Law, first separately existing (JE + D + P). Nevertheless, Professor Hoberg seems to sympathize somewhat with the theory set forth by Professor Vetter, a well known Catholic scholar, who approaches very near to the most common solution of this *literary* problem (p. 69).

In our opinion, Dr. Hoberg ought to have put more stress on the distinction between the literary and the historical questions regarding the Pentateuch. In order to inform his readers about the *status quæstionis* at the present day, he ought also to have given a list of Catholic writers who admit, at least in a general way, the soundness of the modern critical analysis of the Hexateuch into four different sources or documents.

In a pamphlet of 124 pages Hoberg, of course, could not deal with all the arguments against the ancient and Mosaic origin of the great official lawbook, which is called the Pentateuch, and covers nearly the whole field of religious and civil legislation in Israel. He confines himself to those which *he* considers the principal ones.

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He notes, e. g., the fact that the prophets and the writers of the other ancient biblical books keep silent regarding the existence of such an official lawbook and never appeal to the authority of "Scriptum est" or "Scriptura dicit." The author tries to solve this difficulty, but we cannot help finding his explanation rather strange. We doubt very much whether he will succeed in convincing many readers. It stands to reason that every critic admits the ancient origin of several institutions, mentioned in even the most recent parts of the Pentateuch.

A point still less satisfying in Hoberg's study, is his explanation of the unconscious and unrebuked violation of some fundamental laws of our Pentateuch by saintly men like Samuel and Elias.

In our opinion, it is not very likely either that critics will ever agree with Hoberg's interpretation of 2 Kings, 22–23. We do not see, for instance, why King Josias should rend his garments at seeing *a special copy* of a lawbook, which he knew perfectly well! Moreover, the king is struck, not by what he sees, but by what he hears and what is written in the book, which at that time the high-priest happened to discover in one of the temple-buildings.

For these and other reasons we are afraid that *Moses und der Pentateuch* is not, what it intends and ought to be, a solid refutation of Wellhausen's school. No critic will attach any importance to this study.

H. A. Poels.

Das Comma Johanneum, auf seine Herkunft untersucht, von Dr. Karl Künstle. Herder: Freiburg, 1905. 8°, pp. 61.

Dr. Künstle subjects the famous passage 1 John, V, 7, known as the "Comma Johanneum" to a very searching examination as to its manuscript authority. All the old Greek codices show that it was unknown to the Greek-speaking Christians of the first four centuries. The early mediæval Latin codices that exhibit this passage have borrowed it, directly or indirectly, from the Liber Apologeticus of Priscillian who made use of it for an heretical purpose (pp. 8, 15). The influence of the Bible-text made current by Priscillian (p. 23) and of Trinitarian anthologies compiled at a later date from such Spanish codices, or from codices affected by them (e. g., in Africa and in Southern Italy) explain the rapid adoption of the "Comma Johanneum." In the past Dr. Künstle has studied very carefully Spanish patristic writings and the early Christian literature of Spain along the border of the Roman and the Visigothic period. His interpretation of the Decree of the Holy Office (January 13, 1897) is as follows: The verse, 1 John V, 7, contains a doctrinally valid proof

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of the Trinitarian concept of God in the sense of John the Evangelist (c. I). This is also the opinion of Fr. Christian Pesch, S.J. (Stimmen, supplement 76, p. 57, Freiburg, 1900); "Der vielhundertjährige Besitzstand dieses Textes in der Vulgata und die daraus hervorgehende Verwendung desselben in Liturgie, theologischen Lehrbücher Predigten u. s. w. verleihen den Worten dogmatische Beweiskraft, ganz abgesehen davon ob der hl. Johannes sie geschrieben hat oder nicht." The brief study of Dr. Künstle merits the attention of all students of the New Testament, early Christian literature and the history of the Vulgate text.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Le Tombeau de la Sainte Vierge à Ephèse. Réponse au R. P. Barnabé d'Alsace, O.F.M., par Gabrielovitch. Paris: H. Oudin, 1905. 8°, pp. 263.

In these pages the author of two remarkable works,[1] on the discovery of the house of the Blessed Virgin at Ephesus, takes up the cudgel in a very vigorous and decisive way in reply to the attacks of the defenders of the Jerusalem tradition. There seems to be no reasonable doubt that the Fathers of the Council of Ephesus (431) were persuaded that the Mother of God had come to Ephesus, and closed there her mortal life. The Jerusalem tradition is based on apocryphal texts and its development is quite clearly laid bare by Gabrielovitch, perhaps with more feeling than is necessary in such disputes. Professor Ramsay in his late work on "The Letters to the Seven Churches" (New York, 1905, 217–218), while maintaining the legendary character of the tradition, emphasizes nevertheless the traditional veneration of the Greek Christians of Kirkindji, their annual pilgrimage and festival. At the same time he wrongly insinuates that we have here only an early Christian adaptation of the Ephesian myth of Artemis localized among the hills that look down on Ephesus. In the efforts of the Roman Catholics of Smyrna to discover the actual site of the traditional veneration of the Blessed Virgin's home at Ephesus, he is moved to see only "the strong vitality of local religion in Asia Minor, amid all changes of outward form. The religious centre is moved a little to and fro, but always clings to a comparatively narrow circle of ground." This is rather a snap judgment, especially in view of the fact that Eusebius exhibits the Christians of Ephesus as cognizant, in the first half of the second century, of

[1] Panaghia Capouli ou Maison de la Vierge, Paris, 1896; Ephèse ou Jérusalem Tombeau de la Sainte Vierge? Paris, 1897.

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the site of the sepulchre of St. John. Neighboring Smyrna venerated at the same time the memorial chapel in which the ashes of Polycarp were laid. Tertullian speaks, a little later, of the veneration of the "ecclesiae apostolicae" for the episcopal chairs and autograph letters of their founders. In other words, the veneration of Christians for the burial places of their distinguished dead is a Jewish heirloom, not a *loan* from the detested polytheism that surrounded them. This is especially true of traditions that go back to the second century, and that are based on an unbroken local cultus, than which there is no stronger historical argument. It is equivalent to the consensus of all interested and cognizant, sustained from time immemorial and without contradiction. We believe with Tillemont and Gabrielovitch that Ephesus was the last earthly resting-place of the Blessed Virgin Mary. We did not notice in this work any reference to the popular joy at Ephesus when Mary was proclaimed θεοτόκος by the great Council. Were not these illuminations and processions an index of the special local attachment to Mary, constantly enlivened and heightened by the sense of her glorious citizenship in Ephesus?

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part IV. Edited with translations and notes by Bernard P. Grenfell, D.Litt., M.A., and Arthur S. Hunt, D.Litt, M.A., with eight plates, London, 1904. 8°, pp. xii + 306.

In 1903 the editors resumed their excavations at Oxyrhynchus and the present volume is the best evidence of the success with which their efforts were crowned. For all of the Theological and most of the New Classical Fragments published in it were discovered in the second excavations, while the finds of non-literary documents included a number of papyri of the early Augustan period—a class of documents usually not well represented—of sufficient importance to induce the editors to deviate from their chronological system of publication.

As the method of publication follows the lines described in reviews of the previous parts,[1] and the same high grade of scholarship has been maintained that has characterized the earlier numbers of the series, the interests of the readers of the BULLETIN will best be served by my noting the contents of the volume which in interest is inferior to none of its predecessors.

The Theological Fragments (pp. 1–50) are of unusual interest on account of the presence of a papyrus No. 654, of the second half of the third century, which contains the beginning of a collection of

[1] Cf. C. U. B. VII, 85; X, 495.

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Sayings of Jesus, so closely resembling the famous *Λόγια* discovered in 1897, that it is most probable that we have in it another manuscript containing another part of the same collection. The present fragment contains besides the introduction, parts of five sayings of which the last is hopelessly damaged.

In connection with this fragment the editors treat at some length of the questions raised by the discovery of it and of the Logia. Their conclusions may be briefly indicated: their previous views (*a*) that the Sayings had no traceable thread of connection beyond their attribution to the same speaker, (*b*) that none of them imply a post-resurrectional point of view, (*c*) that they were not in themselves heretical but were as a whole much nearer in style to the New Testament than to the apocryphal literature of the middle and end of the second century, all find in their opinion additional confirmation. The editors are also more confident in placing the composition of the collection before A. D. 140, and see no more reason than before for believing that the Sayings are extracts from a narrative Gospel; on the contrary such a view has now to encounter a new difficulty, namely the fact that the author of the introduction evidently considered the collection as a literary work complete in itself. The editors accordingly pass in review and reject the claims of the Gospel according to the Egyptians, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Gospel of the Ebionites, the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Philip, and the Apocryphal Gospels connected with Matthias to be considered as the source of these Sayings. Nor does the theory that the Sayings are an eclectic selection from several of these gospels meet with their approval, but rather they are confirmed by the new discovery in their view that the collection of Sayings was an independent literary work which was probably used as a source for the composition of one or more of these non-canonical Gospels. With regard to the *terminus a quo* for the composition of the collection the new fragment affords additional and strong evidence for the existence of first century elements among the Sayings. Finally, the editors, though very guarded in their expressions evidently incline to the view that these fragments are from "an early collection of Our Lord's sayings . . . ultimately connected in a large measure with a first-hand source other than that of any of the Canonical Gospels."

But little inferior in interest is No. **655**, a papyrus of the first half of the third century containing a portion of a non-canonical Gospel which the editors believe to have been composed in Egypt before 150 A. D., and to have stood in a close relationship to the Gospel accord-

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ing to the Egyptians and the non-canonical Gospel or collection of Sayings used by the author of the Second Epistle of Clement.

No. **656** of the earlier part of the third century contains parts of the Septuagint version of Genesis and is consequently one of the earliest, if not the earliest MS. of a Greek theological work yet known. It is of unusual value for the text because most of the uncial MSS. fail us in the parts here represented. No. **657** of the fourth century contains a considerable portion of the Epistle to the Hebrews and is characterized chiefly by a tendency to support the Vaticanus in the omission of certain words and phrases. No. **658** is a statement of a person suspected of being a Christian that he together with his son and daughter, had poured libations, sacrificed and tasted the offerings in the presence of the city's superintendent of offerings and sacrifices, and a request for them to certify this statement. This interesting document is dated in the first year of the Emperor Decius and belongs to a class of which but two specimens were previously known.

Of even greater interest are the New Classical Fragments (pp. 50–132) among which the first and most important is No. **659**, a papyrus ascribed to the latter half of the first century B. C. and containing new portions of Pindar. The new find is not only considerable in bulk—upwards of fifty well preserved lines—but also of unusual interest because the longer of the two odes belongs to a class of Pindar's works, the *Παρθένεια* of which the few extant quotations, Frag. 95–104 (Christ), were unable to give us any adequate idea. Furthermore the poems are interesting because of their historical associations both being composed in honor of Aioladas, the father of the Theban general Pagondas.

No **660** contains portion of a paean but the text is hopelessly mutilated. The same is unfortunately true of No. **661**, which contained a series of epodes in the Doric dialect. The epigrams in No. **662** are partly old (Anth. Pal. VII, 163, 164) and partly new—the new ones being an epitaph by Amyntas on Prexo of Samos, an epigram by the same author on the capture of Sparta by Philopoemen, and two dedicatory epigrams for a huntsman Glenis by Leonidas and Antipater respectively.

Next to the Pindar fragment, the prize of the collection is No. **663** a papyrus of the end of the second or beginning of the third century containing a portion of the hypothesis to the Dionysalexandros of Cratinus. The light that this fragment throws upon the origin of the hypotheses to the plays of Aristophanes, the technical structure of ancient comedy, and the character of Dionysus in the Frogs is

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truly surprising; and besides this it gives us at last the plot of the play—about which the most various guesses had been made—and also its political tendency, which it had been impossible to suspect. Finally, it puts an end to the attempts of advocates of the modern Greek pronunciation to dodge the fact that an Athenian of the time of the Peloponnesian war indicated by βῆ βῆ the bleating of a sheep. Varied and rich results indeed from a single find!

No. **664** contains a portion of a philosophical dialogue, of interest on account of its historical setting, and its bearing upon the chronology of the lives of Solon and Periander. No. **665** is a portion of an epitome of some lost history of Sicily giving details about the conflicts with the mercenaries after the fall of the tyrannies. The facts stated are entirely new. No. **666** is a portion of the lost dialogue of Aristotle, the *Προτρεπτικός*. No. **667** is a fragment dealing with musical scales perhaps of Aristoxenus.

The following papyrus contains parts of a new epitome of Livy—treating of Books XXXVII–XL and XLVIII–LV; as the second of these series of books is lost and the known epitome was constructed on different lines, the historical value of the discovery is at once evident.

This section contains besides a portion of a Meteorological work No. **669** a number of fragments in poetry Nos. **670–678** and in prose Nos. **679–684** that are too small to call for separate treatment.

The fragments of extant classical authors include portions of the Iliad, Nos. **685–688**; the Shield of Hesiod, No. **689**; the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, Nos. **690–692** (confirming two conjectures), the Electra of Sophocles, No. **693**; Theocritus, No. **694**; Herodotus, No. **695**; Thucydides, No. **696** (portions of the valuable papyrus published in the first volume of this series, No. **16**); the Cyropaedia of Xenophon, Nos. **697–698**; Theophrastus, No. **699**; Demosthenes, Nos. **700–702**; Aeschines, No. **703**, and Isocrates, No. **704**.

The non-literary documents belonging chiefly to the Roman period are classified as Official, Nos. **705–712**; Applications to Officials, Nos. **713–716**; Petitions, Nos. **717–720**; Contracts, No. **721–731**; Receipts, Nos. **732–734**; Accounts, Nos. **735–741**; Private Correspondence, Nos. **742–747**. These are followed by collations of Homeric fragments, Nos. **748–783**, and descriptions of miscellaneous documents, Nos. **784–839**. The Appendices contain addenda and corrigenda to Part II and to *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, a revised text of Part III, No. **405**, which has been identified as a portion of Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses* hitherto known only in a Latin version, and a list showing the distribution of the Oxyrhynchus and Fayûm Papyri. The volume is as usual liberally supplied with indices.

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The editors are about to start for another campaign at Oxyrhynchus and will carry with them the good wishes of all friends of classical scholarship.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

Les Légendes Hagiographiques. Par Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J. Bollandiste. Brussels: Bureaux de la Société des Bollandistes, 1905. 8°, pp. xi + 264.

This work, which is practically a guide-book to that amorphous mass of literature that makes up the lives of the saints and martyrs, is unquestionably the most important contribution to the subject of hagiography in recent years. Most students of history have always been puzzled in regard to the value and provenance of hagiographical writings. They occupy the borderland between history and fiction and shade off almost imperceptibly from sources of the most unimpeachable authority such as the proconsular acts to the most unmistakable legends and myths. Many of them bore the stamp of spuriousness in every line and syllable, others were historical in form and related real occurrences: but their origin was, for the most part, unknown and there were few tests by which to judge of their character. The problem proposed to themselves by such men as Tillemont and Ruinart as to which of these lives were genuine and which spurious received no definite and general answer. Ruinart's collection of "Acta sincera et selecta" remains still the most complete and the most reliable body of such documents. The fact that it has maintained its preëminence for such a period is the best proof of the difficulties which the work of selection among the Acts of the martyrs implied.

During recent years the study of hagiography has attracted considerable attention and this interest has resulted in the production of many monographs and studies on individual *vitæ* and *acta*. In addition to this much light has been cast on the subject by investigators into the origin of Christian and pagan legends, by folklorists and by students of that class of literature in which the mind of primitive peoples gave expression to its conceptions of physical phenomena and great historical movements. Delehaye's little book is the tally-sheet from the clearing-house of this field of literary endeavor, and with its publication the study of hagiographical writings enters on a new phase.

The first chapter is concerned mainly with the definition of a hagiographical document, its connection with history and the examination and definition of those different imaginative narratives known as

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fable, myth, legend, story and romance. The author explains each in detail and shows that there are hagiographical documents belonging to each class, but lays greatest stress on the legend, a name drawn from *legenda*, the history of the saint, the *passio* of the martyr, or the eulogy of the confessor read on their feast-days. The legend considered as a connected historical narrative and in contradistinction to the myth and the story, consists of two essential elements, an historical fact and the distortion of this fact or the additions made to it in the popular imagination.

Hagiographical literature also shows the influence of two distinct factors. There is first the anonymous originator, the people, or taking the effect for the cause, the legend, and secondly, the writer or redactor who gave this legend a permanent form according to certain definite canons. In the second and third chapter the author deals with the genesis of the "Lives of the Saints" under these two influences. He shows how easily legends are ordinarily produced, how they grow, how great names have a tendency to attract to themselves in the popular mind great deeds, and how the populace, ignorant alike of history, geography and chronology, attributes to some saints or martyrs the glories of others; how types of martyrs, confessors and persecutors and typical scenes and incidents are evolved and made to do service over and over again; and how these conventional types and incidents recur in innumerable cases. From this basis of legend, the work of the hagiographer was derived. With sources so inexact and with no conception of history as now understood, the hagiographer approached his subject more in the spirit of the artist than the scientist. He aimed merely at producing some effect. In the case of biographies of saints and martyrs his purpose was to edify the faithful and this purpose he accomplished by grewsome narratives of suffering for the sake of religion. A typical example of the manner in which fact, legend, and conscious amplification on the part of the writer, produced a typical *Passio* is shown in the case of St. Procopius of Caesarea, whose death and sufferings are briefly told by Eusebius. Three different stages of the legend represented in three different forms of Acta exhibit the way in which harrowing details were added until the point of incredibility was reached.

In the fourth chapter the author discusses various methods for the classification of the Acts of the martyrs. He divides them into six categories: (1) Official records of the trial and condemnation of the martyrs such as were preserved in the proconsular archives. (2) Accounts of eye-witnesses or contemporaries who derived their information from eye-witnesses. (3) Acts in which the principal

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source is a written document belonging to one of the two preceding classes. (4) Acts which are not derived from a written source but are merely a fantastic combination of some real elements in a purely imaginary setting, or in other words, historical novels. (5) Acts in which everything is imaginary and which are merely hagiographical romances. (6) Acts written to deceive the reader. This classification has not escaped criticism, but it is comprehensive and easily applied.

The important question as to how far Christian saint-legends are derived from pagan hero-worship is discussed at length in the sixth chapter, in which the author points out that parallels in incident and similarities in name afford no solid ground for the inference that Christianity appropriated to its saints the glories of pagan heroes and deities. Those who are fond of appealing to the lives of the saints and of referring to the Acta Sanctorum would do well to read the last chapter, in which there is a discussion of hagiographical heresies. and a good deal of sound advice that might be read with profit by those who compile books of devotion.

This volume will serve many useful purposes, practical as well as scientific. It will prevent the indiscriminate use of the acts of the martyrs and biographies of saints as historical documents for periods with which they have no connection and will call attention to their value as sources for the history of the thought and culture of the time in which they originated. The value of Delehaye's study on the legends of the saints cannot be over-estimated. Every page of it is marked by exactness and fulness; all Christian writers, theologians as well as historians, will find much in it that will repay perusal and study. It may be considered the "Propylaeum" to another work which the author has in view, a new Ruinart, the appearance of which will be eagerly watched for.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der Christlichen Kirche. Von Ernest Lucius, herausgegeben von Gustav Anrich. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1904. Large 8°, pp. xi + 426.

It will always be a source of regret to students of history and theology that the author of this book was not able to give it a final revision. At the time of his death, November 28, 1902, the work was unfinished and the task of publication fell to his friend and former pupil Professor Anrich, into whose hands it came, for a great part merely in the form of notes. From the manner in which it was pre-

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pared for the press it was inevitable that many errors in reference and orthography should have crept into it, all of which would doubtless have been eliminated if the author himself had an opportunity to revise the proof-sheets.

The title of the work sufficiently indicates its scope and character. It is an attempt to explain on historical grounds how the custom of venerating the saints originated in the Christian church. The main idea of the work is not new, but the detail and elaborateness with which it is worked out raise it above anything that has previously been written on the subject. The author traces the idea of the Christian "Heiligenkult" to the pagan conception of human relations with the deity. The prevailing transcendentalism fostered and strengthened by the philosophy of Plato, made it necessary to find some intermediary beings who would act as mediators and messengers between the unattainable god and created nature. This function the pagans attributed to *daemones*. The Christians inherited the transcendental ideas of their pagan forbears regarding God, and as they could not consistently retain the pagan daemones they had recourse to angels. The author attempts to find confirmation for his theory in the similarity or even identity of function and power ascribed, respectively, to both demons and angels by pagans and Christians. His evidence on the subject is, to say the least, far from convincing and in some cases is altogether wrong as v. g. where he says (p. 13) "Sie haben den ursprünglichen strengen Monotheismus des Christentums aufgelöst, eine polytheistische Denkart in der Kirche legitimiert und grossgezogen." Proof for this statement is drawn from St. Augustine, De Civit. Dei XIX 2: deos . . . quos nos familiarius angelos dicimus. It is an undoubted perversion of history to claim that any Christian author of the fourth century could have made the egregious blunder of ascribing divinity to the angels. Another stage in the preparation for the high place occupied by the saints in the Christian Church the author finds in the widespread hero-worship of the pagans. The Church, it is claimed, substituted saints and martyrs for heroes and honored them in precisely the same manner and with the same titles as the heroes. This is really a coincidence and precisely what might be expected in the new order of things. When a new value was given to human life and new ideals, and a new goal for effort was set up, what more natural than that the heroes of faith should be more highly esteemed than those who had merely attained earthly glory? Too much stress seems to be laid on the Christian funerary banquets as an indication of Christian belief to warrant sound conclusions, as the question regarding the origin of these feasts is still an open one,

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and it is difficult to decide whether the Christians did not celebrate them merely as a method of keeping within their legal rights.

The second section of the second book, which deals with the development of the "Martyrkult" after the period of persecution, is the most detailed and perhaps the most valuable of the entire work. The author shows how the saga-cycle in the history of the martyrs commenced, and how it resolved itself into the well-known characteristics which distinguish the acts of so many martyrs. The next heroic ideal of Christian perfection which the Church saw was in the lives of the solitaries and ascetics of the desert, while the last and final stage was found in the example of the great bishops and teachers who defended the truths of Christianity against the assaults of heathen philosophy and of heresy. The last section of the work deals with the veneration paid to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Five short excursuses on the Protoniké and Helena legends; on parallels to the monastic wonders: the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary: the Precationes ad Deiparam in the works of Ephraem the Syrian, and on Mary as the inheritor of old legends, bring the work to a close.

It is out of the question to deal adequately with a book of the compass and extent of this in a short review or to discuss with any degree of satisfactoriness even one of its chapters. The author has collected an enormous volume of testimony on a complicated and intricate subject. In many matters he is at one with even the most orthodox. But the final solution of the historico-theological questions which he raises will require discussion as complete and impartial as his own.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Die Katholische Kirche in Armenien, ihre Begründung und Entwicklung vor der Trennung, ein Beitrag zur christlichen Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte, von Simon Weber. Freiburg: Herder, 1903. 8°, pp. viii + 532.

Dr. Weber has given us in this history a very readable and instructive history of the Church in Armenia during the fourth and fifth centuries. The ecclesiastical interest of this Indo-Germanic people is very great. The figures of King Tiridates and the apostle of Armenia, Gregory Illuminator, stand out (c. 300) in bold relief against the last decades of Roman imperial paganism and the rising power of Persian Magism. The rapid Christianization of the land, the growth of a large Christian literature, chiefly by translation from the Greek and from Syriac, the union of Church and State first accomplished in Armenia, the division of the land (385) into Persian and

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Greek "spheres of interest," the indestructible Christianity of this ancient, inflexible and proud people—are so many points of supreme historical and political interest. Armenia was at a critical moment in the fourth century just such a bulwark against the Magism of Persia as Poland was later against Islam. It broke the impact of Persian conquest toward the West just when the Empire was being harassed to death by the German barbarians; it compelled the Persian to tolerate the religion of Christ among a people that had sworn eternal fealty to Him in the midst of martyrdom and manifold oppression; it saved not a few pages of ancient Greek Christian literature, and kept alive ancient Christian art and life in an unbroken way all through the early Middle Ages. This work should now be read in connection with Labourt's book (1904) on Christianity in Persia (232–632). Together they furnish a modern and critical account of the growth and spread of Christianity outside the Roman Empire from Constantine to Justinian and Heraclius. Dr. Weber, in particular, has utilized all the researches and critical discussions of Armenian scholars like Dashian, Catergian, Karakasian and Miskgian, also those of European students of Armenia—Carrière, Gelzer, Conybeare, Vetter, Himpel and others. Those who are interested in ancient Christian literature may learn from Dr. Nève's "Arménie Chrétienne et sa Littérature" (Louvain, 1886), the ecclesiastical importance of this ancient nation. We may add that there is no important general consideration concerning the early Armenian Church, critical, political, theological, or religious, that Dr. Weber has not touched on in this valuable work.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Church's Task Under the Roman Empire. Four Lectures, by Charles Bigg. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905. 8°, pp. 136.

These lectures are entitled: Education under the Empire, Religion under the Empire (2), Moral and Social Condition of the Empire. They are based on much reading at first hand, and on the researches of a number of modern scholars. The work is popular in a large and noble sense, for it condenses within a few pages the laboriously earned conclusions of many larger works. Its spirit is sane and conservative. Thus, in dealing with the elements of superstition and credulity in primitive Christian society, he modifies considerably (p. 83) the hard strictures of Lord Acton.

"Asceticism we shall understand better when we have passed in review the moral condition of the old heathen society, for you cannot fairly judge the men who fled from the world until you have seen the

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world from which they fled. The credulity no one can doubt who reads the Lausiac History, or Prudentius, or Paulinus of Nola, or Sulpicius Severus, or indeed almost any of the Fathers. It is a grave intellectual blot. It was worse perhaps in the West than in the East; it clouded the judgment and affected the doctrine of the Church, though not in the essential points. It added much that was needless and in a degree harmful, but it did not seriously vitiate the Christian ideal. We may notice that it was largely fostered by the desire to quicken the evangelization of the world. Good and intelligent men, like Gregory Thaumaturgus,[1] the pupil of Origen, sanctioned practices of which they did not approve, in order to make it easier for the heathen to come over, and the ignorant, undisciplined converts thus acquired sensibly lowered the tone of the whole community. The Fathers would have defended themselves by the argument that a superstitious Christian is better than a superstitious heathen, and something may be allowed for this plea. But the leaven affects the whole of the bread; and it is as true of the Church as it is of Roman education, that in proportion as its area broadened its depth fell off."

Elsewhere (p. 122), treating of the relative encouragement of private and public morality, and the actual results to the Roman State, he writes after the following judicious manner:

". . . Later on, the great ascetic movement of the fourth century was a strenuous effort in the same direction. That movement was no doubt open to criticism; and it has been much debated whether the Church did not hasten the downfall of the Empire by calling soldiers away from the standard, officials from the administration of the state, and large numbers of excellent men and women from their social duties into what may seem the sterility of the cloistered life. I think we may say three things: first, that we must not condemn flight from the world without fully knowing what that world was from which the ascetic fled; second, that a monk like St. Martin of Tours, in the circumstances of the time, probably rendered far greater services to his generation than he could have done in any other capacity; third, that what is true is that the Church did not prevent, nor even retard, the downfall of the Empire. That Christianity in itself did not sap the forces of the state is evident from the fact that the victorious

[1] "For, having observed that the childish and uneducated mass were held fast to idolatry by bodily delights, in order that the main principle, the habit of looking to God rather than to their vain objects of worship, might be established in them, he suffered them to delight themselves in the memorials of the holy martyrs and to make merry and exult, thinking that their life would gradually be changed into a more virtuous and scrupulous pattern." See his Life in the works of Gregory of Nyssa, III, 574 (ed. Morel, 1638).

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Germanic invaders were, for the most part, Christians themselves.

"But, if we turn our eyes to the field of public virtue, then it must be acknowledged that the Church produced very little result indeed. The evils which were destroying the body politic went on unchecked, and the process of deterioration was more rapid than ever under the Christian emperors.

"It would be unjust to hold the Church accountable for this decline. The real root of the mischief was the entire absence of any form of popular representation in the government, and the sufficient causes of this radical defect are to be found in the heterogeneous character of the Empire, and in its gradual degradation of tissue, as the barbarian element in the population increased. It is important to notice that the Church was never, in any real sense of the word, established. Certain judicial powers were given to the bishop, but the great ecclesiastics were never formally admitted to the counsels of the Empire. They were shut out from all imperial responsibility, and from all chance of gathering wisdom. They were relegated, not entirely against their own will, to the domains of theology and ethics, and this sharp division between the secular and the spiritual produced very unfortunate results both in State and Church."

Such a philosophico-historical work is well-fitted for occasional readings in advanced classes of history, or for cultivated minds not deeply acquainted with the details of the life and society into which primitive Christianity entered, yet cognizant that we can never understand its victory until we understand the world it met and conquered.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Eusèbe, Histoire Ecclesiastique, livres I–IV, texte grec et traduction francaise. Par Emile Grapin, Curé Doyen de Nuits (Côte D'Or). Paris: Picard, 1905. 8°, pp. viii + 524. (Textes et Documents pour l'etude historique du Christianisme publiés sous la direction de MM. Hippolyte Hemmer et Paul Lejay, Vol. II.)

The appearance of the first volume of this series containing the Apologies of St. Justin was announced in the BULLETIN for July, 1905, p. 359. This second volume is of the same general character as the first. It provides the best available text in the most convenient form. The Church History of Eusebius will be published in three volumes, of which the last "will contain the Introduction and the Index." The text chosen by the editors for this edition is that of Schwartz, published by Hinrichs (Leipzig, 1903) for the Berlin Academy of Science in the series of "Griechischen christlichen Schriftstellern

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der ersten drei Jahrhunderte," which when completed will undoubtedly remain for many years the standard edition of the works of the early Greek Fathers. This edition of the Church History by Hemmer and Lejay does not aim by any means at superseding that of Schwartz. Few emendations or alterations are suggested, and the careful student of Eusebius must always have recourse to the parent text. The nice discrimination shown in the short appendices makes one wish that the editor did not confine himself to what was merely essential in his annotations.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Die Abendländische Schriftausleger bis Luther über Justitia Dei (Rom. I, 17) und Justificatio. Von P. Heinrich Denifle, O.P. Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese, der Literatur, und des Dogmas im Mittelalter. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1905. 8°, pp. xx + 380.

In this volume the reader will find the proofs, in a specific case, of the general contention of Denifle in his now famous "Luther und Lutherthum" (vol. I, part II, 2d ed.; BULLETIN, July, 1904, 342), that Luther was very ignorant of the true teachings of the scholastic theologians, whom he nevertheless abused and vilified beyond belief. Apropos of his unhappiness and despair previous to his "conversion" he wrote (1545) in the preface to his miscellaneous Latin works (I, 42) that all the mediaeval theologians, with the exception of Augustine, interpreted the "justitia Dei" of Rom. I, 17, as the divine justice itself, the very "ira Dei" against sinners and the unjust. In this volume Denifle reprints the text of a large number of (61) scholastic commentators on Scripture, from Ambrosiaster and Pelagius down to Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and even commentators of the fifteenth century like Dionysius the Carthusian, from all of which it appears that without exception the scholastic commentators of this passage interpret "justitia Dei" not alone of the divine sanctity itself, but also of divine grace, the gift of faith by which, apart from the works of the law, God manifests His pity on man, and makes him just. This work offers quite an addition to the literary history of Scholasticism; all future writers must take note of the introductory remarks and excursus devoted to several of the commentators in question, all of which have been read in the original manuscripts and edited by the writer. Denifle insists strongly on a more thorough study of the scholastics in the original manuscripts. Few of these mediaeval writers have yet been edited with due care, and the relative

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worth of many is yet unknown. Like "Luther und Lutherthum" this volume is highly polemical. The strong language of the great critic is excusable enough when we remember that no body of thinkers and writers has received such unmerited abuse as the scholastics. Bucer himself admitted (Corpus Reformatorum, X, 138) that in his time the Reformers had offended many honest men who could see that they had not read the ancient authors, and seemed anxious only to calumniate them. Apropos of this critico-literary essay of Denifle, it may be well to remind our readers of the valuable introduction to mediaeval theology now accessible in Fr. Hurter's "Theologia Catholica tempore Medii Aevi" (Innsbruck, 1899, 2d ed.).

Specimens of the critical acumen and profound erudition of Denifle may be seen (pp. 334–346) in the revindication for Gilbert de la Porrée (d. 1154) of a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul that has been commonly attributed to an earlier Gilbert of St. Amand (d. 1095), also in his demonstration (pp. 65–67) that the Quaestiones super Epistolas Pauli (PL. CXXV, 431 sq.) are not the work of Hugo of St. Victor (d. 1142). Students of Denifle's "Archiv für Litt. u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters" will recognize in these pages the hand of the master-critic and great historical theologian, whose profound knowledge of mediaeval life has contributed so much to the modern renewal of interest in that much-abused period.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

St. John and the Close of the Apostolic Age. By the Abbé Constant Fouard. Authorized Translation. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1905. 8°, pp. xxxiii + 250.

A pathetic interest attaches to this work. The distinguished author of "Christ the Son of God," "St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity," "St. Paul and his Missions," "The Last Years of St. Paul," was called a year ago to his eternal reward, soon after he had finished the manuscript of his last volume of the series on the "Beginnings of the Church." Thus it was not granted to him to see in print this crowning work of his long labor of love. Devoted friends had the work published not long after his death. The authorized English version is now before the public.

In this new volume, the standard of excellence that marks the earlier volumes of the series has been maintained. There is the same easy flow of narrative and description, the same liveliness of style, the same accuracy and breadth of scholarship, the same candor of treatment coupled with a judicious conservatism.

After an introduction in which he gives briefly but effectively the

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grounds for recognizing the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, the three Epistles, and the Apocalypse, he proceeds to the historic setting of his subject. In the first two chapters, he tells of the fortunes of the unbelieving Jews and of the Jewish Christians after the destruction of Jerusalem. Then comes a comprehensive survey of the condition of the Church throughout the Empire under the Flavian emperors, and a description of the persecution under Domitian (Chapters III and IV). How St. John was arrested in Ephesus, haled to Rome to meet the martyr's cruel fate, and how being miraculously spared, he wrote as an exile in Patmos the Apocalypse, is skilfully told in the next three chapters. The analytic description of the Apocalypse is especially fine. Chapter eight gives an excellent account of the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Christians of Corinth, and serves as a transition to the fine description in two chapters of the Fourth Gospel and the conditions that gave it birth. The last years of St. John and the growth of the Church after his death form the closing chapters of the volume.

The book is printed and bound in the same tasty style as the companion volumes of the series. The version is, on the whole, excellent. There is an occasional use of expressions purely colloquial, as *'tis* for *it is*, a great *to-do*. *Jewry* is hardly the best term to use to designate the Jews. But these minor blemishes are easily overlooked in the general excellence of the work.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

The Valerian Persecution. A Study of the Relations between Church and State in the Third Century. By the Rev. P. J. Healy, D.D. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1905. 8°, pp. xv + 285.

The first age of the Christian Church which came to an end with the promulgation of the Edict of Milan possesses as great an attraction for the twentieth century historian as for the first historian of the Church, who some sixteen centuries ago recorded the glorious deaths of the martyrs of Lyons. And this irresistible attraction of the Age of the Martyrs is not at all confined to those investigators who share in the faith of the primitive Christians; for historians of every shade of opinion recognize the fact that the Christian Martyrs fought for a cause, the winning of which was of paramount importance to all future generations of mankind.

Yet although everyone is ready to talk with enthusiasm of the Martyrs there is good reason to think that this feeling is more often founded on vague popular tradition than upon exact knowledge. The

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bibliography of Dr. Healy's work establishes the truth of this proposition so far as concerns the English-speaking world; in the six pages devoted to the modern literature of the persecutions only two works in English are named which treat directly of their history, and neither of those works is from the pen of a Catholic.

The author is, therefore, to be congratulated on the selection of a subject for his doctorate thesis of such general and fascinating interest. His handling of the subject is equally praiseworthy; and every page of his book bears witness to his thorough familiarity with its literature, both ancient and modern.

In the first two chapters of his book the author gives a brief but satisfactory account of the principles on which anti-Christian Roman legislation was based, and a summary of the history of the persecutions during the two centuries previous to the reign of Valerian. The rapid progress of the Christian religion at an early date attracted the attention of the Roman lawmakers. Although the Romans were tolerant of all forms of belief, even of Jewish monotheism, an instinctive feeling of hostility and intolerance towards Christianity quickly developed in all ranks of society throughout the Empire. The Jewish religion, it is true, was as exclusive in its worship as the Christian; both were monotheistic and were as one in their rejection of the gods of the Empire. But the Jewish religion was not at any time looked upon as dangerous to the State forms of worship. The Jews did not seek proselytes. Their religion was a national religion, and national religions were respected by the Romans. But the Christians, on the contrary, made no secret of their intention to make converts everywhere, and unlike the Jews they had not the excuse that they were merely observing faithfully the faith of their fathers. In the eyes of the law they were, therefore, guilty of apostasy, of rejecting and despising in the most unpatriotic manner the State religion. The attempts of the State, consequently, to destroy Christianity were under the circumstances perfectly logical; the Christians were atheists, rejectors of the national gods.

Hence the object of the various persecutions before Valerian was to compel the Christians to renounce Christ and worship the State deities. These persecutions, too, fell upon all classes of Christians indiscriminately. Valerian made a new departure. His edicts, the author informs us, differ in two important respects from the edicts of preceding Emperors. The Christians, in the first place, were no longer asked to choose between Christ and the gods; they might if they wished, continue to worship Christ, but they *must* conform to the State religion. The second innovation concerned the Christian ceme-

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teries. From the first century the Christians had had their own cemeteries, which were reserved exclusively for the interment of the faithful. These last resting places of their deceased friends they regarded with the utmost veneration. The subterranean cemeteries of Rome were of especial importance, and because of their peculiar construction they proved, in times of persecution, convenient and comparatively safe hiding places. It was probably on this account that the Emperor took the grave step, even for a Roman autocrat, of interdicting the use of places then universally regarded as sacred and inviolable.

Another peculiarity of the Valerian persecution was that, at least in the beginning, it was directed chiefly against the clergy. If the clergy could be persuaded to apostatize, their congregations, deprived of leaders, could, it was thought, be induced easily to follow their example. In accordance with this plan of campaign the leading clergy were everywhere arrested and at first punished only with exile for refusing to comply with the law. The failure of this plan, however, brought forth a second edict decreeing death and confiscation against the Christian clergy and nobility.

But the laws of Valerian were no more effective against the Church than the laws they superseded. They merely added a large number of Martyrs, among them St. Cyprian, to the Church's roll of honor. The reader will find in the concluding chapters of this work a graphic description of the sufferings of these heroes of the faith.

The publication of Dr. Healy's book adds another volume to the list of works presented to the Faculty of Theology of the Catholic University for the degree of Doctor in Theology. It is well worthy of a place beside its honored predecessors. May we hope that this is but the first of a series of volumes from the author's pen which will meet a much felt want of English speaking students of Church history, viz., an exhaustive and reliable history of the Church during the Age of Persecution.

MAURICE M. HASSETT.

Ideals of Science and Faith. Edited by Rev. J. E. Hand. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1904. 8°, pp. xi + 333.

To those who are interested in the mutual relations of science and faith, this book offers suggestive and profitable reading. It is a sort of symposium, consisting of ten essays written by prominent representatives of scientific and religious thought, and setting forth in a candid, friendly, but independent spirit the individual claims which

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the various branches of science ask to have recognized, and the concessions deemed possible on the part of Christian faith, in order that religion and science may be brought together in friendly and harmonious union. First come six scientific approaches toward this ideal goal. There is a "Physicist's Approach," by Sir Oliver Lodge; a "Biological Approach," by Professor J. A. Thomson and Professor Patrick Geddes; a "Psychological Approach," by Professor J. H. Muirhead; a "Sociological Approach," by V. V. Branford; an "Ethical Approach," by Hon. Bertrand Russel; and an "Educational Approach," by Professor Patrick Geddes. Then follow the approaches from the side of religion: a "Presbyterian Approach," by Rev. John Kelman; a "Church of England Approach," by Rev. Ronald Bayne; "The Church as Seen from Outside," by Rev. P. N. Wagget; and last but not least, a "Church of Rome Approach," by Wilfred Ward.

Of course, none of these writers pretends to speak authoritatively in the name of those who belong to his particular profession. Every writer is exclusively responsible for his own contribution. But as a candid statement of position, from the several view-points of science and religion, by representative men of high scholarship, the collection of essays has no little value and interest.

Of the scientific essays, the first two are the most important as well as most interesting. This is particularly true of the paper of Sir Oliver Lodge, a calm, broadminded, highly suggestive exposition of the fundamental points of agreement and disagreement between the prevailing scientific view of nature and that postulated by religion. Neither, in his opinion, has said its last word, and we may hope that with the mutual concessions made in the light of larger knowledge, it will be recognized that "the region of Religion and the region of a complete Science are one."

It is interesting to observe that in both the "Physicist's Approach" and in the "Biological Approach," the doctrine of abiogenesis is considered as by means discredited by the failure, thus far, of scientists to verify a single alleged instance of spontaneous generation. It is the hope of science yet to succeed in making this an object of experimental demonstration. "It is still morning," writes Professor Thomson, "on the dial of science, biological analysis is still in its youth, partial re-statements have been given of numerous functions, we know much in regard to the chemical aspects of metabolism, synthetic chemistry is still re-creating organic compounds from inorganic elements. May we not reasonably expect some day to attain to an understanding of the chemical secret of protoplasm, in regard to which theories already abound?" But he recognizes that science,

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even if successful in this, would not thereby shut out God from the universe, as many might hastily infer. Science, not being philosophy, "does not seek to explain anything, merely to re-describe in conceptual formulæ; . . . if we did understand the secret of protoplasm, that would not, to use Ruskin's cruel summary, prove that there is no use for a God,—a summary which was an irrevelancy quite unworthy of his sagaciously analytic mind—but would only show that there is no such thing as dead matter" (p. 56–57). In like manner, Sir Oliver Lodge contemplates the possibility of the discovery some day of the artificial method of producing protoplasm, and he warns the theologian not to build too securely the argument for divine existence and divine intervention in nature on the principle, *omnis cellula e cellula*. On this point he says: "Science has not yet witnessed the origin of the smallest trace of life from dead matter: all life, so far as has been watched, proceeds from antecedent life. Given the life of a single cell, science would esteem itself competent ultimately to trace its evolution into all the myriad existences of plant and animal and man; but the origin of protoplastic activity itself as yet eludes it. But will the theologian triumph in the admission? Will he therein detect at last the dam which shall stem the torrent of scepticism? Will he base an argument for the direct action of the Deity in mundane affairs on that failure, and entrench himself behind that present incompetence of laboring men? If so, he takes his stand on what may prove a yielding foundation. The present powerlessness of science to explain or originate life is a convenient weapon wherewith to fell a pseudo-scientific antagonist who is dogmatizing too loudly out of bounds; but it is not perfectly secure as a permanent support. In an early stage of civilization it may have been supposed that flame only proceeded from antecedent flame, but the tinder-box and the lucifer-match were invented nevertheless. Theologians have probably learned by this time that their central tenets should not depend, even partially on nescience, or upon negations of any kind, lest the placid progress of positive knowledge should once more undermine their position, and another discovery have to be scouted with alarm and violent anathemas" (pp. 19–20).

Of the religious approaches, that of Wilfred Ward holds the palm. While recognizing that Christian Theology contains along with the kernel of revealed truth, the husk of defective views of nature and even of Scripture, reflecting the imperfect science of the epochs in which they found expression, he argues that the Roman Catholic Church is acting the part of a wise pedagogue in not allowing a clean

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sweep of such views as are no longer in harmony with the latest teachings of science,—for that would often entail the utter loss of faith,—but rather in permitting the gradual introduction of well-established results as a corrective of the religious view, defective perhaps in details, but fundamentally sound. To the charge that the Roman authorities have ever been more ready to condemn than to encourage free scientific inquiry, he replies: "The Church has other duties apart from the promotion of the secular sciences,—duties which may in some degree come athwart the immediate interests of these sciences. To preserve truth as a whole may mean to arrest for a time a one-sided development. Science may, therefore, move faster outside the Church than in it."

"It is quite true that authority acts normally, not by way of active assimilation, but mainly by way of opposition, to new developments of the reason, because authority is the guardian of the deposit of faith that is handed down, and it guards it, in the first instance, in the traditional form, opposing novelty until it is quite clear that the modification of its form does not mean real mutilation of its essence. Authority opposes the entrance of a new phase of intellectual expression until such a new phase is shown to be without danger to the faith. It is the representatives of the intellectual force in the Church, and not those of official authority, who normally initiate the work of assimilation. Authority tests it, and may in doing so seem to oppose it. She plays, so far as scientific proof is concerned, the part taken by the 'Devil's advocate' in the process of canonization. She is jealous of disturbing changes in the human *medium* by which faith in the unseen is habitually preserved *hic et nunc;* science is placed by her on the defensive; excesses and fanciful theories are gradually driven out of court; a truer and more exact assimilation of assured results in science and theology is thus obtained by the thinkers; then, and not till then, Authority accepts such results passively. She is the guardian, not of the truths of science, but of the things of the spirit. It is not for her to initiate inquiries beyond her special province" (pp. 317–318). His conclusion is: "If Christianity is to assimilate what is true in science, without itself becoming utterly diluted and losing its distinctive genius amid the inevitable intellectual changes, I see no other machinery which will, in the long run, accomplish this work, except the organic coöperation of defenders of the various truths and interests concerned, the machinery for which is to be found in the constitution of the Catholic Church" (p. 321).

Valuable citations might be made from the other contributors to this symposium. Though it contains not a few statements out of

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harmony with Catholic faith, it is serious and thought-stimulating from beginning to end, and deserves to be widely known.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Certainty in Religion. By Henry H. Wyman, C.S.P. New York: The Columbus Press, 1905. 16°, pp. 119.

This little brochure of upwards of one hundred pages is meant to serve as a popular manual of apologetics, setting forth in succinct form the divine claims of the Catholic Church for those who might be deterred from reading the much larger works of authors like Devivier or Schanz. The treatise bears in its authorship the presumption of excellence, for the author is a distinguished convert and Paulist of long standing, having a ripe experience in dealing with converts to the Catholic faith, and consequently familiar with the practical needs that should be met in a handy apologetic manual.

It consists of eighteen short chapters. The first eight treat of religion, faith, revelation, inspiration, Messianic prophecies, and the divinity of Christ. The remaining chapters are devoted to the exposition of the Church established by Christ, its infallible authority, its unity, its persistence for all time. Here Fr. Wyman is at his best, tracing with a firm hand the unbroken continuity of the Church from apostolic times down to the present day. With true discernment, he chiefly insists on the Church's unity of faith and discipline, flowing necessarily from its divinely constituted authority.

Fr. Wyman belongs to the older apologetic school. With Brownson and many other defunct champions of Catholic belief, he rejects evolution without distinction as something incompatible with true religion. He seems to hold as essential the immediate creation of the first human pair according to the strict letter of Genesis. He makes the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch an important step in his demonstration. While this uncompromising position would fail to satisfy many scholars, Catholic as well as non-Catholic, it doubtless offers little difficulty to the great mass of minds with whom the missionary comes in contact. One could hardly quarrel with Fr. Wyman on this score, for having above all a practical aim, he has suited his apologetic to his hearers.

It would be a mistake to think that because this treatise is small, it is for that reason light and superficial. It is meant for serious minds. The author has compressed into a small compass a great deal of solid thought. His perspective is good, and his exposition clear and readable. As its cheapness places it within the reach of the multi-

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tude, it is destined to do a vast amount of good, if it is made known and judiciously distributed by the priest on the mission.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Modern Freethought. By the Rev. J. Gerard, S.J. St. Louis: Herder, 1905. 8°, pp. 54.

The Freedom of the Will. By Rev. A. B. Sharpe. St. Louis: Herder, 1905. 8°, pp. 53.

These two brochures belong to the excellent Westminster Lectures, edited by Rev. Dr. Aveling.

Father Gerard, in his characteristic vigorous style, familiar to readers of the *Month*, refutes the assertion of freethinkers that Catholic faith, resting on church authority, hampers right reasoning and the unbiased pursuit of truth. He shows that true authority is a sound foundation for knowledge and in no way prejudicial to the scientific acquisition of truth; that even the majority of freethinkers rest for much of their opinions on authority, often of a dubious kind. Experimental science, on which freethought exclusively takes its stand, does not, and can not, give an adequate explanation of nature. It is to be found only in Christian theism.

Fr. Sharpe gives a good presentation of the doctrine of the freedom of the will. He might have made it even more effective, had he insisted with greater fulness on the grounds of that conviction, and left for consideration elsewhere the scholastic theory of how the will acts freely, as well as the theological aspect of the problem.

Both these little volumes are printed with great taste, and their usefulness is increased by the judicious indication of books bearing on the subject treated.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Tragic Drama in Æschylus, Sophocles and Shakespeare: An Essay. By Lewis Campbell, M.A., L.L.D., D.Litt., Honorary Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, Emeritus Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews. New York: Longmans, Green and Company.

Interest in the drama as a subject of serious study is growing very rapidly. Mr. Churton Collins, the late Sir Henry Irving, and, notably Professor Brander Matthews, of Columbia University, have done much towards strengthening it. The establishment of a chair of Dramatic Literature in Columbia and the recent attention given to a course in the Technique of the Drama at Harvard show the move-

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ment of the current in this direction. Mr. Churton Collins' papers on Shakespeare's indebtedness to the great Greek tragedians have received unusual attention, and Professor Brander Matthews' articles on the changes in the point of view of dramatic art,—illustrated by Rostand and Stephen Phillips,—are equally interesting.

The book before us should have been called, "Shakespeare's Tragedies, with references to Æschylus and Sophocles." Mr. Campbell finds that the Greek tragedians were more complex than the dramatists of the Shakespearean time. He agrees with Faguet that the threads making the complexity of the Greek drama have been separated. Italy took the musical, spectacular, and orchestral; France, the rhetorical; England the poetic and purely dramatic. Thus are the gifts of the Greeks divided. He admits, however, that considered merely as drama, the ancient form is the more simple. When Mr. Campbell uses the phrase, "modern stage," he means the theatre of the time of Elizabeth, and not the very modern stage of Sardou, Pinero, and Augustus Thomas. And when he insists that the Greek playwright took things more objectively, we must remember that he means that this shall be taken in contrast with the Elizabethan and Jacobean point of view. Sophocles, he says, presents his persons in a few bold strokes and "with a massiveness that is alien to the modern stage." But for bold strokes and "massiveness," for the suggestiveness in which the artist makes silence more expressive than words, have we not Cordelia and Horatio?

Mr. Campbell contrasts the concentration of the Greek with the comprehensiveness of Shakespeare. Ajax, Clytemnestra, Philoctetes are "individual personalities, not merely types," and the simplicity of the drawing is as suggestive and rich in possibilities as the pure outlines of Flaxman. "Shakespeare has elevated the whole conception of a plot," he quotes, "from that of a mere unity of action obtained by reduction of the amount of matter presented, to that of a harmony of design blending together concurrent actions from which no degree of complexity was excluded." Mr. Campbell calls attention to a fact which,—though noted by Horace,—Voltaire and the extreme French classicists seemed practically to forget,—that, in the severest of Greek tragedies, the art shows "traces of its rustic origin." Mr. Campbell's analysis of Hamlet's scene with Ophelia, while Claudius and Polonius are eavesdropping, shows an insight into the situation which many actors might consider in relation to their art. Hamlet suspects Ophelia not because there is a noise behind the tapestry but because she comes forward, prayer-book in hand, to accost him after she has refused to see him. Mr. Campbell points out that Shake-

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speare's knowledge and taste do not fail him when he changes the text in the First Quarto, and does not allow Gertrude during her tempestuous scene with her son, to agree to connive at the death of Claudius; the Quarto of 1604 is guiltless of this false note. This volume is a valuable addition to the study of comparative literature in English.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

A Handbook of Literary Criticism: An Analysis of Literary Forms in Prose and Verse, for English Students in Advanced Schools and Colleges and for Libraries and the General Reader. By William Henry Sheran. Hinds, Noble and Eldridge. New York, 1905, 8°.

The author of this "Handbook" is very modern. All the matter that formerly was put into a preface goes into the headlines of his titlepage. And the same modern brevity is evident in the technique of his volume. There is no dead wood anywhere; last year's nests are carefully swept out of sight. And he does not, as more ill-advised writers of text-books sometimes do, forget that he is giving information and not making literature. In Professor Sheran's book, it is possible to find definitions that define. One is not obliged to go, gun in hand, with pointers and retrievers, after the definition which is hidden somewhere in the reeds of rhetoric; nor is one forced to dig the precious axiom, as a pig digs for truffles, through layers of hard earth. Unhappy teachers who must use Herbert Spencer's "Philosophy of Style" probably know how the pig,—even the trained pig,—feels when he digs for truffles! If Professor Sheran had followed the example of Mr. Barrett Wendell and tried "to make literature" when what his admirers wanted was a clearly-expressed text-book,—I allude to the Harvard professor's "English Composition,"—we should have some good chapters spoiled. Professor Sheran is a shining example of the qualities the lack of which makes both Mr. Spencer and Mr. Barrett Wendell so exasperating to the simple-minded and honest teacher. Mr. Spencer used, in his "Philosophy of Literature," language to conceal thought, Mr. Barrett Wendell labored under the delusion that his style was more interesting than his definitions. Professor Sheran goes, on the contrary, straight to his work; his style does not seem to trouble him, and, consequently, he gives an ideal set of literary definitions. This book is a distinct advance towards the more scientific treatment of literature.

Of his criticisms, there will, of course, always be two opinions. This is natural enough in a world in which literature must be judged

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from a personal standpoint, and where not even the French Academy is infallible. He is sufficiently broad-minded and comprehensive in his selections; but sometimes his "nerve" deserts him. To put Miss Rives' "Quick or the Dead?" in the "Bibliography for Select Reading" is extremely "comprehensive"; but why, then, does he balk at some bits from Whitman's "Leaves of Grass"? He refers to a rather unimportant critical paper by Whitman, whose name as a lyrical poet does not appear in the index at all. Personally, one may not be inconvenienced by the suppression of the author of "Leaves of Grass"; but, as he has some claims to the lyrical afflatus and none to the critical balance, one can only conclude that the author frightened by his temerity in mentioning the "Quick or the Dead?", Mrs. Wilcox's "Poems of Passion" and Marie Corelli's "Wormwood" paused reflectively before "Leaves of Grass." And why does he include Balzac's "Lily in the Valley"—which he translates, after Saintsbury,—"Lily of the Valley," and not "Eugénie Grandet" or, "César Birotteau"? If he wanted to be typically Balzacian, the detestably sentimental "Père Goriot" was the book to choose. As he was bent on "The Lily in the Valley," why should he not have extracted the famous letter from that novel and included it in his chapter,—very well done,—on the Letter as literature? And where is there an extract from Dorothy Osborne's letters to Sir William Temple?

Among the contemporary orators are mentioned John Finerty, Senator Dolliver, Joseph Choate, Rabbi Hirsch, and Bishop Spalding, to whose name the proofreader kindly adds a "u"; but why are Senator Beveridge and Doctor Stafford omitted? To return to the novels, "Robert Elsmere" does not represent Mrs. Humphrey Ward so well as either "Sir George Tressady" or "Helbeck of Bannisdale" nor does "Orley Farm" typify Anthony Trollope so well as "The Warden" or "Barchester Towers." The selection of Mrs. Oliphant's "Beleaguêred City" is amazing. And where is "Cranford"? And why is Zola's "Rome and Paris" in "cette galère"? One can understand,—if literary movements are to be considered,—why Zola should appear, but would not "The Experimental Novel" have been sufficient? To put Maurice Hewlett's "Richard Yea and Nay" among the biographies is very much like trying to find the pedigrees of the Papal Bulls in the Herd Book! And on what ground is Lea's "Inquisition" set among the "Bibliography—Select Reading"? On the ground of science? On the ground of literature?

President Harper, we notice, is among the "contemporary orators" as master, no doubt, of the act of persuasion. When Professor Sheran

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names persons celebrated for keeping journals he accentuates the "Journal of Amiel" and forgets the incomparable Pepys! As to the drama, Ibsen's "Ghosts" and Sudermann's "Joy of Living" appear; but why not that gentle rebel against Christianity, Maeterlinck?

On what principle were these selections made?

It would almost seem as if the didactic part of the book were written by an expert and the "Bibliographies" by a 'prentice hand. As an instance of this, we find Wyatt, Surrey and Sir Philip Sidney slightly touched, and Shakespeare put down as the first "English classic writer" of the sonnet. The greater part of this "Handbook" is so good and the lesser part so curiously bad, that one wonders where Professor Sheran's judicious and candid friends were when the proof sheets were under revision.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

Essentials in American History. By Albert Bushnell Hart, LL.D. New York: American Book Co., 1905. 8°, pp. xlviii + 583.

In preparing an epitome of United States history, from the discovery of America to the election of President Roosevelt, the author has broken away from the traditional method. The era of discovery and exploration, the development of the early settlements and the intercolonial wars are briefly treated. Those topics are touched, however, which are of most vital importance. As the work appears to be designed for high schools and colleges there is no effort to make this part of the narrative entertaining. Nevertheless in the hands of an intelligent teacher the themes selected may easily be made highly attractive.

It is seldom that one finds in an elementary history any account whatever of the monetary conditions familiar to the early settlers or any reference to the crude system of public finance that was evolved before the Revolution. Instead of filling his pages with detailed military accounts of the Indian and the intercolonial wars, Professor Hart affords the student interesting peeps at the daily lives of the people. In discussing the causes and the progress of the War for Independence his narrative is still condensed. Officers of undoubted ability and merit, such as Commodore Barry, are passed without mention. The great events, however, between March, 1781, and March, 1789, are properly emphasized.

The story of the national epoch is more ample. From the starting of the Federal Government to the present time few great questions

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are passed without observation. The establishment of our fiscal system, the organization of the national judiciary, the growth of industries, the development of transportation, the great movements of population and kindred subjects are ably and fairly discussed.

As already observed this book is not based upon previous school or college histories of the United States. If it were, there would be no examination of monetary systems or of colonial finance. In treating the subject of territorial expansion the interesting legend concerning Dr. Whitman and the saving of Oregon is rejected. This was to have been expected from the scholarship of Dr. Hart.

To call attention to the particular merits of the work would require considerable space, but for the benefit of those who have not examined the volume it ought to be stated that valuable references follow every section of the work. Illustrations and maps are well chosen. It is not only the best school history that we have seen, but is a highly useful volume for the private library.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

A Primary History of the United States. By Thomas Bonaventure Lawler, A.M. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1905. Pp. 266.

Like the same author's "Essentials of American History," which we noticed a few years ago, this little volume presents the story of American discovery, settlement and development in a highly interesting manner. The abundance of maps, charts and illustrations make it one of the most attractive works that has recently been offered to the public. Its chief merit is that it can scarcely fail to awaken in the student an interest in the history of his own favored land. Though the work is carefully done there has crept into the eleventh chapter an error which cannot greatly impair the value of the book. Jefferson, Patrick Henry and the two Adamses are mentioned among the leaders in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. A slip of this kind, however, is easily corrected in a later edition.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

James Macpherson: An Episode in Literature. By J. S. Smart. London: David Nutt, 1905.

The Ossianic question was, perhaps, the most famous controversy in literature and the dispute on the origin and development of the legend is, even to our own time, carried on, in spite of the fact that it is now virtually settled that Macpherson has no claim to be regarded as a translator of Celtic legends which, he averred, had been taken down from the lips of the peasants of the Isles and the Highlands.

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Mr. Smart's work is a review of the *pros* and *cons* that were adduced in the course of the controversy. A strong light is thrown on Macpherson's life and character and much valuable information, not easily found elsewhere, is given by the way on the Gaelic literature of Scotland. Such collections as the *Leabhar na Feinne,* the *Book of the Dean of Lismore,* and the Irish sources of the Ossianic stories, already demonstrated by scholars, are made known to a wider circle of readers.

It is only with the revival of interest in Gaelic studies in the late years of the nineteenth century that the key was found to the solution of the mystery, and Celtic scholars have not been sparing in the hard names they bestowed on Macpherson for what has been called "the monstrous imposture, the contemptible deed and the mendacious verbosity with which it was perpetrated" (L. Ch. Stern). Modern scholars have retraced, step by step, Macpherson's well-laid plan of reconstructing the Fenian saga from top to bottom, combining separate ballads and fragments of others and producing a work which he ascribed to a Caledonian of some fifteen hundred years earlier. What surprises us now is the audacious cleverness of the impostor, the marvellous success that the hoax met with and the dupability of the public and of the great literary lights of Britain and the Continent for so long a time.

Mr. Smart's book is an important addition to our works on Ossian. Its numerous bibliographical references make it a valuable help to the student of Gaelic literature.

J. DUNN.

Summula Philosophiæ Scholasticæ in usum Adolescentium Seminarii B. M. de Monte Mellario Concinnata. Vol. III (Pars Prior) Theologia Naturalis. Dublin, Browne and Nolan. 8°, pp. 235.

The task of preparing a text-book of scholastic philosophy after the traditional pattern is one that offers but little opportunity for the play of originality. As far as regards the matter, *tout est dit.* Method, too, and arrangement, except in a few very trifling details, are stereotyped. An author may, however, give some distinction to his work, by the exercise of good judgment in condensation, amplification, and exposition; and by his care to secure, in a higher degree, exactness of thought and clearness in language. The measure in which this volume, like its predecessors in the Mount Melleray series, possesses those characteristics suffices to give it a favorable promise among its many competitors. In his statements of doctrine, formula-

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tion of proof and answers to objections, the author is concise and lucid. On abstruse points he supplements his own exposition by copious quotations chosen from the writer who, in the particular case, has expressed himself most happily on the subject. He has had the courage, in many instances, to deviate so far from tradition as to give his citations in English. This feature of the manual will render it especially useful to the young student, who, though he may be familiar with Latin, finds the inherent difficulty of a metaphysical problem very frequently aggravated by the obscurity of the language in which it is expressed and solved.

The character of some of the English footnotes indicates that the writer is alive to the necessity of directing the scholastic teaching especially against modern errors. One can scarcely fail to suspect that respect for the consecrated type of scholastic text-book alone prevented him from introducing some modifications that would certainly be profitable. There is at present, it is almost unanimously admitted, great need for what might be called a re-arrangement of the questions which in sum make our Theodicy. The special errors of the day call for special insistence on some points, while other questions that occupied a great deal of attention generations ago, have lost much of their practical importance. The space and study, devoted to some of the latter might, with great advantage, be curtailed in favor of the former. No writer of a text-book ever seems to ask himself, for example, whether he might not despatch, in summary fashion, the theories propounded to explain *how* God knows *futura conditionata*. The everlasting domestic controversy is still religiously related, though the persistent presence, within the pale of rival views, each of which holds its own strong argument to be the untenableness of the other, is proof that we have no definite conclusion to offer to the outside world. Why not hand over the puzzle to the theologian, to solve, if he can, by help of the added light that he derives from Revelation? Then there would be some time to devote to matters that at present require more full and careful consideration than they have hitherto received; such, for example, as the personality of God, the nature of analogical predication, and the form under which the Agnostic presents his case against the teleological and the moral arguments for the existence of a personal God, who is the Providential Ruler of men and matter.

JAMES J. FOX.

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The Theory of Psychical Dispositions. By Charles Dubray, S.M. A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of The Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy; published as monograph supplement No. 30 of the *Psychological Review,* New York: Macmillan, 1905. 8°, pp. 170.

This monograph consists of a critical comparison between the scholastic doctrine and the views of modern psychologists, concerning the existence of psychical dispositions, in order to determine whether it is to the older or the new psychology that the palm of logical consistency is to be awarded. The writer opens the discussion with a statement of the facts to be accounted for. These are, briefly, memory and mental habituation; or, as Dr. Dubray puts it: The question which the psychologist has to solve is this: There are certain mental processes which certainly depend on past processes. The past, in many ways, influences the present. How shall we account for such an influence? How does the past, which, as far as we know, has entirely disappeared, affect the present?

As a necessary introduction to the question at issue, the author briefly resumes the opinions of those among the earlier philosophers who have influenced later thought. He first exposes the systems of Plato, and those who followed him in attributing retention to the soul—St. Augustine; Leibnitz; the Scotch School; Herbart; and Beneke. Then he passes in review those who attributed retention to the organism—Aristotle and the Scholastics; Descartes; Locke; Malebranche; Condillac. Summarizing his criticisms on these various theories, he observes that, while some have given up the problem as hopeless, others offer explanations too largely couched in metaphor not to be vague and unsatisfactory.

Has modern psychology succeeded better? Seeking an answer to this question, Dr. Dubray exposes carefully under three heads the leading modern theories: (*a*) Psychical (Lotze, Browne, Lipps); (*b*) Psycho-physical (Ebbinghaus, Höffding, Wundt, Stout, James, Ladd, etc.); (*c*) Physical (Ribot, Richet, Luys, Jodl, Maudsley, etc.). These writers, it is shown, are practically unanimous in explaining the facts of retention by the existence of permanent dispositions in the man; though they differ from one another in their explanation of the nature of these dispositions. The problem now demands the establishment of the fact that such dispositions do really exist, and are knowable; and the determination of the content of the concept of *psychical disposition.* After briefly dismissing materialism as in

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glaring conflict with fact, Dr. Dubray argues, against some opponents, that these dispositions are knowable, and he offers reasons for the conclusion that they exist in a *subject* disposed by them; that they are permanent, latent, exposed to increase or diminution, as well as to change of direction.

But if such are the characteristics of psychical dispositions whose existence these modern psychologists admit, then arises the question whether the admission of their existence does not logically postulate the further admission that there exists some permanent substantial mental principle in which they are inherent. Dr. Dubray maintains that this logical necessity exists; and he shows that it is ignored by all the modern theories, which reduce the mind to a series of states, a sum of states, or streams of consciousness. The Scholastic theory, on the contrary, holding to the existence of a substantial principle which is the subject of the dispositions, the witness and judge of the past, is shown to satisfy the demand of logical completeness and consistency.

Dr. Dubray's study, written in severely scientific style, is clear, methodical and closely reasoned. It displays an extensive and accurate knowledge of modern psychological literature. Sticking close to his subject, he has found it possible to compress within comparatively little space a sufficient criticism of all the leading theories. Perhaps, it might be remarked, he ought to have treated more exhaustively some of the psycho-physical theories, and driven home his destructive attack more thoroughly. But to have done so would have led him beyond the limits permitted to an academic dissertation. He has put his finger unerringly on the weak spots in most modern systems. Those who entertain these theories will find themselves obliged to supplement or modify their views, if they give Dr. Dubray a fair hearing; and a fair hearing he is entitled to, if it may be merited by courteous and impartial treatment of the opinions which he criticizes. Nor will anyone, after reading this monograph carefully, be able to retain that lofty contempt for Scholasticism which is so widely prevalent among persons who have but little first-hand acquaintance with mediæval philosophy.

JAMES J. FOX.

The Discharge of Electricity in Gases. By Nicholas M. Wilhelmy, S.M., Ph.M. Washington, 1905. 8°, pp. 78.

The manuscript of this volume was presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of The Catholic University of America, in May, 1905, as one of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy.

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In this interesting book, the author presents a critical study of the experimental and theoretical work of importance that has been done in the subject from the earliest times to the present date.

The beginning of the study of the electrical discharge in gases is traced back to Sir Henry Cavendish, 1771, considerably farther back than any previous writer on the subject has traced it.

The experimental study and the theoretical considerations inseparable from the experimental study are divided into three periods, and a chapter is devoted to the discussion of the work of each period. In the first chapter the earliest observations and the valve-tube and funnel-tube discharge, striation, influence of magnets, spectroscopic study, and factors and effects of the discharge are treated. The epoch-making work of Hittorf and the work of Goldstein, the Wiedemanns, Crookes, J. J. Thomson and others, are presented in the second chapter. The third chapter treats of the causes of the conductivity of gases, the methods of producing ionization, the kathode and canal rays, particular attention being given to the masterly work of Lenard.

The fourth chapter is devoted to theoretical considerations. The earlier theories are mentioned briefly, and the electron theory is developed very fully, in the light of all the experimental evidence.

In the conclusion, the bearing of the electron theory upon theory of the constitution of matter is discussed.

The great practical importance which the discharge of electricity through gases has assumed in Electrical Engineering, within the last two or three years, and the great advances which have been made in our knowledge of the nature of electricity and matter through the study of this discharge, should make this book a valuable one to a large and varied class of readers, especially as all the references to the original papers are given in footnotes.

DANIEL W. SHEA.

The Letter of Petrus Peregrinus on the Magnet, A.D. 1269, translated by Brother Arnold, M.Sc., Principal of La Salle Institute, Troy, with Introductory Notice by Brother Potamian, D.Sc., Professor of Physics in Manhattan College. New York: McGraw Publishing Co., 1905. 8°, pp. xix + 41.

This translation was made from the copy of the first printed edition of the "Epistola" belonging to the Wheeler collection in the library of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, New York. The Latin edition referred to above was prepared by Achille Gasser, a physician of Lindau, and was printed at Augsburg, in 1558.

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The translator has done a great service to all interested in magnetism, in bringing out this English edition, as there existed heretofore only one complete English translation, namely that by Dr. Sylvanus Thompson, London, 1902, an *édition de luxe,* limited to 250 copies, and therefore, unattainable by many who have desired to read the wonderful letter.

The introductory notice and the notes appended to the translation of the letter contain interesting abstracts from the lore of classic antiquity concerning the magnet, and passages from writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Elegant English characterizes the translation throughout. The printers' and binders' arts have produced an attractive volume.

DANIEL W. SHEA.

Electric Railways. By Sidney W. Ashe, B.S., and J. D. Keiley. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1905. 8°, pp. 285.

The purpose of the authors in the preparation of this book, as stated in the preface, is to supply a text-book as well as a general engineering reference book, on electric railway rolling stock.

This limitation of scope makes the title, "Electric Railways" too comprehensive, as no attention is given to such divisions of the Electric railway as Roadway, Track, Distribution, etc. A more fitting title would be "Electric Railway Rolling Stock."

In six of the eleven chapters the authors keep strictly to the subject of "Rolling Stock." In four others they give the engineering side under such heading as Units, Curve-plotting, Instruments (introductory); Train Recording and Indicating Instruments; Analysis of Train Performance; and Electrical Measurements. In the remaining chapter, the second largest of the book, they take up Brakes and Braking.

The descriptive treatment throughout the book is good. The statement of theory, whenever necessary, is generally clear and sufficiently extensive to make intelligible the principles involved in the mechanism, although great conciseness apparently has been sought. The selection of chapter sub-headings is well-made and brings out clearly the similarity and especially the diversity existing in the particular branch under discussion. As examples of such classification may be noted the types of armature windings and types of brakes. The chapters previously noted as of an engineering character and including the first part of "Brakes and Braking (wherein the mechanics is used for the derivation of applicable equations) would be, in places, hard reading for the student lacking actual practice in such work.

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In its entirety the book is good, on new lines, treats an important and intersting field in an interesting manner; and is profusely and well illustrated. It should fulfil its mission as a help to the engineer, the student and to the intelligent, ambitious workman.

Finally, it should be observed that the authors are representative men in the electrical world, and have large acquaintance with theory and practice. This fact alone should be a strong recommendation to the student.

GEORGE F. HARBIN, JR.

A Story of Fifty Years, from the annals of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross (1855–1905), with illustrations, Notre Dame, Indiana. Ave Maria Press, 1905. 8°, pp. 214.

The semi-centenary of the foundation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross at St. Mary's, Indiana, is fitly crowned by the publication of this elegant little volume. It seems scarcely credible that in the short space of a half-century a small and struggling body of women should have carried their ideals to so high a degree of success. A mother-house, planted in the heart of a fertile land, and grown so stately and imposing that it recalls a large mediaeval abbey; a large number of parochial schools in all parts of our country; hospitals and other institutions, charitable and educational: all this is but the outward sign of the profound and manifold religious life that has been sustained in thousands of choice souls for this entire period, and whose happy results the world cannot fail to note and approve. The world, however, does not and cannot see all the workings of a great religious foundation or institute. It may easily behold the material evidence, and ponder over the astonishing statistics of Catholic devotion—but what can it know of the intimate love of God and one's neighbor that is the true rule of life of the multitude of holy souls who fill our religious sisterhoods? What can it know of the continuous exercise of all the Christian virtues, especially those difficult ones that grow only in the soil of humility and modesty? Indeed, the ecclesiastical note of sanctity can never fail to be recognizable so long as our devoted sisterhoods exist. The sweet aroma of their virtuous lives goes constantly up to heaven, and no doubt aids to placate the angry justice of God too often wronged and insulted in His own world. Several chapters of this excellently edited narrative are of supreme interest—e. g., the founding of the modest home of piety by the banks of the St. Joseph, the patriotism of the sisters during the Civil War, when they won high encomia for their services as nurses on many a battle-

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field and in many an improvised hospital, the strong and noble character of their well-known and universally beloved Mother Angela. This is a book of victories, the permanent and useful victories of peace and progress. No earnest Christian can read it without emotion, for it reveals one admirable phase of his religion—the care of the young, the lowly, the sick and the abandoned, raised to the dignity of a science, and so firmly established that the individual is no longer indispensable. The work has become an impersonal one and lasts on from generation to generation, widening and deepening as it grows all its channels of action, winning to itself new sources of growth and expansion, rising to higher levels of achievement, in a word blessed by God with an abundance of spiritual strength that always makes for greater fulness of life, and a larger unfolding of God's gifts and opportunities. It is probable that few now living will see the centenary of St. Mary's; those who shall behold it will look upon a scene of Catholic life unparalleled in the history of the world.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Tragedy of Calvary, or the Minute Details of Christ's Life from Palm Sunday morning till the Resurrection and Ascension, taken from Prophecy, History, Revelations and ancient writings. By Rev. Jas. L. Meagher, made Doctor of Divinity by Leo XIII, S. R. C. of Higher Studies, President of the Christian Press Association Publishing Company. New York: Christian Press Association, 1905. Pp. 490.

The title of this work, dedicated to sixty-five Prelates and fourteen hundred clergymen, is sufficient indication of its character and pretensions.

In his preface the author reminds us that "the sufferings and death of Christ transcend all events of human history," but that nevertheless, as a matter of fact, "with rapid pens, and simplest style, Gospel writers tell the story without going into details."

Father Meagher is not satisfied with this. Like many others he "would like to know the most minute events which happened when He died." But not only would he like to know the most minute events: he does know them. What the Gospel writers did not tell us, he tells us. The author has discovered "a wealth of details relating to Him" and is able to relate, with an abundance of detail indeed, everything which happened, from hour to hour, during the four last days of Christ's life on earth and the three first days after His death

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on the cross. "Never before," the writer justly notices, "were all these (details) completely given in one work."

To make us realize the nature of his enterprise, the writer informs us that he "read the lives of Christ in different languages, Jewish literature, histories of his time, revelations of the Saints, prophets of Jew and Gentile, searched the great libraries of this country, British and Vatican Museums, and visited the Holy Land, seeking information of the Victim of the world's sins."

Fr. Meagher did even more than that. "Taking the facts thus gleaned," he says, "we searched the Old Testament, examined Temple services, types, figures and symbols, and with astonishment we find that hundreds of years before he came, his life in all its details has been foretold. . . ."

The author himself tells us that "The awful details . . . seem almost beyond belief." True, especially to people who are somewhat aware of the perfectly unhistorical character of the sources made use of by the writer of this remarkable book! "But," the author assures us, that they are not his: "we have given them (these details) as we found them."

We are very glad to know that "the statements given here must not be taken as equal in authority to the inspired Gospels." But we are very much surprised at reading that "the writer thinks them true." Especially in a book, wherein the most vital points of Christian belief are mixed up with false and sometimes absurd traditions—in such a way that they seem to form one whole—"references might have been given for each statement. . . ." "But," so says the President of the Christian Press Association Publishing Company, "that would fill the book with footnotes, making it look heavy, and repel readers."

But might it not be better to conserve the faith by carefully distinguishing the historical facts of the divine tragedy from legendary additions and uncritical hagiography? Otherwise doubt is likely to be cast upon the whole. We sincerely hope that this book will not find many readers. Protestants might think that Catholics give credit to the absurdities told by the author. His book is a disgrace to the Catholic Press. As a rule we do not like the kind of terminology used in the last two sentences, but in this case an exception had to be made.

H. A. POELS.

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Questions of the Day. Thoughts on the Biblical Question. By Very Rev. Alex. MacDonald, D.D., V.G. New York: Christian Press Association Publishing Company, 1905. Pp. 203.

Not long ago Dr. MacDonald published a study on *The Symbol of the Apostles.* Subscribers to the *Dublin Review* are sufficiently informed regarding the scientific value of Dr. MacDonald's historical researches, as seen in his study on the Symbol. We confine ourselves to the statement that *The Symbol of the Apostles* and *Questions of the Day* bear the unmistakable stamp of the same authorship. In this new publication the writer presents us with five separate treatises: (1) Thoughts on the Biblical Question, (2) The Virgin Birth, (3) Mary ever a Virgin, (4) The Assumption of the Virgin Mary, (5) Bridging the grave.

The author is deeply convinced—as every Catholic ought to be—that we must follow the example given by the Fathers of the Church, who "stood immovable on the rock of Catholic Tradition, against which the swelling tide has ever flung itself in vain" (p. 64). Since he is full of the true spirit of the Fathers, Dr. MacDonald himself has "thought scorn of the attitude of well-meaning men to-day, who trim their sails to every breeze of the Higher Criticism, and, in respect of Biblical inerrancy, try to steer a middle course between the Scylla and Charybdis of Aye and No" (p. 63). "Those who are busied to-day," he says, "with trying to pick Scripture to pieces, have to reckon with God, the author thereof" (p. 11).

We have no doubt whatever that those Catholic writers whose critical theories are attacked in this book, but whom Dr. MacDonald calls "well-meaning men," will readily return the compliment. We do not expect that they will write against the author of *Questions of the Day.* They believe that it is sometimes practically almost impossibe to make other "well-meaning men" view things in the same light in which they see them, on account of the great difference of standpoint and scientific training. Therefore, they will go on with their critical researches and, instead of quarreling with their brethren, will try to contribute their stone, either big or small, to the bridge which has to be built between modern science and eternal faith.

H. A. POELS.

La Typographie à Bruxelles au début du XXe Siècle. By J. Laurent M. Perquy, O.P. Bruxelles: Schepens et Cie, 1904. 8°, pp. 584.

This work was presented as a doctorate dissertation to the School of Social and Political Sciences of the University of Louvain. In

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keeping with the practice and spirit of that vigorous school, it is a study of facts without attempt at theory. The library of dissertations published under the direction of the school numbers now some thirty volumes.

The first part of Dr. Perquy's work contains a description of the technique of printing, composition, printing, art and ornamentation and lithographing. The second part contains a historical sketch of printing in Brussels, a description of shops, newspaper equipment, an account of the commercial organization of these and of the associations of employers. The third part contains a description of condition of labor, and of its organization in all features. An appendix reproduces a number of interesting historical documents which relate to the history of printing. The work contains many fine illustrations showing the improvements in presses and in processes by which the art of printing has made its wonderful progress.

The entire study is based on original sources and there is scarcely a page which does not show the thoroughness and directness which constitute the chief merit of descriptive and historical work. Such references are made to American conditions, particularly in comparing newspaper statistics, are naturally drawn from American sources, and hence are more or less well known to us. A comparison, however, is not without interest: New York has 38 daily papers, printing 2,732,089 copies each day; Chicago 37, printing 1,099,555 copies daily; Philadelphia 21, printing 1,008,752; Brussels 20, printing 590,200 daily.

Dr. Perquy's volume is of great value as a contribution to the literature of printing as well as to the history of labor in Brussels, and its fair treatment of delicate questions as well as its thoroughness merits great praise.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

Konversations Lexikon, Vol. IV. H.—Kombattanten, Vol. V., Kombination—Mira. Herder, 1905.

Five of the eight volumes of this third edition of Herder's Lexikon have now appeared. The two here referred to, are the equal in quality and interest of the volumes already noticed. All are of uniform size, 895 pages or 1,790 columns. Hundreds of illustrations in each volume aid the reader in his understanding of the text; an aid all the more welcome since countless technical questions are touched on, the treatment of which would lose much of its value for the general reader, unless he were assisted by some form of illustration. The plates which accompany the various articles on anatomy,

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on art in every phase of its history and forms, on botany, etc., as well as all of the maps are the product of the highest order of skill.

Brevity and relative completeness characterize these volumes uniformly as well as those which preceded. The article in volume V, on Kirche is a model of its kind, as it epitomizes within thirty pages the most important phases of Church history, life, literature, organization and law.

Naturally one finds at times some features which may not meet unqualified approval. This is hardly to be avoided in a work that aims to give information on everything in which scholarship and culture are interested and is the joint product of possibly hundreds of collaborators. Thus, for instance, one might wish that the various items touching on so-called Americanism which are scattered through the work were formulated somewhat differently. This surely would not have been a difficult task. But the uniform excellence of the work and its practical value to the modern busy man, enable one to base one's judgment on it as a whole. Such a judgment cannot be otherwise than one of commendation for the work and congratulation to the publishers for the enterprise and skill shown throughout.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

Correspondance du Comte de la Forest, Ambassadeur de France en Espagne (1808–1813). Par M. Geoffroy de Grandmaison, I (Avril, 1808–Janvier, 1809). Paris, 1905. Pp. xlv + 456.

This first volume of the diplomatic correspondence of the Comte de la Forest, Napoleon's ambassador at Madrid from 1808 to 1813 offers a special interest, because of light it throws on the personality of Joseph, King of Spain and brother of Napoleon. The papers of de la Forest are in the archives of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, and comprise some 900 pieces. The reader will find in de la Forest one of those typical French ambassadors of the Napoleonic régime, former servants of Louis XVI, but who passed over to the side of Napoleon in his hour of triumph and served him with distinction and success. Their chief and model was Talleyrand himself, who had left on record, in his eulogium of Comte Reinhard, a classic sketch of that race of public servants of France in those difficult years of negotiations, interspersed with victories and treaties, that sent to the archæologist all former maps of Europe. De la Forest got his first diplomatic training at Washington, in the earliest days of the United States, became a Virginia planter (1792), bought American lands for Talleyrand, and eventually returned to his native country in 1797. He took a leading part in the Treaty of Luneville

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and the Diet of Ratisbon, both fatal to a multitude of ancient German ecclesiastical interests. He served Napoleon at Munich, Berlin, and Madrid, and after the overthrow of his master, took up again the service of the monarchy under Louis XVIII and Charles X. He lived to a patriarchal age and passed away August 2, 1846, in his ninetieth year. To the end he retained strong religious convictions, in spite of his extraordinary experience during two decades of anarchy and revolution.

Lives of the English Martyrs, declared Blessed by Pope Leo XIII (1886–1895), written by Fathers of the Oratory, of the Secular Clergy, and of the Society of Jesus; completed and edited by Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B., of Erdington Abbey, Vol. II, Martyrs under Queen Elizabeth, London. Burns and Oates, 1905. 8°, pp. xliii + 691.

The second volume of the Lives of the Blessed English Martyrs covers the period from 1570 to 1583, years of increasing bloodthirstiness on the part of Elizabeth and of a growing resolution on the part of the faithful remnant in England to undergo the extreme penalty in defence of their ancestral faith. This volume is largely from the pen of the late Fr. E. S. Keogh of the Oratory. Others have collaborated, notably the editor, Dom Bede Camm and Fr. J. H. Pollen, S.J. The latter has written a lucid and useful introduction (pp. i–xliii) that aids singularly the enjoyment of this English martyrology. The historical student will be specially pleased with pp. xxxix–xli, in which the authorities, lost and extant, are enumerated. These two volumes ought to be in the library of every Catholic family; they make excellent reading for the long winter nights. Religious communities will also find them very well adapted to the purpose of spiritual or historical reading.

Le Pape et L'Empereur (1804–1815). Par Henri Welschinger. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1905. 8°, pp. 473.

It seemed, until lately, that the Baron d'Haussonville and M. Boulay de la Meurthe had exhausted all the original materials for the history of the conflict between Pius VII and Napoleon Bonaparte. The new work of M. Welschinger, a specialist in this period of history, brings fresh information, hitherto inaccessible, concerning the Paris Councils of 1809 and 1811, the Ecclesiastical Commissions of the same years, the Concordat of Fontainebleau, and other important subjects.

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M. Welschinger has also searched with diligence in the Roman correspondence and in that of the Emperor. All new works dealing with this period have been utilized by him, e. g., hitherto unpublished letters of Napoleon published in 1897 by Léon Lecestre. We have now a reliable, succinct, continuous account of the principal phases of the momentous struggle that went on during one memorable decade between a feeble old man and the master of Europe, and which ended, as Taine says (Régime Moderne, II, c. I) with the triumph of the former. We recommend to our readers the perusal of a work that is not only solid and novel in its material, but is also written with elegance and distinction.

Light for New Times: A Book for Catholic Girls. By Margaret Fletcher; with a Preface by W. D. Strappini, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1905. 12°, pp. ix + 84.

A keen perception of both the good and the evil in the conditions of the present time, together with an earnest desire for the realization of the Christian ideal of womanhood, are the dominant notes of this book. "Intended" as the preface states, "to meet some actual requirements of our passing day," it is written in a spirit of thorough earnestness and practicality. While not heavy, it is still full of most substantial matter for thought, every phase in the life of a woman in the world being treated, and treated well.

Mystic Treasures of the Holy Mass. By Rev. Charles Coppens, S.J. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1905. 12°, pp. 122.

This is an instructive and practical book, intended for those of the laity who are anxious to learn more about the great Sacrifice of the New Law. It is pervaded by a spirit of deep and tender piety, which it is calculated to foster in the souls of its readers. The hints given throughout on the manner of hearing Mass, particularly those on page 37 in regard to the use of a Missal, are sure to be productive of fruit. Of course, in regard to a book of this kind, anything like argument or controversy would be out of place, nevertheless we feel that there may be some to whom the positive statement (pp. 13–14) that "the essence of a sacrifice requires that there be a real or equivalent destruction of a victim" will not commend itself, seeing that in our day this "Immolation" theory by no means holds undisputed sway in the field of theology.

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Preces et Meditationes, ante et post missam, etc. Collegit et edidit Joannes Goeser. Tübingen: H. Loupp, 1905. 10°, pp. 480.

This book, consisting of prayers from the Missal and from other sources, meditations before and after Mass, and some very practical directions as to the sacerdotal life and duties, ought to meet with a very favorable reception from priests. Although small, it contains a great amount of matter excellently arranged, every action of the day having its proper place and consideration. The meditations, while short, are suggestive, and on that account are as well suited to the busy priest as to the one who has more time to devote to his spiritual exercises. In fact, it is the most convenient volume of its kind that we have seen.

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MOST REV. PLACIDE LOUIS CHAPELLE, D.D.

A long and useful life in the service of God was brought to a close August 10, 1905, by the death of Most Rev. Placide Louis Chapelle, D.D., Archbishop of New Orleans. He died at his post of duty, like a true soldier of Christ, and the circumstances of his demise will always lend a pathetic interest to the story of his life. Archbishop Chapelle was a native of France, but was educated for the ministry at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and was for many years pastor of St. Matthew's Church, in Washington. He was appointed Bishop of Arabissus and coadjutor of Santa Fe with right of succession, August 21, 1891, promoted to the titular archiepiscopal see of Sebaste May 10, 1893. He succeeded January 9, 1894, Mgr. Salpointe, the venerable Archbishop of Santa Fe. Three years after he was made Archbishop of New Orleans, December 1, 1897. After the termination of the Spanish War the Holy See committed to him the office of Apostolic Delegate Extraordinary to Cuba and Porto Rico, and later to the Philippine Islands. Archbishop Chapelle was one of the original trustees of the University, and was largely instrumental in the selection of the site on which it stands. The University sympathizes with his bereaved clergy and people, and expresses its earnest gratitude for the devotion which the scholarly prelate always manifested in the work of higher education.

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REV. THOMAS J. WHALEN, S.T.L.

Reverend Thomas J. Whalen, S.T.L., of the Archdiocese of Chicago, passed away November 20, 1903.

Fr. Whalen was a member of the little pioneer band of students that came to the University in the year of its opening. After having spent two years in study and having received the degree of Licentiate of Theology, Fr. Whalen entered upon his missionary work, being appointed assistant pastor of All Saints Church, Chicago. Here he labored for several years until his health, always frail, gave way, and he was obliged reluctantly to give up active parish ministrations. While on this enforced vacation he came back to his Alma Mater, to sit again, as he said, at the feet of his revered master, the late Dr. Bouquillon.

Once back at the University he entered upon his favorite study,—that of Comparative Religion, with an ardor unwarranted by his delicate health. It was not long before another spell of sickness again necessitated his relinquishment of work and he returned to his archdiocese. Restoration to full physical strength seemed now beyond all hope. Nothing daunted, however, he assumed charge of a large and important parish at Kankakee, Ill., where he had but an opportunity to give evidence of what his untiring energy and disinterested zeal would inevitably have accomplished when he was summoned away.

The brief life of Fr. Whalen was an unremitting struggle of a high and determined spirit against the continual oppression of bodily infirmity. And in this struggle his patience, serenity and gentleness were always admirable. But that which particularly his Alma Mater would remember in him was the deep and enthusiastic devotion which he ever felt toward her. The interests of The Catholic University of

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America were his interests. In her good cause he was always a zealous and courageous champion, for he realized the noble mission that in the providence of God lies before this institution in our day and land.

That Fr. Whalen never lost the love of books and study which he evinced as a student at the University is manifest by the large and well chosen library which amidst trying circumstances he managed to collect. This library he left to the University, a fitting legacy indeed, and one that the University will always cherish as a worthy memento of a beloved and lamented Alumnus.

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THE ANNUAL COLLECTION FOR 1905.

We publish below the letter of His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, Chancellor of the University, to the Hierarchy of the United States, announcing the annual University Collection for 1905:

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE, BALTIMORE, MD.,
October 24, 1905.

Rt. Rev., Dear Sir:—

In bringing to your attention the annual collection for the Catholic University of America, I desire, first of all, to thank you in my own name and in the name of the Trustees for the interest you have taken in our work and for your earnest coöperation with our efforts. We appreciate, especially, the service you have rendered the University and Catholic education in general by giving to your clergy and people, through your appeal to them, a better knowledge of the University, its purposes and its needs. The generous response of the faithful in the various dioceses of the country shows that our American Catholics, loyal to the Holy See and to their pastors, are eagerly desirous that the work of the University should be fruitful and permanent. This attitude of our people toward higher education is one of the most important results attained by the University. It is also the surest guarantee for the ultimate success of its work.

It is gratifying to note that the collection last year showed an increase over that of the previous year. While the amount in 1903 was $105,051.58, the amount in 1904 was $116,299.88. These results indicate a growing confidence in the University and in the system of finance by which its funds are now administered; and that this confidence is well grounded will appear from a review of the financial conditions during the past two years.

The receipts of the University from April 1, 1903, to October 1, 1905, were $676,658.59. In this amount are included all sums received from collections, endowments, bequests and sales of property. During the same period the University has continued its work without interruption, has increased its teaching corps and has paid all the ordinary expenses of academic work. It has also disbursed for additional equipment $10,285.74 and for improvements in grounds and buildings $15,398.25.

In the meantime, no new debt has been incurred. On the contrary, $166,141.62 has been paid upon the total indebtedness. There

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is now no floating debt. The entire debt of the University is now $50,000.00, and will be reduced by December 1, 1905, to $40,000.00. This means not only that the University has met its obligations, but also that a considerable saving has been effected in the item of interest.

Furthermore, there has been invested, in first-class securities, $355,000.00, the income of which is available for defraying our current expenses. As the debt disappears, a larger proportion of our annual income will be devoted to permanent investment. The University, freed from all liabilities, will be safely established upon what we may well call the people's endowment.

But a more important gain and a greater cause for congratulation remains to be noticed. The financial security of the University means the security of all that was at stake in the founding and development of this great institution. The honor of the Catholic Church in the United States, solemnly pledged to the success of the University, has been maintained. What seemed for a time the gravest of disasters has served, in the Providence of God, as a means of proving the invincible devotion of Catholics to their institutions.

We feel that the people of your diocese who have had their share in supporting the University, will, in receiving this acknowledgment of our gratitude, share also in the just pride which we experience in realizing that the University is on a sound basis. With us, likewise, they will look forward hopefully to the era of development which is now opening. Relying on their liberal aid and on your hearty sympathy, we turn with renewed courage to the task of making the University a perfect work, worthy alike of the Church and of our Country.

In conformity with the wishes of the Holy Father, this collection is to be taken up on the first Sunday of Advent or on the first convenient Sunday thereafter.

J. CARD. GIBBONS,
Chancellor of the Catholic University of America.

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UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Debt of the University.—The debt of the University has been reduced to $35,000, and there is good reason to hope that it will soon be completely cancelled.

Meeting of Trustees.—The Board of Trustees met at the University on November 8.

Catholic Educational Association.—The Executive Committeee of Catholic Educational Association of America met at the University on December 5, and decided to hold the next annual meeting of the Association at Cleveland, Ohio, June 10, 11, and 12.

Portrait of Archbishop Hughes.—Mr. Charles J. Murphy who presented the University with a plaque in relief of Archbishop Hughes of New York has also given a plate with an appropriate inscription.

Feast of the Immaculate Conception.—The Feast of the Immaculate Conception was observed at the University on December 8. A solemn pontifical Mass was celebrated by His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate. Rt. Rev. Monsignor Richard Lalor Burtsell, of Rondout, New York, preached the sermon.

The New Dominican House of Studies.

The Dominican Fathers of the Province of St. Joseph took possession of their magnificent Gothic convent on Michigan Avenue, opposite the University, August 18, 1905. Two days later, on Sunday within the octave of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady, two years after the laying of the corner-stone, His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons blessed the new convent in the presence of the community and some visiting Dominicans. The public ceremonies are deferred until the completion of the chapel during the course of next summer.

That the Friars Preachers should establish a house of studies near the Catholic University is in every way consonant with the spirit and traditions of their Order. St. Dominic himself desired that his sons should live near the great centres of learning; and through the seven centuries of their existence we find them exercising their apostolate of truth in the neighborhood of the great universities of Europe. In the course of their arduous missionary labors in our own country, they felt always the necessity of removing their house of studies from its location near Somerset, Ohio, where it was established nearly a

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century ago by their first Provincial, Bishop Edward Dominic Fenwick, to such a centre of learning as Washington has become. Although efforts tending towards such a step had been made at different times, it was not until within recent years that the project seemed feasible. In 1902, the Very Rev. L. F. Kearney, O.P., the present Provincial of St. Joseph's Province, sought and obtained from the authorities in Rome, permission to undertake the founding of a house of studies in the neighborhood of the Catholic University, where the students of the Order could follow special courses, while pursuing the study of philosophy and theology within their own walls.

The opening of the Dominican College of the Immaculate Conception under the shadow of the Catholic University, and the attendance of a large number of its students in the University's lecture rooms bear witness to the confidence that the Order of St. Dominic feels in the present and future of the Catholic University. The new Dominican student-community numbers about fifty-five. Of these about fifteen are student-priests and thirty are professed novices. Its Prior is the Very Rev. D. J. Kennedy, O.P., Master of Sacred Theology, who is also the Regent of Studies. In the work of teaching he is assisted by six lectors of Sacred Theology. All of the teachers have had the advantages of European training.

Recent Accessions to the Library.—Through the kindness of the Superintendent of Public Documents the University begs to acknowledge the receipt of over nine hundred valuable government publications. Among those are included State Reports, Senate Proceedings, reports from various departments. These documents have been distributed among the Departments of Economics, Sociology and American History, where they will be of invaluable assistance to future students of American history and institutions. The University also wishes to express its indebtedness to Mr. Michael Jenkins, of Baltimore, the Treasurer of the University, and a member of the Board of Trustees, for the gift of several valuable collections of works including Duruy's History of Rome and the Archives of the Maryland Historical Society.

Meeting of the Alumni Society.—The annual meeting of the Alumni Society of the University will be held in Albany on Monday, February 19. Through the efforts of the President of the Society, the Rev. Edmund A. O'Connor, S.T.L., a large and distinguished list of speakers have promised to attend.

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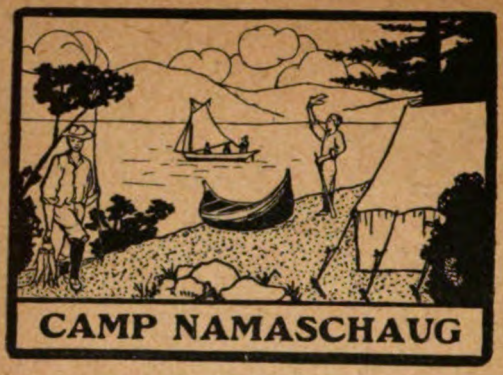
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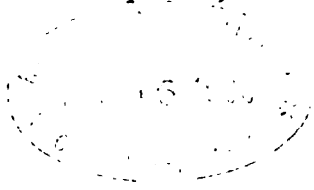
REV. J. J. GRIFFIN,
Catholic University of America,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

After June 7, address Camp Namaschaug, Spofford, N. H.

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The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XII. *April, 1906.* *No. 2.*



"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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The
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Vol. XII. *April, 1906.* *No. 2.*

THE NEW PHILOSOPHY IN FRANCE.

During the last decade, there has been much talk in France about a new philosophy. "New" does not mean here that it had no place in the past, since its supporters claim that it always existed, at least as a more or less definite tendency. The novelty consists rather in the proposal to substitute for the present conception of philosophy that very direction hitherto manifested only from time to time and as a reaction. In a word, for intellectualism, for the primacy of thought, it aims to substitute the primacy of life and action. It sympathizes with Heraclitus rather than with Aristotle. It prefers Duns Scotus to S. Thomas, and Pascal to Descartes. I may add that, in the nineteenth century, it looks to Newman more than to Herbert Spencer. It is a new positivism; for it starts from facts, not indeed as Comte did from facts as given by common sense, but from facts divested of the utilitarian dress which our needs and habits wrap around them.

The immediate sources of this philosophy are to be found in two currents of thought running side by side, towards the close of the nineteenth century. The one psychological and metaphysical, with Ravaisson as an initiator and Bergson as its ablest exponent, has shown that the immediate data of consciousness are soon affected by contact with the practical exigencies of life. The other current, scientific and critical, has been suggested by Boutroux and worked out by such scientists as Poincaré, Milhaud, Duhem, etc., who hold that the

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laws of nature lack that absolute truth and that inflexible determinism hitherto attributed to them, and that, as the mind has a share in their formation, they are relative and contingent.

I do not intend to expound at length either this criticism of the sciences—interesting as it may be—or even Professor Bergson's philosophy, whatever may be its probable influence on contemporary thought. I shall only draw from the one certain ideas, from the other certain instances. My purpose is rather to point out the new direction given under their impulse to philosophy: a direction which some writers, both scientists and philosophers, indicate.

Intellectualism, the new philosophy admits, does not maintain that man is pure intellect; but it maintains that knowledge is acquired by the very fact that we have clear, methodical, well-reasoned thought; when the object to be known has been reduced to concept by rigorous and logical operation. For the intellectualist, the obscure, the indistinct in the concrete complexity of consciousness, is not an object of knowledge; to be known it must become clear and clearly conscious, it must be reduced to explicit ideas by our logical reason. The intellectualists look upon Descartes as their master; they receive as true only what is evident, what is clear and reasoned out. They are geometers and logicians, in Aristotle's way. The essential end of knowledge, to their mind, is to have clear ideas of things and precise conceptions of relations. The rest is accidental. In a word, intellectualism, the old philosophy, is, in purpose and attitude, the continuation of science.

The new philosophy takes the opposite attitude. It says: Philosophy is not the continuation of science, it is another sort of knowledge altogether. Science takes a point of view of things; philosophy must have a view of things. Reality is not reached by the discursive or dialectical intellect, by means of concepts clear and distinct perhaps, but abstract, not even by the pure contemplation of clear light, lucid it is true, yet dead and cold. A concept is but a diminution and an abstraction. Reasoning cannot embrace the richness of reality nor the fulness of life. Logic does not grasp the ever-moving flexibility of things and thoughts, nor their perpetual becoming, their essential dynamism, their vitality and growth. All

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this can be reached only by the activity of the whole soul and by an endeavor to enter into the living reality. Abstract analysis does not give certitude; action does. We know a thing by living it. The originality and the unity of the new philosophy lies in the claim that idea is subordinated to reality and reality to action.

Of course, the new philosophy grants to intellectualism that it is necessary to use discourse and logic, concepts and ideas to express and impart knowledge, to teach and to speak. That point of view, however, is but secondary, since, when we reason, knowledge is already acquired and reality reached. Moreover, language cannot express reality: "Language," says Professor Bergson, "is incommensurable with thought." The picture of a man, the skeleton of an animal, the cynematographic picture of a moving object, help memory and give some idea of the thing represented; they are never the reality.

It is interesting to know what right, that is to say, what reason, this philosophy which claims to be new, has to offer itself as a substitute for the philosophy which it considers somewhat contemptuously to be old and which, notwithstanding, was the pride of the nineteenth century.

The first step of the new philosophy has been the criticism of intellectualism. I say "criticism" and not refutation; for the new philosophy, a system is not refuted, but outgrown. Every point of view has its value, only one is fuller and richer; it goes deeper into reality. Intellectualism has assumed the scientific or rationalistic attitude. It means only to go farther than science, to devise a scheme of laws as simple and as general as possible by which the universe is made intelligible, and by which its constitution and course is explained.

Now it happens that the criticism of the sciences has shown that this attitude gives but a relative knowledge of things without attaining reality. The work of criticism began with the study of scientific theories. It was then acknowledged that theories are not more or less adequate expressions of objective reality, but that they are definitions, in great part conventional, of symbols which enable us to classify things, to represent and handle them easily. For instance, what is the principle of inertia which dominates mechanics, if not a

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conventional definition of the cases when force is spoken of; when namely, the trajectory is not straight nor the velocity constant. Scientists postulate this principle; they accept it as a convention and then apply it to things. This explains the fact that theories are changeable, variable from one epoch to another, and the further fact that many theories bearing on the same object, exist side by side. Hence, too, their provisory character. We speak of a theory as being acquired by science and fixed, because it is the simplest system of symbols, enabling us to represent easily or to speak clearly of an important group of phenomena. It sometimes happens that a theory is looked upon as indisputable, as, for instance, the principle of determinism. In reality, however, it is only our way of deciding. When the facts contradict us, we do not change our attitude; we simply invent a new law enabling us to explain the facts while retaining the accepted principle. What is required of theories is coherence, a certain æsthetical character, easy manipulation, and perfect adaptation to our habits of common sense. On these conditions we accept them as true; and these conditions have for result that, though all theories are conventional, none of them is purely arbitrary.[1]

The same work has been done for laws and facts and has given the same result. Laws, like theories, are simply definitions, but of a narrower range. The laws of the fall of bodies are the definition of free fall; the law of the conservation of mass is the definition of the closed system, etc. These laws are elaborated by condensation, in a short formula, of the elements common to thousands of individual facts, the peculiarities of which are neglected. They are formulas easily remembered, and readily handled. They are not imposed by facts; they are mental constructions suggested by facts—a great number of facts,—and then applied to all the others. The laws, however, are not constituted by whim; they are elaborated in accordance with the criterion of our individual life and the attitude of our mind. They are not false; they are rather relative. They are neither haphazard, nor necessary; they are contingent.[2]

[1] E. Le Roy, "Un positivisme nouveau," *Revue de Met. et Morale*, 1901.
[2] E. Le Roy, ibid.

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The same may be said of scientific facts. Facts also are constituted by us rather than imposed from without. Our mind, according to its practical tendencies, parcels out nature into facts in order to explain and handle them; but this very need of explanation and of handling is the rule which presides over our choice of facts; and our choice is more a constitution of facts than a mere choice. Atom for instance is a fact; but this fact is relative to the instrument I have used to obtain it. Atom is not the same in Physics as in Chemistry. No doubt there is some objectivity in the scientific fact, but it is through the intervention of the mind that this becomes a fact and enters into science.

What follows from this criticism of the sciences? The conclusion that science does not reproduce reality, but tends only to give the means to represent easily the things of nature and to use them with the greatest facility possible. In itself, it is neither true nor false. It is not true in any absolute way; it is true relatively to the integral representation and convenient handling of things. It does not give us necessary but contingent laws. This reveals both its insufficiency as knowledge of true reality and its undeniable interest.

Now, simultaneously with this criticism of the sciences, Professor Bergson, from a strictly philosophical point of view, came to the same result. He, too, showed how the data of common sense and the scientific concepts which are dependent upon them, are constituted by our mind and not given by nature.

Common sense, which essentially aims at practical action, shapes things according to its needs and utilitarian tendencies. For real continuity it substitutes distinct and separate bodies, distinct and separate groups. This division is guided by the particular importance attached to certain deliverances of sense; and their importance is determined by the point of view of practical life. As we act chiefly through the sense of touch, tactile and muscular impressions are the main determinants of those separations and groups. Hence it is that we see in solidity the type of matter, and in impact the type of corporeal action. These divisions have been extended even to conscious life, where continuous activity, which is the only

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reality, is replaced by separate phenomena which may be numbered and associated in different groups.

At the same time and under the influence of these dissociations and associations, we form the concept of space, a homogeneous medium, a broad inert receptacle wherein our representations may be commodiously placed and organized. Henceforth everything will appear to us in this concept of space. It is from this very artificial position of common sense that science will start to form and organize its concepts.

For instance, the scientific concepts of time and movement are far from being the duration and the moving activity which are given to intuition. Science considers time as a homogeneous medium in which the states of consciousness are evolved. Now it is evident that, in such a conception, the very essence of time, namely *duration,* is left out, since time is given here in one moment and simultaneously. Again, the scientific representation of time, viz., a continuous line every point of which represents a moment that binds the before and the after—leaves out pure succession entirely, since the before and the after are given simultaneously in one point.[1]

The reason is that the scientist needs for his purpose measurable time. But pure duration cannot be measured, for it is qualitative, not quantitative, multiplicity. Hence he represents and constructs time with space and thus makes it measurable. The same for movement. Movement is represented under the form of a line or trajectory every point of which is a pause or a situation. But in that case is not movement represented without its essential quality, mobility, the passage from one point to another? In this way, evidently, a measurable motion is gotten, but in reality it is no motion; or it is an artificial concept of motion constructed out of space.

The truth is that, in these concepts, the scientist, and it is necessary for his purpose, represents time and motion as "things" when, as a matter of fact, they are essentially "progress." No wonder that, from the scientific point of view, the arguments of the school of Elea are unanswered; they cannot be answered.[2]

[1] H. Bergson, "Essai sur les données immediates de la conscience," ch. 11.
[2] Ibid.

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It is, moreover, to be remarked that in the actual sciences we pay but little attention to the question concerning the real nature of time or motion. In mechanics, we busy ourselves about the equality of durations and we obtain it, not in duration but in space. We say that two intervals of time are equal when two identical bodies placed in identical circumstances at the beginning of each of these intervals, and submitted to the same action and influence, have gone over the same space within these intervals. Here we note two simultaneities and the space gone over. Where is duration, where is mobility? Were all the movements of the universe to take place two or three times faster than they actually do, we would have to change nothing in our mechanical formulas. Is it not clear that the concepts of time and movement are not the true representation of reality? As a matter of fact, our doctrinal sciences are constructed from the static, not the dynamic, point of view; they are sciences of space, not sciences of time.[1]

Shall we conclude that science which includes so many artificial elements, is false? By no means. But once more I say that it is only relatively true. If it pretended to give us an accurate and adequate view of things and of the real universe, it would miss its aim. It intends only to give us a clear, coherent and ready-for-use representation of the universe, of its elements and course. The system which will be the clearest, the most coherent, the simplest and the easiest to handle, will best answer the purpose; scientifically speaking, it will be the truest.

Does it represent reality? Doubtless it reproduces a part of reality; but it is more concerned with the coherence and clearness of concepts than with the real complexity of things. It will easily sacrifice the richness of reality to the greater availableness of a formula. Science is essentially practical. It admits as true the law which represents the greater number of facts, the theory which coördinates the greater number of laws, and the system which gives a more coherent view of the universe.

We cannot blame science so far as it does not claim to give a fundamental view of things. But what shall we think of a

[1] H. Bergson, op. cit., p. 87.

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philosophy which assumes a similar attitude, and, admitting scientific laws as absolutely true, attempts, with the same methods, only to continue science, to reduce the universe to more general laws than those of science, though of the same kind, to construct a system simpler, more comprehensive and more coherent according to the fundamental laws of Aristotelian logic—and yet which pretends to give an accurate view of reality itself? Evidently, it falls short of its aim. It is but a more general science. It may possess the qualities of science, clearness of representation and availableness of formulas; but it has also the fundamental defect of science, that is, it does not reproduce reality.

Such is the situation and the fate of intellectualism; such has largely been hitherto the situation and the fate of philosophical thought under the influence of Greek thought. This is not philosophy. The new philosophy claims to be a true philosophy; to grasp real reality. By what means? Through what attitude of mind? Not by reasoning, but by intuition, not the logical intuition of the scientist who foresees a precise formula, but a living intuition which penetrates into reality.

The starting point of the new philosophy is indeed the data of common sense and the formulas of organized science. These are the necessary foundations. Philosophy, however, cannot accept them without previously knowing their meaning and value. Its first duty, therefore, is not to continue or to extend but to criticise them. With the data of science the philosopher will examine, by regressive analysis, the fundamental notions of all speculation and their mutual relations; he will continue this investigation till he reaches data free from all association and from all artifacts. Beyond systematic organization, and its laws of space, number, causation, etc., he will find the moving complexity of things. Then, by a reconstructive synthesis, with the help of history, he will attempt to trace the successive stages in the organization of the sciences, the motives of their direction and of the divers forms through which they have reached their present state.

This study will show him how the different sciences, before they attained their autonomy and their particular methods, were dominated by the already existing sciences, by mathe-

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matics first, then by physics and biology. He will see that Philosophy has undergone the common fate; that it has taken, in the position and solution of its problems, the point of view prevalent in each of the different epochs; that it has been a mathematical philosophy, a physical philosophy, a theological philosophy; that it has not yet been a philosophical philosophy. He will understand then that philosophy, to be truly itself, must deliberately confront the pure data of reality and try to reach them in themselves. The method needed for attaining the result, the philosophical method, is intuition. In what does intuition consist? The following explanations are not presented as a definition or even a description of intuition; only a concept can be defined and intuition is essentially concrete. Only what is fixed and well determined can be described, and intuition is ever moving. Let these explanations be taken for invitations, for suggestions to realize in ourselves some intuition; it is the only way to know it. To have the intuition of a thing is to live that thing. The real, in itself, is not grasped by concepts or reasonings; it overflows them; it is inconceivable. But we can live and practice it.[1]

Reality is known only by intuition and intuition consists in living reality; in this statement lies the originality of the new philosophy. It substitutes, as already said, for the primacy of abstract knowledge and logical reason, the primacy of life and action. What is it to live a thing, to live a thought, to live reality?

Let us suggest some examples and let the reader try to realize them in himself. All true knowledge, all experienced feeling, all resolutions are of necessity lived actions, lived in proportion as this knowledge is a conviction, as this emotion is deep, this resolution strong. We know an idea only so far as we discover it. We know a feeling only so far as we have experienced it; an action so far as we have performed it.

A teacher unable to discover truth by himself is also unable to teach it; he has not lived it. It is not by receiving truth that the pupil knows it, but by discovering it for himself. The part of the teacher is to guide the pupil in his discovery. It is

[1] E. Le Roy, "Sur quelques objections adressées à la nouvelle philosophie," *Revue de Met. et Morale*, 1901.

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really, as Socrates said, to help the birth of this truth in the pupil's mind. To read a page in an author will acquaint us with his style better than a long dissertation of the ablest critic. Doubtless, the critic's guidance will help me to find and to feel the style of the author, not by giving me a knowledge of it, but by inspiring me with the necessary dispositions to enter into the thought and style of the author, to live it. No description will give the knowledge of a feeling to one who has never experienced it. On the contrary, let any one read the description of an emotion he has felt before or of a fact which he remembers; let a soldier, for instance, read the account of a battle in which he took part; his whole being will assume the attitude appropriate to that emotion. He will live it anew. They are merciful who have suffered much; that is, they know the pain of others; they live it, while recalling their own. An actor, to play well, must live the person he represents. An hour spent on an experiment in the laboratory is better than the teacher's lessons which describe it.

Thus the intuition of a thing or of an act is essentially action and life. It is not a view taken from the outside, but a life within the object itself. It supposes first an endeavor to get rid of ourselves and then to merge our life in that of the object and live with its life. Intuition or philosophical knowledge is not, therefore, an act of the intellect alone, or of the sensibility, or of the will. It is an act of our whole rational being, of our integral living reason. I take reason, not in the narrow sense of faculty of reasoning or understanding, but in the deeper and truer sense as the principle, namely, of consciously regulated life. It is the privilege of rational life to possess just that flexibility which enables us to become something else without ceasing to be ourselves.

What, then, is the criterion of truth? How shall we know that an intuition is true? Not by means of evidence; there are false evidences. Not through clearness or distinctness; there are truths which lack clearness and which, nevertheless, we cannot forsake without falling into nihilism. The criterion, the only criterion, is life. That is true which is lived by us, which can enter into the organization of our integral life, grow there and become a principle of growth. When I speak of

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integral life, I mean that life which is at the same time material, intellectual, moral and religious, since we cannot, without destroying life, exclude any one of these aspects. Such a life is reason in process of action; it bears truth within itself.

This will appear strange and somewhat mystical to an intellectualist. The reason is, that when truth or the criterion of truth is mentioned, the intellectualist always takes the view-point of verification and of logical rules. For him the all-important thing is the result. Hence it is that only what is clear wins his assent. The new philosophy takes the point of view of invention; it looks forward. It judges by means of action and progress, and considers logical clearness secondary.

That it is right, the history of scientific discoveries and of their development attests. Clear ideas, as a matter of fact, are scarce. What fills the continuity of history is the obscure thoughts, the unconscious reasonings which we do not understand or cannot account for and which, none the less, live in us and manifest themselves by suggestion, by orientation and at times by invention. The spontaneity of discovery seems to contradict this proposition; but the spontaneity itself is only apparent. Discovery is in reality the fruit of work, the result of continuous elaboration begun long ago and patiently pursued. Newton discovered universal attraction, not by seeing an apple fall, but "by thinking of it constantly." There are moments when, after studying a problem during weeks or even months without any result, we suddenly foresee its solution without, however, seeing it clearly. If then, by an effort of reflection, we place ourselves at the heart of the question, and, without forcing the mind in any way, note each suggestion, however simple or strange it may appear, we are surprised at the number of interesting reminiscences and of interesting thoughts. Very often we are able to solve our problem.

The work of discovery is accomplished, not in the light of logic nor according to its rules, but in the midst of confusion or, one might almost say, of contradiction. Faraday said to a friend: "I shall not tell you how I work, because you would think that I am crazy." If we tried to reason out the steps of a discovery or to apply logical rules to the data of pure experi-

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ence, we should face a synthesis of contradictory concepts. When we try to conceive life, evolution, becoming, movement, under distinct concepts, we land in contradiction. Life is a vicious circle, since it supposes assimilation and assimilation is an attribute of life. It is because contradiction is a law of logical thought, of reasoning; it is not a law of reality or of life.[1]

I have said enough to show how the intellectualistic philosophy limits and inverts knowledge, in taking a static and exterior point of view, and how, on the contrary, the new philosophy, by its attitude, gives a real view of reality. It is easy to see that the new philosophy is pragmatic. It does not admit, indeed, either the crude pragmatism of common sense which judges of the truth and value of things by their utility for ordinary life, or the scientific pragmatism which judges of the truth and value of things by their industrial and purely logical advantages; but it admits that integral and human pragmatism which judges of the truth and value of things by the progress not only material but spiritual, the harmony, the perfection, which they bring into human life; by their aptitude to give to man and mankind more life and better life.

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[1] E. Le Roy, "La Logique de l'invention," *Revue de Met. et Mor.*, 1905.

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THE SCHOOL OF NISĪBIS. ITS HISTORY AND STATUTES.

I. A Brief History of the School.

The history of the School of Nisībis is intimately connected with the rise and growth of Nestorianism among the Orientals of which so little is known.

The nursery of this heresy was the Persian School of Edessa, which, according to Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdallāh ibn aṭ-Ṭaiyib (d. 1013 A. D.)[1] was founded by St. Ephraim in 363 A. D. when, on the occasion of Nisībis being ceded to the Persians by Jovian, many scholars migrated to Edessa. Notwithstanding the condemnation of Nestorianism by the Council of Ephesus in 431 A. D. and the staunch opposition on the part of Rabbūlā, bishop of Edessa (412–435 A. D.) who burned the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia,[2] the doctrines of Nestorius continued to be espoused by many members of the School, especially during the administration of Ibas (435–457 A. D.) who succeeded Rabbūlā in the see of Edessa.

Ibas in his younger days had been one of the translators of the works of Theodore in the Persian School[3] and this, together with his famous letter to Mārī the Persian,[4] led to his being charged with Nestorianism;[5] of this, however, he was eventually exonerated by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A. D.[6] Upon the death of Ibas in 457 A. D., Nonnus, his suc-

[1] Assemani, B. O. ("Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana," Rome, 1719–1728), III, 2, p. 924; cf. Duval, "Histoire d' Édesse," Paris, 1892, pp. 145, 160, 177. For a history of this school see Ch. Allemand-Lavigerie, "L'École Chrétienne d'Édesse," Paris-Lyon, 1850.

[2] See Bar-Hebraeus, "Chron. Eccles.," ed. Abeloos and Lamy, II, 56.

[3] Assemani, B. O., III, 1, p. 85; cf. Duval, "Littérature Syriaque," Paris, 1900, p. 254; Wright, "A Short History of Syriac Literature," London, 1894, p. 49; Labourt, "Le Christianisme dans L'Empire Perse," Paris, 1904, p. 256.

[4] This letter may be found in Assemani, B. O., I, p. 203 sqq.; Mansi, "Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio," VII, p. 242, sqq.; Hefele, "Conciliengeschichte," 2d ed., p. 487 sqq.; cf. Labourt, op. cit., p. 254; Duval, *Lit. Syr.*, pp. 343–344; Wright, loc. cit.

[5] P. Martin, "Actes du Brigandage d'Ephèse" in the *Revue Catholique de Louvain*, vol. XXIX, pp. 520–544; XXX, pp. 22–61.

[6] Mansi, op. cit., vol. VII, p. 267; Hefele, op. cit., vol. II, p. 491; Labourt, op. cit., p. 259.

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cessor in the see of Edessa, found it necessary to eject its chief abettors if he would save the School from the rising heresy. Among these were Bar-ṣaumā and Narsai[7] who afterwards became the founders of the School which furnishes the subject of this paper.

Years passed and the doctrines of Nestorius still continued to find a foothold in the School of Edessa. Finally, in 489 A. D.,[8] Cyrus, the successor of Nonnus, took stringent measures to stamp out the evil. He appealed to the Emperor Zeno (477–491 A. D.), a defender of orthodoxy, who not only closed the School but destroyed the building, upon the ruins of which was erected a church in honor of the *Θεοτόκος*[9].

Nevertheless, even this attempt to check the spread of the heretical doctrines failed. The teachers and pupils who were imbued with Nestorianism, having fled into Persia, were welcomed by Bar-ṣaumā, now become bishop of Nisībis,[10] who shared their views and naturally sympathized with men suffering the same fate he himself has undergone two decades earlier. He at once seized upon the opportunity of creating a great school with this band of exiled Edessenes and of thus perpetuating and extending the power of Nestorianism. As its first head Bar-ṣaumā chose Narsai,[11] his old companion and fellow-sufferer, a man of exceptional ability, whom his enemies call "the Leper," whereas his co-sectarians style him "the Harp of the Holy Spirit."

The new School proved very popular. We are told by Mārī ibn Sulaimān,[12] a Nestorian annalist of the twelfth century, that under Ḥannānā, its fifth head, it reached an enrolment of

[7] Letter of Simeon of Bēth Arshām in Assemani, B. O., I, 353; cf. Labourt, op. cit., p. 137 sqq.

[8] Theodore the Reader, H. E., II, 49 (Migne, P. G., LXXXVI, col. 209); "Chronicon Edessenum," by Guidi, in "Chronica Minora" (Corp. Script. Christ. Orient., Scriptores Syri, versio, ser. IIIa, t. IV), p. 8; cf. Labourt, op. cit., p. 140; also the introduction to first set of statutes, p. 166, where Cyrus is called "the mad dog" and "the teacher of falsehood."

[9] Simeon of Bēth Arshām, loc. cit.

[10] Cf. introduction to first set of statutes, p. 166.

[11] "Chronicle of Barḥadbeshabba," quoted by Chabot in his article "Narsaï le Docteur," in the *Journal Asiatique*, Xe sér., Vol. VI (1905), p. 163; cf. Labourt, op. cit., p. 141; Duval, "Lit. Syr.," pp. 346–347; Wright, op. cit., p. 58.

[12] Edit. Gismondi ("Maris, Amri et Slibae, de Patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria," Rome, 1896–1899), I, transl. p. 48, text p. 54; cf. Labourt, op. cit., p. 292, sq.

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eight hundred pupils. It obtained renown not only in the Orient, where Nisîbis was styled "the intellectual city," and "the mother of sciences," but also in the West, where such men as Cassiodorus[13] and Junilius Africanus[14] did not hesitate to hold it up to the Roman world as a model institution of ecclesiastical learning; a tribute well deserved if we consider the great number of learned church dignitaries and eminent scholars produced by this famous School during the first two or three centuries of its existence.

In view of such remarkable achievements, it is of no little surprise to learn that perfect peace and harmony did not always exist among the members of the School. Our document informs us that the very existence of the School was on two occasions seriously threatened by dissension and dissatisfaction among its members. Soon after the death of its illustrious founder, Bar-ṣaumā,[15] some of the members, in order to throw off the yoke of restraint, treacherously destroyed the statutes established by him. Again, in the beginning of the seventh century certain disgruntled members of the School contrived to steal and hide away the two sets of canons which had been adopted to replace the original code of Bar-ṣaumā.

It was at this time, 602 A. D., that the more loyal brethren of the School, to save the institution from utter dissolution, appealed to the Metropolitan Aḥādhābhuhi to authorize a thorough search for the lost canons and to elevate the School once more to its former prestige. The search was immediately begun and resulted in the recovery of the missing canons, which were promulgated again as the law of the School. They embody the following documents:

A. The first or "ancient" canons which were drawn up by Mar Narsai and promulgated the twenty-first of October, 496 A. D., under Hosea, the successor of Bar-ṣaumā in the see of Nisîbis. These are preceded by a short historical introduction and a lengthy instruction or "commonitorium."[16]

[13] Migne, P. L., LXX, col. 1105, sqq.; cf. H. Kihn, "Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten," Freiburg, 1880, p. 210, N. 1.

[14] Migne, P. L., LXVIII, col. 15, sqq.; cf. Kihn, op. cit., p. 468, sqq.

[15] The date of his death is placed between 492 and 495 A. D., Labourt, op. cit., p. 152.

[16] See below, p. 170, note 36.

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B. The ratification of these statutes during the reign of king Khosrau I. (531–578 A. D.), and under the administration of the Metropolitan Paul.

C. A second series of statutes which were established in 590 A. D. by Mar Ḥannānā and approved of by the Metropolitan Simeon.

The Syriac text of this document was first edited in 1890 by Professor Ignazio Guidi.[17]

In 1896 the Abbé Chabot[18] wrote an interesting commentary on the basis of Guidi's publication and in the following year Professor E. Nestle[19] translated the document into German. Since then, however, the progress in the knowledge of Syriac language and literature has made it possible to improve upon this rendition in certain particulars. Besides, the discovery and publication in recent years of Syriac documents relating to the Nestorian Church in the East has stimulated interest in the study of this period of church history. No apology then is needed for offering the English student a translation of the "Statutes" which throw so much light on the rise of Nestorianism in Persia. Emanating, as it does, from the very fountain-head of Nestorianism, our document gives us an insight into two factors which were so conducive to the rapid spread of this heretical sect, namely, the education and organization of its clergy.

Of equal interest will the "Statutes" prove to the general reader for the glimpse if affords him of student life, of the culture and civilization of Persia during the fifth and sixth centuries.

II. The Statutes.

The Statutes of the Holy School of the City of Nisībis.

In the month of Ilul, the thirteenth year of the victorious reign of the merciful and beneficent—may the grace of heaven

[17] "Gli Statuti della Scuola di Nisibi" in the *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, vol. IV (1890), pp. 165–195. The text is taken from the MS. K., VI, 4, in the Borgian Collection of Syriac MSS. in the Vatican Library. Two Arabic versions of the tenth century are also extant, but as one is merely a resumé and the other an excerpt they are of value only in elucidating certain difficulties of Syriac text.

[18] "L'École de Nisibe, Son histoire, ses statuts," in the *Journal Asiatique*, IXe sér., vol. VIII, pp. 43–93. See also his more recent article, "Narsai Le Docteur," referred to above, p. 161, note 11.

[19] "Die Statuten der Schule von Nisibis," in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Band XVIII, 2, pp. 211–229.

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preserve and prosper him—the giver of peace to the world, our lord, the ever victorious Khosrau,[20] the king of kings; and under the administration of the beloved elect of God, our blessed father Aḥādhābhuhi, bishop and metropolitan of Nisībis, we, the principal brethren and scholars, together with the reading-masters, the administrator and the pronouncing-master of the community who reside in Nisībis, whose names are written below,[21] approached in one accord his paternity, the Mar Metropolitan, and we suggested to him, to ordain that those ancient statutes, which were laid down and established by the holy doctors, venerable fathers and leaders of the Church, the founders of this community, be[for] this [reason][22] searched for, confirmed and promulgated once more in our community, so that, even now, they, who should be governed by them, might obtain that spiritual boon which they were intended to bestow on those who keep them.

But more especially have we been prompted to make this request and suggestion, by the wicked work of the devil and by the multitude of the sins of the community in these hard and wicked times that have come upon us. So that, [as if] shaken up together in a sieve,[23] the true brethren were not distinguished from the false, the statutes were distorted, the laws trampled upon, the eternal covenant, which they had made, broken, and the first bounds, which the spiritual fathers had set in their inheritance, were changed.[24]

Nay, these canons, which had been established and which pointed out to us the way of light and the path of life, which corrected and reproved the indolent and encouraged and inspired the diligent, had been concealed and hidden away through the malice of the rebels and, when sought, were not found.

Therefore the mind of the more loyal was moved to institute a careful and diligent search for the original of these

[20] I. e., September 602, A. D. Khosrau II. Parwez began to reign June 27, 590, A. D. and died 628, A. D.

[21] These names are not found in our document.

[22] I. e., on account of their venerable origin. Words in [] are supplied where there is a lacuna in the text or something seems wanting for a clear interpretation.

[23] Cf. Luke XXII: 31.

[24] Cf. Prov. XXII: 28.

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canons by which this community had been governed from the beginning, in order that it might be found, be made known and promulgated and be approved of by signatures and seals; be placed in the archives of the school and be read every year, according to ancient custom, for the encouragement of the virtuous and to the shame of those gluttons and good-for-nothing ones who [even] at the present time make a practice of deceiving people under an assumed and false name, clothed in the appearance [of godliness] and of a love of science while, in fact, far removed from the power thereof;[25] being drawn away after the pursuit of worldly gains and "filthy lucre," and defiling, by their accumulation of wealth and the hoarding up of money, the good name of our teaching. As a consequence, our community had been disparaged by those few who devoted themselves to vain and useless occupations, which are foreign to our profession, and we were scorned by our own and by the strangers who reside in this city.

When our father, the Mar Metropolitan, had heard this and the like, he sympathized with us and was deeply grieved for us, just as the brain suffers because of [some] affliction [or other] of the members of the body; [and he commanded us] to make a diligent search for those ancient canons which were set up and established by Mar Hosea, bishop and metropolitan, of happy memory, and by Mar Narsai, priest and doctor; also for the ratification of those same canons by the doctors and brethren of a later period through the influence of Mar Paul, bishop and metropolitan and the virtuous Mar Abraham, priest and chief doctor, both of blessed memory; finally for those other additional canons which were established during the administration of the blessed in the Lord, Mar Simeon, bishop and metropolitan, while Ḥannānā[26] of Adiabene was chief doctor.

According to the command received, we searched for and found the copy of those ancient canons which had been established in this community. Concerning the object and time of their composition we found as follows:

[25] Cf. II. Tim. III: 5.

[26] The Syriac text has Denḥa which very likely is a mistake for Ḥannānā.

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A.

In the month of Tischri I. of the year 808 of the Greeks,[27] which, among the Persians, was the ninth year of Kawādh,[28] the king of kings, on the twenty first of this month, the assembly of the oriental brethren who to-day reside in Nisībis, the city of the Persians, came before the holy and God-loving Mar Hosea of Nisībis and said:

"When on account of the jealousy of the devil, (who, through his votaries, is wont to destroy the peace of the faithful, lest his wickedness be denounced and his deceit be revealed through the teaching of the truthful), and [when], through the instrumentality of him who tyrannically ruled the Church, a worker of evil, a mad dog and a teacher of falsehood,[29] this scholarly community was banished and expelled from Edessa,[30] for reasons which are not worthy of discussion, and coming to this faithful city of Nisībis, was accepted in this same Nisībis by thy predecessor the God-loving Mar Bar-ṣaumā, of happy memory, much solicitude did he show for it by the excellent canons which he established in order that it might be governed by them without strife and confusion. The whole community also, in one accord, agreed to the canons which Bar-ṣaumā the bishop laid down for them, even putting them in writing and approving of them by their signatures. These very canons we followed to the best of our ability up to the present, some of us through sheer stress of necessity and others through good will. But because, after the death of the holy Bishop Bar-ṣaumā,[31] some of the brethren, who were guided by their own inclinations, had entered upon occupations that were unbecoming and thus perverted the object of our community, [they destroyed the canons], in the hope of escaping the censures and punishments [they were incurring] under them. Now this, although the act of only a few, became a source of censure to the whole community and gave occasion to strangers to be scandalized and to our own to be criticized. Trusting in thy kindness, therefore, we come to lay our case before thee, that thou mayest legislate on these matters as it appeareth best to thee, and that [new] laws, regulations and canons be established by thy command in this community, being sanctioned by thy signature and seal. And we on our side shall agree [to them] and approve [of them] by our signatures, that thus this community be reestablished in the study and teaching of the Sacred Scrip-

[27] I. e., October, 496 A. D.
[28] Kawadh I began to reign July 22, 488, A. D., and died Sept. 13, 531, A. D.
[29] I. e., Cyrus, bishop of Edessa.
[30] In A. D. 489; cf. above, p. 161.
[31] Cf. above, p. 162, note 15.

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tures with its goodly and reputable name, and its honor be not attacked and maligned."

When the holy and God-loving Bishop Mar Hosea heard this from the brethren of the School, he praised and commended the zealous and upright, but the lax and weak among them he admonished, and instructed them in regard to their respective faults, and to the whole community he said:

As you have evinced so ardent a zeal for your fame and good name and have displayed so much diligence for the reformation of your community, no other shall be your law-giver but yourselves. Go, and in the presence of the venerable Mar Narsai, the priest and doctor, and of Mar Yaunān (Jonas) the priest and scribe of the same School, set down for yourselves all the laws which you deem proper and state clearly that the sentiments, which you profess, are not from necessity but voluntary; then affix thereunto your signatures and seals and I also with my clerics shall agree to them and with our signatures and seals ratify them.

The brethren of the School, therefore, according to the instructions received from the virtuous Bishop Mar Hosea, assembled with one mind and in the presence of the venerable Mar Narsai, priest and doctor and of Mar Yaunān, the scribe of the School, wrote these statutes, so replete with excellent and noble teachings and [explained] the scope of the code of laws and regulations which, in His great wisdom, our good and merciful God had given to the rational creatures. [They showed furthermore] how, in the excellence of His knowledge, our Creator has so disposed our nature that it might receive and foster the things necessary for its education and the adaptation of its reasoning powers to the effort of its will; and [they showed] how He manifested His generous love towards the whole race of mankind from the beginning by the word which He announced at the time of creation and, from time to time, by His care and solicitude for us, either by the giving of commands and laws or by His other favors toward us. That [prefatory] instruction begins as follows:

Because mortal nature, so long as it abides in mortality, has need of study and education, and does not naturally acquire the knowledge of immortal life; and because human passions prevent it from direct-

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ing its will and aspirations to their proper goal, owing to the fact that the innate concupiscence, much more than the enemy without, oppresses it and incites it to wander in yielding to appetites unbecoming to its freedom, therefore admonition is profitable, correction is necessary and discipline is helpful to our nature, for they arouse and stimulate it not to neglect or turn aside from the purpose of its life. For the intelligent and rational nature is a diligent worker, when it wishes to study the art of reasoning. And, although the free will is placed between good and evil, the love of good in rational nature urges it on when it so desires and, in consequence, it detests and despises the evil as evil and loves and craves the good as good. Its conscience is a crucible in which it tests good and evil ways.

With [the assistance therefore of] this discerning and self-enlightening mind, [the power of which] redounds to the glory of its Creator, we also, the christian community of brethren who are assembled in the School of the city of Nisibis and who are engaged in the study and teaching of the Sacred Scriptures, wish to show the power of discernment, which is implanted in our nature, by our zeal and desire for a noble manner of life, [cultivating] an attitude of mind which is fitting and becoming to our name and doctrine. Furthermore, we have aroused and stimulated our minds to be solicitous for those things which are profitable and necessary to make our calling sure,[32] convinced that the afflicting passions, which forever cling to us disturb the mind and make it lukewarm in the performance of good, by seducing us and making us go astray in yielding to shameful desires, and, worse than robbers, despoil us and take from us the possession of our religion.

The fear, therefore, of those things which constantly afflict us every day, frightens us and makes us tremble, lest the weight of our negligence suffocate us as in sleep and we desist and neglect to cultivate the love of the spiritual life which we have elected in virtue of our free will. For we have learned by experience that the want of reproof and correction of our faults has harmed us exceedingly. This experience has been instructive and helpful in teaching us how to present the image of our neglect before the vision of our mind and to behold ourselves by means of our discerning conscience, for this rational conscience is wont to instruct itself in what it ought to know. As we, therefore, are seeking such a conscience, it is proper for us to show openly our power of discernment and to make known to all the

[32] Cf. II Peter I: 10.

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cause of this our writing, that our purpose be known and manifest to those who in the future shall tread the same walk of life.

While we were engaged in this profitable mode of living and were persevering in the study of the Spiritual Words, which instruct us with regard to the temporal life of this world and with regard to the eternal, there came upon us a [tempestuous][33] wind like the one that came upon the blessed Paul in the middle of the sea, a wind of jealousy and contention which disturbed the peace of our mind, thanks to proud and deceitful men whose wicked designs were hidden within them like the rocks in the sea by which peaceful ships are unexpectedly shattered. Nay, worse than solid rocks did those jealous and proud men by their contention strike the ship of our community; to such a degree that the frame of our mind had well-nigh been disjointed.

Then suddenly and unexpectedly the voice, which comforted the disciples at sea, encouraged us. But although those proud and self-opinionated men clearly saw Our Redeemer, still they did not cease or desist from their contention; nay, in their strifes they became like wild beasts, biting and kicking each other like fools and running about the city yelling like dogs. They lost courage and despaired of their life like one whose hope is gone and wiped out from their conscience both natural and written law in accepting as allies and supporters[34] men who were jealous and bitter of soul like themselves; and they supported and upheld the evil with all their might and rejected and banished the good with all their soul. And when we saw that there was no one to support [us] or to help [us] nor to reprove, correct or placate by word their wild fury, we too remained silent and omitted the juridical examination of the contention of these rebels as we saw that the blessed Moses had done with regard to the band of those of the house of Korah,[35] committing the judgment of their rebellion to the Just Judge.

This path of meekness which this meek one followed, we too have followed and do follow entrusting the trial and judgment of the rebels, who were found among us, to Christ the Just Judge of all rational creatures. Nor have we departed from the spirit of the sacred writers in making a written record of their rebellion. On the contrary, we have followed the right path of their words from which we have learned that they continually narrate the evil deeds of the wicked and weave the crown of praise for the upright, convinced that threat

[33] Supplied from Acts XXVII: 14.
[34] Cf. A. canon XXI.
[35] Cf. Numbers XVI.

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frightens the wicked and praise encourages the virtuous. And this explains how the record of both good and evil is presented in their writings. There was, indeed, at one time among us also a book of records[36] which clothed with splendor the actions of the good and thundered against those of the wicked. But this book was destroyed and done away with by men, enemies of good works. To us, therefore, also happened what occurred to the book of the blessed Jeremias the prophet, who, when the impious king Joakim could not endure the severity of the judiciary sentence of the prophet, ventured boldly and burned it in the fire.[37] Whereupon the prophet was commanded by God, Who had given it, to repeat his prophecy a second time for the chastisement of the king and for the accusation of the people.

Somewhat similar to this we also have done in this our written *commonitorium*. Because the first [statutes] were destroyed like the words of the prophet, we wished to renew them but in another way. That is, not as if their spirit were contrary to the spirit of those that perished, but rather because, while the first were sanctioned by the testimonies of mortal men and sealed with seals of clay from the earth, now, instead of the testimonies of mortals and of perishable clay seals, we shall seal them with the three holy names of the beginningless essence of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, commending our lives and this our writing to these holy names. And through the intervention of our First Fruits[38] and according to the will of our Creator and of our Renovator we also have established among us [additional] canons, profitable and necessary from to-day onward [namely]:

[1] Whoever of us is the cause of contention or strife, or who disturbs and afflicts the community of his brethren under false pretenses and then again, when he is reprimanded because of his faults, goes forth and takes refuge with men or women, either laymen of the world or clerics of the city, or seeks as an intercessor some one outside of the community of which he is a member, and does not heed the advice or admonition which is addressed to him by the community of his brethren, let him be cut off from communion with Christ[39] and intercourse with the true faithful, not by us or by our command, but by the word of Christ, Who gave this power to mortals.[40]

[36] 'Ûh'dhānā dhakhethîbhāthā, cf. Gr. *ἐγγραφον ὑπόμνημα*, Lat. *commonitorium*. (See Ducange, "Gloss. med. et inf. latinitatis," sub *commonitorium*.)

[37] Jeremias, XXXVI, 23, sqq.

[38] I. e., Christ; cf. I Cor. XV: 20, 23.

[39] I. e., participation of the Holy Eucharist.

[40] Cf. A. canons IV, XII.

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[2] Furthermore, by this all-powerful word, excommunicated be every man and woman of whatever walk of life who arises and supports the rebellious will of one who is the internal cause of the trouble. For, although he himself was not contentious, yet since he supported and abetted the rebellious and contentious, let him also be included in this excommunication and [if a member of the community] be expelled from the number of his brethren according to the deserts of his fault, according to the word of Scripture.[41]

These we have decreed and inserted in our *commonitorium*, not as closing the doors of repentance in the face of the delinquents and not as rejoicing in the downfall of their associates or in bringing them into contempt, but in order to be in harmony with the true spirit of the Sacred Scriptures which continually narrate at all times the judiciary sentences upon sinners, cutting them off from communion with the true, as sick and incurable members, and exhibiting the image of their ugliness before the eyes of all. We too, therefore, according to the spirit of the Holy Scriptures, wished to describe in our *commonitorium* the names[42] of these contentious ones who were the occasion of this writing. Even this, however, we have omitted lest we be considered vindictive and as rejoicing in the ignominy of our brethren. We entrust their names and deeds to Him whose knowledge encompasses whatever is said or done by rational creatures.

We were actuated, however, to write this for our own interest and as a *commonitorium* for those who will follow in the path of our scholarly profession and we desire that this written *commonitorium* be preserved forever in our house of studies.

We also entered upon this agreement among ourselves that [3] if any jealous person ventures or is bold enough to destroy this written document or to distort anything in it, let him be excluded from the participation in the mysteries of the Church and from the enjoyment of that good which is reserved for the faithful; and let the judgment of his rebellion be suspended until the day of the great revelation of Christ.

All of us in one accord accept and approve of this document and seal it with the faculties of our soul and with the members of our bodies. And if anyone of us resists and contemns it and does not

[41] Cf. I Kings I: 7, ff. (?).

[42] *Ad. lit.* "to depict the image of their names," i. e., to give their nicknames (?). The use of nicknames for religious adversaries was common among the Eastern Syrians. As we have seen, Bishop Cyrus was called "the Mad Dog." The nickname given to Bar-saumā by his enemies was "The Swimmer, or Bather, among the Reeds," meaning "the wild boar." Cf. Wright, op. cit., p. 57, N. 3.

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accept it in love, we decree with an unchangeable decree that, on the day he gives expression to his intention, he be excluded from our community and let no one associate with him unto his disgrace.

CANON I.

When, upon the advice of our master, the interpreter of the School, and of the whole community, it becomes necessary to elect and proclaim the administrator according to the annual rule and custom, an upright person capable of governing the community, should be chosen by ballot. And no one will have the right to arise and create factions and strife or disturbance over what was done according to regulation; whoever is found so doing, rebelling against the truth and disputing [the election], shall receive punishment, be excluded from the community and from residence in the city.

CANON II.

The administrator, however, who is elected and placed over the management of the community, should not judge with partiality nor be guided by his own judgment. He should not pay out money and make expenditures without two or three witnesses. He should not inflict punishment on delinquents without the permission of our master and of the chief brethren. Whatever he determines on, be it punishment or pardon or anything else, he shall do after consultation with the chief brethren.

CANON III.

Brethren who come to the school for instruction and who disregard their promises and become implicated with women; who are detected in adultery or fornication or theft or witchcraft or in beliefs different from those of the true faith, or who give themselves up to (the pursuit of) vain things, viz: detraction, calumny, rebellion, falsehood, creeping[48] into houses for reason of feasting, contention or disorder, the whole assembly decreed that they shall not be accepted into the School and that they shall not even remain in the city.

CANON IV.

Brethren of the School may not, without the permission and authorization of the chief brethren and of the administrator of the School, cross over to the territory of the Romans, neither for the sake of instruction nor under the pretext of prayer or of business. Whosoever shall go for the sake of instruction or prayer without permission shall not be received into the community. For the purpose of

[48] Cf. II Tim. III: 6.

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business, consent must not be given because that is contrary to the will of the canons and entirely foreign to the scope of the School. He also, who dares to go to the land of the Romans [without permission] to transact business, shall not be received into the community. If, however, it seems good to the masters and the brethren in the community to show them mercy, though they be undeserving of it, because only once were they detected going contrary to the custom of the community, those who went on account of instruction and prayer shall be accepted only after having promised with a firm agreement never again to go without permission, and after having received a reprimand and the reproof which they deserve. Concerning those who went for the sake of business, whatever was brought by them from the land of the Romans shall be confiscated and placed in the treasury of the School and then only shall they be accepted. If those brethren however, who have a good name and against whom nothing has ever been reported either in the community or out of it, transacted business, one half of what they brought should be confiscated for the treasury of the School and then shall they be accepted into the community. But if they are detected a second time, they should by all means be expelled from the community.

Canon V.

None of the brethren may carry on a business or a trade. If, however, it is necessary to buy or to sell [they may do so] from the month of Ab to Tischri I,[44] outside of Nisībis, in other localities. In Nisībis itself the *pā'lê*[45] alone will be allowed to carry on business. During those three months, however, only such a trade may they engage in as is not dishonorable.

Canon VI.

A brother who has more money than he needs, and who wishes to invest it, may not demand unlawful interest, but such as is sanctioned by the Church, i. e. he may invest it at one per cent. a year, lest, if he accept more, the community be censured on his account.

Canon VII.

Brethren who are just entering into the community are not to be received until they have presented themselves to the administrator and chief brethren and received instructions how they shall act.

[44] August–October, i. e., during the summer season.

[45] *Ad. lit.* "laborers," which probably refers to those poor members who, in order to defray the expenses of their tuition, were obliged to work. Cf. Chabot, *J. A.*, IX sér., VIII, p. 73.

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Canon VIII.

Brethren who are called *eskōlāyê*[46] have no right to neglect, without an urgent reason, the writing, spelling and interpretation [classes] of the School and the reading [classes] of the *sî'āthā*.

Canon IX.[47]

After having recited the evening psalm at the time of the great recess[48] each one should go to his cell, and at cockcrow each one should come and take his place; nor is it allowed to reserve a place in advance the evening before. They, however, who do come at cockcrow, should leave vacant one row before the chancel, which will be for the brother priests, and take their places in the row next.

Canon X.

Brethren who [have just (?)] come to the School, shall not live in twos and threes in the cell [to which they have been assigned(?)], but shall be (live) with the rest [of their roommates] without disturbance.

Canon XI.

If it happens that one of the brethren, who live in one cell, becomes ill, the others should be at his side and administer unto him as is proper.

Canon XII.

A brother who has a suit against his neighbor or some other person shall not of his own accord, without the consent of the chief brethren and of the administrator, appeal to an outside judge.

A brother who dares to transgress one of these canons[49] shall, if he repent not, be banished from the community and from the city.

Canon XIII.

If brethren in the School are found taking part in the general discussion, before having given evidence of the study and mastery of the rules of speaking, thereby creating a disturbance in the School, they shall be expelled from the community and from the city.

[46] *Ad. lit.* "scholars," here seems to designate school-boys, beginners. Cf. B. O., III, 1, 124b.

[47] The arabic translation reads as follows: When the cock crows every one should come and take his place, but not take it at evening. They shall arrange themselves in front of the chancel of the priests in the next place.

[48] I. e., the time for retiring at night.

[49] I. e., canons V–XII for which we have but one concluding formula.

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CANON XIV.

A brother who finds a lost article and does not straightway inform the administrator about it, in order that the matter may be announced to the community; or who, after he learns its true owner, keeps it as his own; or who borrows a book from the administrator to read or to copy and does not come and inform him [that he has borrowed the book], in case the administrator forgets [the fact of the loan], shall receive punishment and leave the city.

CANON XV.

If one of the brethren notices that his neighbor committed a certain fault and reproves him therefor, should the one not repent and the other neglect to come and notify the administrator, and the matter become known through some other person, the one who noticed the fault shall share the punishment of the one who transgressed.

CANON XVI.

A brother who accuses his neighbor of a certain fault and does not prove it, shall, if it be discovered that he spoke falsely of his neighbor, receive the punishment due the fault of which he accused him.

CANON XVII.

If one of the brethren, being taken ill unto death, makes a will in the presence of the administrator and chief brethren, his act shall be valid. But if he makes it in the absence of the administrator, the will which he made shall be invalid and all that he possesses shall go to the School.

CANON XVIII.

If one of the brethren, for any reason whatsoever, raises his hand to strike his neighbor or insults him, and, being reproved by the witnesses of his acts, [does not repent], he shall be flogged in the presence of the whole community.

CANON XIX.

If one of the brethren is whipped three times in the School for the same offence and does not reform, but afterwards is again guilty of that offence, he shall receive punishment and shall leave the community and city.

CANON XX.

If the reading and pronouncing masters at the School neglect and omit the course of pronunciation and reading which is imposed upon them, except for reasons of sickness or with the permission of our

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master, they shall receive a reprimand and the allowance, which they are entitled to, shall be denied them. And they shall not be permitted to act as judges in the School.

Canon XXI.

In case a brother is detected in a transgression, and the chief brethren and the administrator of the community decide upon punishment for him according to his offence, should he not submit to the decision which they reached concerning him but [go and] have recourse to a cleric or a layman and seek assistance and protection from either, he shall not be accounted worthy of mercy, even though his offence be trivial, but shall be denied intercourse with the community and residence in the city, because he resisted and did not submit to the decision regarding him.

Canon XXII.

No administrator whosoever has the right to do other than what is written in this document. If it is clear that he has acted contrary thereto, he shall give to the School ten golden denarii as a fine and shall leave the School and city in disgrace. The end.

B.

We also, the brethren living now in the reign of the peaceful and meek Khosrau[50], the king of kings, during the glorious and noble episcopate of the holy Bishop Mar Paul who in our day is entrusted with the feeding the flock of Christ, and under the excellent and wise direction of our fathers and masters, the God-loving Mar Abraham, priest and interpreter of the Sacred Scriptures, and the holy Mar Narsai, deacon and reading master, we, the brethren, agree to and accept these canons, which were established and ratified by our holy fathers, firmly resolving to do and comply with all that is written herein, willingly and without opposition. And upon him who is found transgressing one of these laws as written above, we unanimously pronounce judgment and no one has the right to assist him in any way or for any reason.

This document is confirmed and guaranteed by a sincere "*Amen.*"

Completed are the statutes which were established in the days of Mar Hosea and Mar Narsai, teachers of truth.

[50] Khosrau reigned from 531–579 A. D.

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C.

OTHER STATUTES OF THE SCHOOL.

[Now follow] other Canons which were set up and established in the twelfth year of the victorious reign of the merciful and beneficent Hormizd,[51] the king of kings, under the administration of the watchful pastor and wise leader our venerable father Mar Simeon, bishop and metropolitan, and under the direction of the most learned and most meek Ḥannānā, priest, and Mar Ḳashā the reading master and scholar and Mar Hĕnān-īshō' priest and pronouncing master and Hāwāḥ the administrator of the School and all the recognized brethren and scholars who were in the community at this time.

Canon I.

The one in charge of the hospital of the School shall carefully see to the sick brethren and neglect nothing needful for their nourishment or recovery. Furthermore he shall not steal or divert what is committed to his charge. Without the [permission] of the head teacher of the School he shall not make entries or expenditures for the School. If he is found to have violated any of the regulations in these canons, everything that he has misappropriated or diverted to his own use shall be taken from him and he shall pay a fine of 50 *stater* to the hospital and leave the School and city in disgrace.

Canon II.

No one of the brethren frequenting the School may reside in the house of a Nisībean as long as there is a sufficient number of cells for them in the School. If any one do so, he shall not be accepted into the School.

Canon III.

The administrator of the community must obey our master, going about in behalf of the needy brethren, whether it be necessary to procure food or to assist them in court. No one [else] of the brethren has permission to procure food for another, nor, under the pretext of charity, may he neglect his work and run about in the city.

Canon IV.

Under the pretext of piety no one may abandon his residence among the brethren in order to build for himself a hut just outside of the city, but shall keep his legal residence. If he desires higher perfection let him enter a monastery or [retire into] the desert.

[51] I. e., 590, Hormizd IV reigned from 578–590 A. D.

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CANON V.

Brethren who are absent at the time of the *sherāgā*[52] or of the reading, interpretation and *sî'āthā* [classes], should not be excused until they have given a good reason why they absented themselves during the time set for study. They shall be examined [on this matter] by the prefects of the cells or, in case they do not heed the prefects of the cells, by the administrator of the School.

CANON VI.

Brethren who, previous to their death, had left the School or, while still belonging to it, had abandoned the regular way of living and legal residence with the brethren, shall have no right to the honors of the School at their death. They shall, however, have greater honor than laymen if deemed worthy by the administrator and chief brethren of the School.

CANON VII.

If brethren, becoming distinguished for their learning, seem capable of instructing others, and, being commanded by the head teacher to go and teach, [refuse to obey on the plea that] they find it difficult to leave because of their ties at the School and long residence in the city, they have no right to stay at the School, not even to remain in the city.

CANON VIII.

If books are bequeathed to the School by brethren departing this life, should one of the administrators or brethren be detected erasing or changing [to his own name] the deed of bequest and [thus] stealing them, he shall not be allowed to remain in the School nor even to reside in the city.

CANON IX.

Brethren who live together shall not eat by themselves but as they study, so too shall they live, in common.

CANON X.[53]

At the time of the harvest or of manual labor one shall not defraud his neighbor and in his wickedness, through avarice, deny and break the contract he had made with his fellow-laborers.

[52] *Ad. lit.* "lamp"; perhaps we should read *hagyānā*, i. e., "spelling."

[53] The Arabic has: At the time of the harvest and building, if one of the brethren defrauds his companion and does not keep his contract with him, let him be reprimanded by the community.

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Canon XI.

It is not lawful to be absent from the office of the dead or from the wake of the [departed] brethren except on account of sickness or some special necessity. And whoever remains away from this [service] shall be reprimanded before the whole School.

Canon XII.

Brethren who frequent the School for instruction may not open schools for children in the city, lest they thereby become engrossed in other affairs. They, however, who on account of old age or feebleness appear incapable of work, are permitted to keep two or three children. If they are found taking charge of more than this number they and their pupils shall be excluded from the School.

Canon XIII.

No one of the brethren of the School may attend a wake in the city or memorial (funeral) meals without the permission of the administrator. If they are found to do so without [the permission of] the administrator, let them be suspended from [the rights and privileges of] the School.

Canon XIV.

If brethren who go by the name of *eskōlāyê*[54] are unable to work because of sickness or illness, they shall make their needs known to the administrator of the School who shall assist them as far as lies in his power. But they have no right to go among the faithful to beg anything at the doors of the rich or of houses inhabited by women (convents?) under the pretence of having been sent by our master the administrator or by the chief brethren. If they are found begging money in the name of the teachers and brethren, they shall by all means be expelled from the community and from the School.

Canon XV.

Until brethren, who come for instruction, [shall have spent] a certain time in reading the [difficult] words of the Scriptures and hearing their explanation, they shall not devote themselves to the reading and explaining of the *sʿāthā*. And they shall be examined on the *Qanōn* by the administrator and chief brethren.

[54] Cf. p. 174, note 46.

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Canon XVI.

Brethren of the School, as long as they are members of the School, shall not eat in taverns or drinking rooms. Neither shall they arrange festivities or wine parties in gardens and orchards; they shall [remain] in their cells and abstain [from] all [those] things as is proper for the spirit and character of their profession.

Canon XVII.

The brethren of the School in addition to learning shall also be heedful about the character of their dress and the care of their hair, neither shaving completely nor growing curls like laymen. They shall go about both in the School and in the streets of the city wearing the holy tonsure, their garb modest and free from worldliness, that by these two [signs] they might be recognized by all, strangers as well as acquaintances.

Canon XVIII.[55]

No brother of the School has a right to [be visited] by daughters of the Covenant[56] from the city or elsewhere under the pretence of charity. Neither shall he have long talks and protracted interviews with women, lest scandal and reviling result therefrom. If he is found to act otherwise, he shall be banished from the community and shall quit the city.

Canon XIX.

Brethren who come for instruction have no right to dwell with physicians lest the books of secular science be read at the same [time] with the Sacred Scriptures.[57]

Canon XX.

Brethren who have left the School to go over to medicine without having obtained testimonials of good standing shall not be allowed to hear (practice?) in the School; this however does not apply to city physicians.

[55] B'nâth Q'yâmâ; for the meaning of this phrase which is usually interpreted by "nuns," cf. F. Crawford Burkitt, "Early Eastern Christianity" (New York, 1904), pp. 128–150.

[56] The Arabic reads: None of the brethren may instruct a nun, neither in the city nor outside [of the city] and say [for an excuse] "I am seeking the reward promised to good works"; nor may he prolong his stay with women; if he does so, let him be expelled from the community.

[57] The Arabic reads: The book of religion is not to be united with the book of science.

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CANON XXI.

No brother of the School shall, under the pretext of charity, conceal a prisoner or help slaves to run away from their masters, lest it become a source of reproach to the whole community.

All these canons, calculated to assist reason, to regulate the use of liberty, to profit and guide the soul as well as the body, the principal brethren and scholars now in the holy community of the School of Nisībis have ratified, knowing and believing that they are the commands of Our Lord; and whosoever swerves from them and neglects to observe them let him be a stranger to our community and to our society.

And in the thirteenth year of the victory of the merciful and beneficent Khosrau[58], the king of kings, when these canons were searched for, compiled and written, it seemed good to the whole community that they should be approved of by the seals and signatures of the principal brethren and scholars together with those of the reading master and administrator and that these canons should be placed in security in the School, and that they should be read every year before the whole community in order that by hearing them read the upright might be encouraged the more and the indolent and hypocrites either change and reform their ways or be reprimanded and depart, let others be led away by their wicked example.

And we, the principal brethren and scholars, whose names are written beside our seals, have signed and sealed them as a testimony of our approval of these canons. And we have also asked his Grace our venerable father Mar Aḥādhābhuhi, bishop and metropolitan, and his Holiness our virtuous master Mar Ḥannānā, priest, and they too have affixed their seals together with us to this document and approved of them. And they are approved and confirmed without change or alteration. Completed are these canons of the School of Nisībis, the Mother of Cities.

F. X. E. ALBERT.

[58] See above, p. 164, note 20.

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HISTORY AND INSPIRATION.[1]
SAINT JEROME.

1. Some Characteristics of His Writings.

I. The mediæval theologians were Schoolmen. When dealing with a question, however small, a Schoolman always kept in mind the unity of the System, which was the glory of the School. Theologians at that time were architects. Each fleuron or pinnacle on the chapels and cathedrals of mediæval science was in keeping with the style and unity of the whole; each question to be solved was part of a *Summa*, and viewed as such.

The human mind cannot rest until it brings into one consistent whole all the truth which it knows. Theology must make us see the unity or harmony of all the dogmas of Christian revelation with all the data of contemporary science. Thomas' *Summa Theologica* was nothing else but a scientific demonstration of the *unity* of the teachings of the Catholic Church and Holy Scripture with all the other truths established at his time. Theology evidently is not the only science. Each science has its own chapel in the cathedral of human knowledge. But however numerous and beautiful these chapels may be, all of them surround the sanctuary of the one temple in which Christian scholars worship Him who "spoke to the fathers at sundry times and in divers manners." In Science the law of Unity of Sanctuary can never be abrogated.

However, cathedrals are built in days of peace. During the earlier centuries of the Christian era theologians were soldiers, not architects. In structures put up by soldiers we cannot expect to find much attention paid to details and style. At the time of the Fathers Christian doctrines were studied, attacked and defended, separately. The solution of a difficulty, the interpretation of a biblical text was, comparatively, almost an independent piece of work. When answering the different questions raised by pagan philosophers or heretics,

[1] Cf. Bulletin, 1905, pp. 19–67; 152–195.

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the Fathers did not and could not have present to their minds the unity of a complete scientific system, which only afterwards was gradually elaborated. In their works—as St. Thomas says in the preface to his *Summa Theologica*—"ea quæ sunt necessaria ad sciendum, non traduntur secundum ordinem disciplinæ, sed secundum quod requirebat librorum expositio, vel secundum quod se præbebat occasio disputandi." Consequently they did not so readily see that, at times, the solution of a present objection disagreed with the solution of an analogous difficulty, urged by opponents of a different class and answered several years before.

The presence of almost evident contradictions in the works of a Father of the Church is therefore less surprising than the same phenomenon would be in the writings of a Schoolman.

It stands to reason that one Father was more "systematic" than another in defending Christianity and interpreting Holy Scripture. But it is safe to say, that none of them was less so than Jerome. On the other hand, there is no Father in whose works Bible students find more precious information. Jerome is rightly honored by the Catholic Church as the "Doctor Maximus in exponendis S. Scripturis" (Missale Rom.).

Almost all the other great Fathers of the Church were bishops and a great deal of their time was given to the ministry. The monk in Bethlehem spent all his life in the study of Holy Writ. No one knew it better than he. Jerome, moreover, was a Hebrew scholar; his knowledge was not confined to translations of the Old Testament, he read the original text. Being acquainted with Oriental habits and life, he stood nearer to the authors of the sacred books and understood the trend and characteristics of the Semitic mind much better than the other Western Fathers did. As far as the Fathers are concerned, Jerome's authority therefore is paramount in those Scripture questions, either literary or historical, which cannot be solved *a priori* by the mere analysis of a theological principle, but require an accurate knowledge of the positive facts with which the reader of the Bible is confronted.

Nevertheless, even with regard to the principles of biblical exegesis we do not find in Jerome's writings that unity which is proper to all works written by scholars defending

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a system. In the controversies "About the biblical question" at that time, he disagreed in some important points with the great majority of contemporary writers; but Jerome never thought of building a theological system of his own, combining into one consistent whole the teachings dear to him.

A man's life-work is bound to influence his tendencies and methods. Jerome's life-work is his translation of the Hebrew Bible. The *Doctor Maximus* is, above all, not a philosopher, but a translator and commentator. He remains a commentator even in his theological and polemical treatises. Whether he explains the dogmatic traditions of the Church or deals with biblical topics, whether he defends a letter written by an orthodox bishop or refutes the errors of a heretic, Jerome's writings are "commentaries" rather than sections or paragraphs in the study of a philosopher. In the same way as he follows the trail of the biblical texts in his translations and commentaries, so he follows in his polemical studies the trail of the arguments adduced by either friend or foe. He analyses, approves or refutes, the teachings set before him. Everything is seen by him in its immediate context. When he deals with a question, he judges it from one determinate standpoint. Authors of a philosophical synthesis look upon one and the same question from different sides; but Jerome as a rule does not pay any attention to such considerations as are not touched upon, *hic et nunc,* in the discussion.

True, the great Scripturist frequently quotes in his polemical writings a great number of texts bearing on the same point; he knew the Scriptures almost by heart. But as these showers of quotations occur just as well in his Scriptural Commentaries themselves, such accumulations of parallel texts do not clash with our assertion that even Jerome's theological treatises must be considered to be a kind of Commentary. It is a fact that Jerome never studied *systematically* the great questions concerning the psychological problem of divine inspiration, the literary character of Hebrew historiography, the moral aspect of the Old Testament religion confronted with the teachings of the Gospels, etc. It is more evident still

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that he never attempted to combine into one *Summa* the solutions of these different questions.

II. However, the great difference between the works of the Fathers and those of the Schoolmen, between the writings of philosophers and those of commentators, does not sufficiently explain the presence in Jerome's publications of some puzzling contradictions, not to be accounted for without taking into consideration the writer's personal character and the polemical nature of the passages in question. Jerome frequently acted under the impulse of the moment.

The champion of the "*Hebraica Veritas*" was looked upon with distrust by the majority of his contemporaries; his tendency was considered to be dangerous to Christian faith. The Church from the very beginning followed the Greek Bible of the Septuagint; that Version itself was held to be inspired. The Hebrew Bible was in the hands of the Jews, and the Christians suspected them of having corrupted the text. Is it surprising that, in the opinion of a great many, Jerome's attitude was a cause for alarm? His enemies were powerful in the Church, especially after Pope Damasus' death. The saintly man withdrew himself into the solitude of the desert and lived most of his life as a cenobite at Bethlehem. But however far he went, his nature went with him: and Jerome was of a fighting temperament. True sanctity does not emasculate firm characters, but strengthens them. Jerome knew that he fought for truth.

In reading his works we must always remember that even in the cave at Bethlehem, the feeling of being surrounded by enemies never left his soul of souls. When he explained a text or treated a living question, he did not argue *in abstracto,* but in almost every case he saw some of his opponents raising their heads and he immediately threw down the gauntlet.

"I would not have you engage in an encounter"—he writes to his friend Pammachius—"in which you have nothing to do but to protect yourself, your right hand remaining motionless while your left manages your shield. You must either strike or fall. I cannot account you a victor unless I see your opponent put to the sword."[2] Jerome felt a deep contempt

[2] P. L., XXII, p. 501.

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for those who in all ages "direct the soldier how to fight, while they themselves occupy a post of vantage on the wall."[3] In his old days he could no longer write with his own hand, because his "eyes were growing dim with age and (he) to a large extent shared the suffering of the saintly Isaac."[4] But even then he remained a stubborn fighter. He continually complains about the innumerable enemies attacking him, but no one ever saw Jerome taking to flight! He himself was constantly the aggressor. Whenever he has a chance to hit the opponents of the *Hebraica Veritas,* he does hit them. He merely tried to deceive himself when he wrote to Paula, who paid his secretary: "As for my contemporaries, I am indifferent to their opinions."[5] His eagerness to meet the antagonists of his great enterprise, and the way in which he answers them, show sufficiently how sensible he was to the general disapproval of his work. Even a saint, spending his life in a cave, may be alive to questions touching himself personally.

The monk of Bethlehem knew that within the Church itself there were a great number of learned men rejecting his translations of Old Testament books and bitterly opposed to his defense of the Hebrew Bible. Considering the Septuagint to be a truly inspired translation of the original text, Christians at that time could not but disapprove of Jerome's translation, which in so many points disagreed with the Greek Version. Jerome *saw* the great discrepancies between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint; he was thoroughly convinced that the Hebrew Bible contained the original text of the inspired writers, or, at least, was to be preferred to the Greek Version. On the other hand, he did not wish to attack the Church following the Septuagint. He himself held the Septuagint in high esteem and knew perfectly well that in religious matters the Church was guided by the Holy Ghost. How, then, could he vindicate his translation of the Hebrew Bible, especially among the Christians of his time, who distrusted the Bible of the Jews, and, moreover, being unable to read Hebrew, could not compare his translation with the original text

[3] Ibidem.
[4] Preface to Ezechiel.
[5] P. L., XXII, p. 1294.

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itself? There was only one way left. An occasional appeal to the Jews was of no use. Jerome had to prove and did prove that the apparently great *discrepancies* between his translation and that offered by the Septuagint *did not impeach its truthfulness.*

When his translation of a letter written by bishop Epiphanius was attacked, Jerome wrote a treatise "De optimo genere interpretandi." To this treatise he afterwards frequently refers the readers, when discrepancies are discussed between his translation of an Old Testament text and the reading of the Septuagint, or the quotation of that text by a New Testament author. He never wrote *ex professo* a special treatise to defend the Bible of the Jews against the Bible of the Church. But at the same time he was too much interested in the "Hebraica veritas" to let pass by any opportunity of justifying his position, by calling attention to facts and examples which illustrated his ever present "veritas Hebraica." When we realize the embarrassing difficulty of Jerome's position, we understand at once why he insisted so much upon the fact, and repeats so frequently, that the inspired Truth is not in *"the letter,"* but in *"the spirit"* of the Scriptures. He could not justify the *Hebraica veritas* otherwise!

We need not say that Jerome's perfect knowledge of the great discrepancies between some books in the Hebrew and in the Greek Bible, throws a remarkable light upon the important question as to what he understood by *the letter* of Scripture, when, in this connection, he appealed to St. Paul's teaching: *"littera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat."* This fundamental question, however, will be examined afterward. Here we confine ourselves to noticing that even this thesis, which more than any other preoccupied his mind, was not elaborated systematically by Jerome. He was not the man to work out, quietly and steadily, the details of a theological synthesis.

The Commentator proved his assertion by numerous loose remarks, scattered through his books. When, *e. g.,* his translation of a passage was very much different from the usual text, he appealed to some parallel examples in the inspired

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writings themselves compared with one another. When he interpreted a New Testament book and noticed discrepancies between the Old Testament narratives and some references given by the Evangelists or Apostles, he challenged his opponents to maintain the truth of the inspired book without admitting his thesis. When there was a possibility of explaining a text in favor of that fundamental thesis, one might be almost sure that Jerome would not miss the opportunity, unless at that moment he had to prove something else which required a different interpretation. But, however much he was interested in the issue, the Commentator never wrote a theological treatise with the object of establishing—what in his "commentaries" he constantly repeats—that inaccuracies in "the letter" do not impeach the *truth* of Scriptures, which is to be found in its "spirit."

The same biblical texts are viewed in a different light, when seen from a different standpoint. Dealing with one question we may find in them information which we lose complete sight of when we study the same texts to solve a question of a different character. We are exposed to the danger of forgetting for the moment what we said on a former occasion regarding the same passages. Hence contradictions in the works of a Commentator are almost natural. But Jerome, we said, was moreover a fighter. He was a knight who had to give battle. His love for truth was so passionate that he could not live without fighting. However, Jerome was no strategist. Fighting for truth, the giant walked straight forward, bidding defiance to the enemies ambushed along his road. He did not ask whether his weapon was of Christian or of Jewish make, provided it was a lawful weapon. When he was attacked, he took what at that moment was at hand, even if it was the "jawbone of an ass." Though Jerome was a great saint, he was no doubt hot-tempered. He did not theorize a long time before he acted. As soon as the enemy approached, he struck. *Argumenta ad hominem* were perfectly welcome.

Besides, Jerome worked extremely fast. He himself tells us that some of his commentaries were written in a great hurry. One of the shorter books was translated in one night. When now and then the poor old man "wished to think a

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little . . ., the secretary clenched his fist, wrinkled his brow, and plainly declared by his whole bearing that he had come for nothing.'"[6]

Moreover, we know that Jerome frequently dictated to his amanuensis what he merely borrowed from other authors. He did not quote them, because in many cases he did not remember "the method, or the words, or the opinions, which belonged to each one of them." Nevertheless, in Jerome's own opinion, only "ignorant traducers" could consider all assertions, written or mentioned in his works, as representing his own personal views.[7] When he gives, *e. g.*, several derivations of the names of Damascus, Abisag, Jerusalem, Rachel, etc., it is evident that he does not wish to be understood as affirming positively the truth of each one of them. In other cases, however, the distinction between Jerome's personal teachings and the opinions of others, which he did not make his own, is rather hard. We may be sure that frequently he himself did not see that distinction so clearly when he dictated his commentaries, as afterward when, for instance, Augustine attacked some of his interpretations. When theories or explanations, held by others, were favorable to an opinion defended at the moment by Jerome himself, he frequently dictated them to his amanuensis, without examining the objective truth of each one of them with due severity.

These general remarks sufficiently show that there is no reason to be surprised, when in our study of Jerome's writings concerning biblical history, we discover not a few contradictions. In important issues, however, these contradictions as a rule do not conceal what was his real opinion; especially if he defends that opinion in several places emphatically and insists upon it. At the same time it is often easy to discover the reason why, in discussing a determinate question, he mentions, and seems to hold for the moment, a different opinion from what he elsewhere asserts with emphasis.

III. As regards the fact that the great Scripturist frequently contradicts himself, or rather, that at least in his works and compilations we are actually confronted with a good many contradictions, we will confine ourselves to two striking examples.

[6] P. L., XXII, p. 501.
[7] Cf. BULLETIN, 1905, pp. 55 f.

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We notice, however, first, that we do not wish to be misunderstood in pointing out Jerome's attitude towards the Septuagint, because this point is of too much importance for the true understanding of what we will afterwards say. Jerome evidently knew perfectly well that the MT and the LXX are so much at variance with one another, that in several books the Hebrew text represents a recension entirely different from that offered by the Greek Bible. Apart from the clauses and sections read in Hebrew but wanting in Greek, the passages found in Greek but missed in Hebrew are "so numerous," he says, "that to reproduce them would require books without number."[8] However, he always protested against his "calumniators, who maintained that it was through contempt of the Seventy that he had set to work to forge a new version to take the place of the old."[9] "It is not my purpose," he writes, "as snarling ill-will pretends, to convict the LXX of error, nor do I look upon my own labour as a disparagement of theirs."[10] True, he published his *Book of Hebrew Questions* "first to point out the mistakes of those who suspect some fault in the Hebrew Scriptures, and, secondly, to correct the faults which evidently teem in the Greek and Latin copies, by a reference to the original authority."[11] "Yet," he says, "the Septuagint has rightly kept its place in the churches, either because it is the first of all the versions in time, made before the coming of Christ, or else because it has been used by the Apostles (only however in places where it does not disagree with the Hebrew)."[12]

The discrepancies between the original text and the Greek Bible are accounted for by Jerome in two different ways.

The first explanation is that the Septuagint translators did not wish to give an accurate rendering. "The fact is that the Septuagint, since their work was undertaken for king Ptolemy of Alexandria, did not choose to bring to light all the mysteries which the sacred writings contain, and especially those which

[8] P. L., XXII, p. 577. In Jerome's manuscript the *asterisks* and *obeli* indicated what passages he actually considered to be original or spurious.
[9] XXVIII, p. 147.
[10] XXIII, p. 936.
[11] Ibidem.
[12] XXII, p. 577.

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give the promise of the advent of Christ, for fear that he who held the Jews in esteem because they were believed to worship one God, would come to think that they worshipped a second."[13] Similarly: "It is not for me to explain the causes of the error. The Jews say it was deliberately and wisely done to prevent Ptolemy, who was a monotheist, from thinking the Hebrews acknowledged two deities."[14]

The second explanation is that, according to him, the text of the Greek Version was corrupted. "If we had the pure text of the Seventy Translators, as it was written by them originally, there would be no use for me to translate the Hebrew books into Latin. For it would be but fitting for me respectfully to leave untouched what people were accustomed to and what had strengthened the faith of the primitive Church. Now, however, since each country has a different text (Hesychius, Lucianus, Theodotion, Origenes), and since the original text of that ancient Version is corrupted and degenerated, we are free to offer a new translation of the Hebrew Bible."[15]

The preceding explanations, invented "pour le besoin de la cause"—in order to justify his new translation—reveal two different attitudes towards the Septuagint, but do not necessarily contradict one another. However, contradiction is evident where on one hand he denies, on the other hand affirms or admits that the Greek Version was inspired.

"I do not know whose false imagination led them to invent the story of seventy cells at Alexandria, in which, though separated from each other, the translators were said to have written the same words. Aristeas, the champion of Ptolemy, and Josephus, long after, relate nothing of the kind; their account is that the Seventy assembled in one basilica, consulted together and did not prophesy. For it is one thing to be a prophet, another to be a translator. The former, through the Spirit, foretells things to come; the latter must use his learning and facility in speech to translate what he understands. It can hardly be that we must suppose Tully was inspired with

[13] XXIII, p. 957.
[14] XXVIII, p. 150.
[15] XXVIII, p. 1324.

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oratorical spirit when he translated Xenophon's Œconomics . . ."[16] Several such passages show that such was indeed Jerome's firm conviction.

In other places Jerome adopts the opinion held by Irenaeus, Justin, Epiphanius, Augustine and his other contemporaries who maintained the inspired character of the Version followed by the Church. Confronted with inaccuracies in the Greek Version of *Paralipomenon,* he pretends that they must be attributed to the copyists, but "not to the Seventy Translators who were inspired (*Spiritu Sancto pleni*)."[17] In his translation of *Paralipomenon* an *obelus* pointed out those passages which are not read in the original text, but which, he says, "Septuaginta Interpretes addiderunt, vel ob decoris gratiam, vel *ob Spiritus Sancti auctoritatem.*"[18]

If we were not confronted by an actual fact, it would seem almost incredible that Jerome could contradict himself in this way concerning a point of such extremely great importance in his own defence.

Another point which Jerome brings out in strong relief, regards the true methods to be followed in interpreting Scripture. Hundreds of times he repeats that in studying the Bible we must not worry about "words and syllables." There is not a single principle or thesis set forth and defended by him more emphatically than this. What we must look for according to Jerome, is merely "the sense" of the inspired writings. And we will see that he takes "sense" in a very broad meaning.

Nevertheless, in his commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians (III, 5 ff.) he expresses himself thus: "Quia ita habetur in Graeco, et *singuli sermones, syllabae, apices, puncta in divinis Scripturis plena sunt sensibus,* propterea magis volumus in compositione structuraque verborum, quam intelligentia periclitari."[19] This Jewish theory is admitted by Jerome even in his celebrated letter *De optimo genere interpretandi.* Defending his translation of a paper published by John, the bishop of Jerusalem, he says: "Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Grae-

[16] XXVIII, p. 150 f.
[17] P. L., XXIX, p. 402.
[18] Ibidem, p. 404.
[19] P. L., XXVI, p. 481.

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corum, *absque Scripturis Sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est,* non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere e sensu."[20]

Many a commentary written by Jerome is based upon this false theory regarding the value and secret meaning of names, numbers and single words, without regard to the context. Practically therefore he himself frequently follows the Jewish methods of Hermeneutics, honored by many of his contemporaries and familiar to him on account of the works he was continually perusing. No one who ever read Jerome will be surprised when he is told that the following passage was written by him: "Comparemus utriusque sepulturam: Moyses in terra Moab moritur, Jesus in terra Judaeae. Ille sepelitur in valle contra domum Phogor, quod interpretatur ignominia (proprie quippe Phogor lingua Hebraica Priapus appellatur); hic in monte Ephraim ab aquilone montis Gaas. Et est in verbis simplicibus semper divinarum Scripturarum sensus augustior."[21]

Jerome *saw* that the Jewish theory just mentioned was at variance with the methods followed by the Seventy and by the Apostles, "quibus curae fuit non verba et syllabas aucupari sed sententias dogmatum ponere";[22] when the latter quoted Old Testament texts and when the former translated the inspired writings from Hebrew into Greek, there was a complete absence of slavery to "the letter." He knew perfectly well that the theory in question was false, and therefore rejected it whenever he had to explain a difference occurring either between his own translation of the Bible and the official text of the Church, or between a quotation in the New Testament and the original reading in the Old Testament itself. But Jerome himself had not entirely broken with the methods of Hermeneutics, prevailing at that time not only among the Jewish, but also among Christian scholars.

IV. He urged his principle of "the killing letter" when he arrived at conclusions entirely at variance with the assumption

[20] P. L., XXII, p. 571.

[21] P. L., XXIII, p. 241—"Quia mundus in sex diebus fabricatus est, sex millibus annorum tantum creditur subsistere," XXII, p. 1172. We need not quote more examples of this kind. The reader knows them to be numerous.

[22] P. L., XXII., p. 573.

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of the worshippers of words and syllables. But he himself did not fully realize the complete transformation, required by this principle, of the prevailing methods of Hermeneutics. In spite of the "*haggadistic*" freedom characterizing their allegorical interpretation of biblical narratives, many of his great Christian predecessors were not released yet from the bonds of slavery to "the letter," typifying the Jewish *halachoth*. They were in bondage still when they explained, *e. g.*, names and numbers, and analyzed the meaning of mere "words." In the Jewish methods of exegesis the two extremes met: extravagant freedom was associated with slavery. Jerome was not aware that, by his interpretation of St. Paul's teaching regarding the letter of Holy Writ, he had to separate himself in this regard, if he was logical, from the body of Christian scholars whose works he held in great esteem.

In his *praxis* especially Jerome remained a child of his time. He himself attached too much importance to "arguments" based, *e. g.*, upon "sacramenta numerorum" or "septenarii numeri potentiam,"[23] and was too fond of digging up typical and allegorical, "spiritual" and mysterious meanings, supposed to be hidden in "words and syllables." Moreover, we saw that he himself sometimes explicitly enunciates the false principle and seems to approve of it.

To account for such glaring contradictions we may apply to Jerome the saying of the poet, which he himself applies to Origen: "*Interdum magnus dormitat Homerus, verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.*"

There are cases where the most natural explanation seems to be an instinctive desire to keep the peace, for some time at least, with bishops and priests, and of having a rest. "Nobis quae sic voluistis, et semel suscepimus, incumbit necessitas," he says, "ita interpretari Scripturas, quomodo leguntur in ecclesia, et nihilominus Hebraicam non omittere veritatem."[24] When we read his works, one cannot help thinking that frequently, not only in his translation but also in his commentaries, Jerome was strongly influenced by the "necessitas" of existing circumstances in his expression of the "veritas."

[23] P. L., XXV, p. 1037.
[24] P. L., XXV, p. 1164.

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A comparison between several rather contradictory assertions concerning, *e. g.*, the authority of the deutero-canonical books, missing in "his" Bible, would be very instructive in this regard. But at the same time we must always keep in mind that even those who pull against wind and tide, now and then drop the oars and, unconsciously, follow the current of their age. A scholar may be a hundred years ahead of his age; yet, when he is off guard, he will be seen occasionally "a child of his time" even in those things in which he knows his contemporaries to be mistaken. Creatures of flesh and blood cannot live in intellectual spheres entirely separated from the world of their time.

V. As a rule, we said, the presence in Jerome's writings of a real or apparent contradiction will be more easily explained, when we pay attention to the special standpoint from which, in each case, he viewed a determinate question. Some questions may be answered positively or negatively, according to the restrictions and distinctions implied. In polemical writings the opportunity of an answer frequently turns the scale in its favor. This is seen, for instance, when Jerome deals with the question whether, when using the Old Testament texts, the Apostles quoted from the Greek or from the Hebrew Bible.

Jerome appeals to these quotations in order to prove that the Apostles did not follow the Greek Version, at least not in those places where the LXX disagreed with the MT. When the opponents pointed out the discrepancies between Jerome's version of the inspired writings and the version offered by the Septuagint, his favorite answer was the following:

"We find that the Evangelists, and even our Lord and Saviour, and the Apostle Paul, also, bring forward many citations as coming from the Old Testament which are not contained in our copies (LXX); and on those I shall speak more fully in the proper place. But it is clear from this fact that *those are the best texts which most correspond with the authoritative words of the New Testament.* Add to this that Josephus, who gives the story of the Seventy Translators, reports them as translating *only the five books of Moses;* and we also acknowledge that these are more in harmony with the Hebrew than the rest. But those who afterward[25] came into the field as translators—I mean

[25] After the days of the Apostles.

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Aquila and Symmachus and Theodotion—give a version very different from what we read."[26] "Harken then, my rival: listen, my calumniator; I do not condemn, I do not censure the Seventy, but I am bold enough to prefer the Apostles to them all."[27]

Regarding some texts, quoted in the New Testament, but missing in the Hebrew Bible, Jerome admitted that the Jews had "rejected (reprobaverunt) passages which were afterwards used against them by the Apostles."[28]

Thus, then, Jerome seems to hold that the authors of the New Testament used the Hebrew text. He appeals to them in order to prove that MT is to be preferred to LXX. Nevertheless, when in his letter *de optimo genere interpretandi* he defends the Church for following the Seventy, he also admits that the Apostles followed the Greek Version: "only however in places where it does not disagree with the Hebrew."[29] Aye more, when he has to solve a difficulty against the inerrancy of Scripture concerning those places where the LXX disagree with the MT, Jerome again views the question quite differently.

Acts VII, 14, we read: "And Joseph sending, called thither Jacob, his father, and all his kindred, *seventy-five* souls." The number seventy-five agrees with the Greek, but not with the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Jerome maintains the number *seventy* of the MT. How, then, does he explain the inerrancy of Luke's inspired book? He appeals to what he styles in other places "the true law of history."

The readers know that according to Jerome "It is the manner of Scripture, that the historian relates the opinion of the multitude as it was commonly viewed at that time."[30] "Truth and the law of history is observed, not according to what was, but according to what was believed at that time."[31] In what sense these assertions are to be understood, will be afterwards explained more fully. Applying his principle to Acts VII, 14, Jerome "easily" solved the difficulty. The Septuagint was the Bible of the heathen Christians addressed by Luke.

[26] P. L., XXIII, p. 957 f.
[27] P. L., XXVIII, p. 152.
[28] Ibidem.
[29] P. L., XXII, p. 577. See above, cf. XXIII, p. 456.
[30] See BULLETIN, 1905, p. 51.
[31] Ibidem, p. 53.

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Hence, though in reality the number was seventy instead of seventy-five, "the objection against the inerrancy is easily solved (facilis excusatio est). *For,* since St. Luke, the author of the Acts of the Apostles, wrote for the Gentiles, he could not well contradict that Bible which was already spread among the Gentiles. Moreover, the authority of the Septuagint was considered of much greater weight, at that time at least, than the authority of Luke, who was unknown and of humble standing and who did not enjoy great credit among the Gentiles."[32]

Here Jerome maintains that the New Testament authors follow the Greek Version, in those places also where it disagrees with the MT. He even admits that they were almost obliged to do so. In any case this custom of using the Greek Bible appeared to him most natural; because in his opinion it was merely the application of a general rule. "We must make this general remark," Jerome continues, "that whenever the Apostles or Apostolic men address the Gentiles, they prefer to make use of those testimonies which were already spread among the Gentiles."[33] Because he was lacking in authority, Luke could have given the number seventy-five, even if he knew the true original text, according to which Jacob's kindred at that time were in reality but seventy souls. However, Jerome does not solve the question whether or not Luke *knew* that, in this place, the Seventy did not give the true number. For he adds this clause, to which we call the reader's attention: "although most people hold that Luke the Evangelist, being a proselyte, did not know Hebrew."[34]

[32] P. L., XXIII, p. 1002.

[33] Ibidem.

[34] Ibidem. In this passage Jerome evidently does not maintain—which would be absurd—that the numbers 70 and 75 are both historically true! But, *first,* he explains the presence of the number 75 in the Septuagint, *Gen.* XLVI, by saying that "id quod postea legimus, quasi per anticipationem factum esse describitur." In order to establish that, historically, Jacob's kindred, when they entered into Egypt, were not 75 but 70, he appeals, e. g., to the Septuagint itself, which *Deut.* X, 22 gives the true number. *Secondly,* Jerome answers the question, how Luke, an inspired writer, could indicate a number which was proven to be historically false. Thus, then, he first maintains that the number 75 is not historical and must be accounted for in the Septuagint by assuming a "prolepsis," and then answers an entirely new question when he continues: "Quodsi e contrario nobis illud opponitur, quomodo in Actibus Apostolorum . . ." In his recent work *De inspiratione Sacrae Scripturae,* p. 534 (Freiburg, Herder, 1906), Chr. Pesch gives a different explanation. We will be pardoned if we apply to it his criticism of the explanation given above: "De qua expositione quidquam dicere, videtur satis superfluum."

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After these preliminary remarks on some characteristics of Jerome's writings at large, we will understand better his teaching regarding biblical history. Before we examine a number of passages, where the great Commentator gives his opinion on the historical character of determinate texts and paragraphs, we shall first explain.

2. *Jerome's general judgment on Biblical History and what may be styled "the law of history."*

I. The reader of the preceding pages will not expect to find in Jerome's works a critical and systematic treatise on biblical historiography. To expect such would indicate a complete misunderstanding, not only of the character of Jerome's writings, but also of the age in which he lived. As regards biblical history, Jerome never intended to set forth, nor did he develop or defend, a general theory which he considered to be opposed to the common opinion of his contemporaries. He viewed history, profane and sacred alike, from the standpoint of his age.

To know on what level Jerome stood as an historian or a critic, we simply have to peruse his specific historical works. After reading, for instance, what he tells in *The Life of Paulus, the First Hermit,* about the Hippo-centaur, the mannikin with hooked snout, the she-wolf and the raven, we are not astonished when we hear him relating, *e. g.,* the story that during the forty years of the desert the Israelites, by a miracle, did not have to cut either nails or hair, and needed neither shoemakers nor tailors. When discussing a question of great importance, he appeals to the tale that "Lynaeus used to see through a wall." He brings into court the mythological legends according to which men were changed into "Scylla and Chimera, Hydra and Centaurs, birds and beasts, stars and stones." Examples of this kind could easily be multiplied. But there is no reason to insist. No one wishes to go back to Jerome in order to be taught historical criticism.

The learned monk of Bethlehem was a Commentator of Holy Writ; commentaries on the Bible at that time were not the work of historians, but of theologians. There was even

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no attempt to give, *e. g.*, an analysis of the sources followed by the sacred authors; to study and to compare the historical value of the different books or documents. Commentators did not distinguish in those days between different kinds of historiography. Though one historian was considered to be more trustworthy than another, still history was simply "history"; and as regards inspired writers, there could be no question raised about their being more or less trustworthy. When commentators at that time rejected the historical character of a biblical narrative, they denied at once that it was history, that is to say, that it had to be understood in a historical sense. The conflict between the Alexandrian and Antiochian Schools was not about the distinction between more or less perfect kinds of history, represented by different types of biblical narratives. The question was whether or not disputed narratives were to be taken as history.

The teachings attributed to Origen, condemned by the Church, concerned determinate narratives of which Origen denied the historical character. The condemnation did not touch the lawfulness of the allegorical or "spiritual" interpretation at large; still less did the Church declare that Catholics had to maintain the literal sense of every Biblical account. Whatever Jerome's attitude may have been before, after the disapprobation of "Origenism" by the Church, he was the first one to reject every point condemned. His treatise against John, bishop of Jerusalem, is sufficient proof of his rigorous orthodoxy. But never, either before or after Origen's condemnation, did Jerome deny that there may be biblical narratives or passages, apparently historical, which in point of fact are not to be taken as history and have to be understood in a spiritual sense. In this regard there is certainly no change to be noticed in Jerome's attitude towards Scripture.

Once, we said, a narrative was considered to be historical, Jerome and his contemporaries knew but one kind of "history." This history was viewed by them from the standpoint of their age. Jerome—we repeat it—had no special, personal theory whatever regarding history or historical studies. At least, he was not conscious of having such, and never even thought of attacking the methods of historical criticism pre-

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vailing at his time—if we are allowed to designate by this name the methods followed.

Nevertheless, Jerome's works contain much information of great value for modern Catholic critics in their study of biblical history.

There is one thesis which we may call Jerome's *personal* teaching, most dear to him; he had to defend it against Catholic scholars and heretics alike. Jerome was the apologist and vindicator of the "Hebraica veritas." The principal objections raised against his thesis were the so-called contradictions between the Hebrew text, translated by him, and the Septuagint, the official text followed by the Church. Jerome met those objections by appealing to undeniable *facts,* to be dealt with in the study of Scripture. His favorite argument was to point out similar "contradictions," which nobody could deny, between the quotations in the New Testament and the primitive texts themselves in the Old Testament. Since his opponents agreed that the Apostles were inspired, Jerome was entitled to conclude that such "contradictions" were not *real* contradictions, involving an error on the part of the New Testament writers. Jerome's extraordinary knowledge of the whole Bible furnished an abundant supply of *facts* or examples, which were, at least, parallel with the difficulties raised against the "Hebraica veritas."

Now, then, these facts themselves, recognized as such by Jerome, contain the justification of the modern true critical theory regarding biblical history. For, the facts which according to Jerome cannot be doubted, would evidently run counter to the Catholic doctrine of the inerrancy of Scripture, if we were not to admit the explanation given by modern Catholic critics. Hence the *Doctor Maximus* indirectly acknowledges, as we shall see, the present theory of our leading Catholic exegetes; although he called attention to those *facts* for the sole purpose of maintaining the "Hebraica veritas" against the objections raised from the so-called contradictions between the Hebrew text, translated by himself, and the authoritative Version of the Septuagint.

Moreover the fundamental principle to which modern critics appeal, was formulated by this great Father of the

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Church, when on several occasions he insisted upon the importance of a true understanding of "the law of history." We will see that he frequently lays stress upon the impossibility of maintaining the truth of the inspired writings, if the object of history is completely *identified* with objective historical reality.

Generally, however, he solves the difficulties by an appeal to the vague and rather enigmatic principle that "the letter killeth but the spirit quickeneth." In many cases this manner of solving difficulties can be explained in the same way in which he himself interprets some sayings of St. Paul. "May he not reply to us in the words of the Saviour: 'I have one mode of speech for those that are without and another for those that are within; the crowds hear my parables, but their interpretation is for my disciples alone'? The Lord puts questions to the Pharisees, but does not elucidate them. To teach a disciple is one thing; to vanquish an apponent, another. 'My mystery is for me,' says the prophet; 'my mystery is for me and for them that are mine.'"[35] In other cases, however, Jerome most likely did not see the real solution, and therefore had to refer the readers, in this general way, to other examples which they could not deny to be parallel. The important point is that he recognized and insisted upon the fact, that in those cases there was a disagreement between the Biblical text and objective historical reality.

II. Like all the Fathers of the Church, Jerome evidently excludes the possibility of any real *error* or false affirmation on the part of an inspired author. "I know," he says, "that a difference must be made between the Apostles and all other writers. The former always speak the truth; but the latter being men sometimes go astray."[36] "When Scripture seems to be contradicting itself, both passages are true, although they be different (utrumque verum est, cum diversum sit)."[37] "I refer to these passages, not to convict the evangelists of error (*falsitatis*)—a charge worthy only of impious men like Celsus, Porphyry and Julian—but to bring home to my critics

[35] P. L., XXII., p. 503.
[36] P. L., XXII, p. 740.
[37] Ibidem, p. 457.

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their own want of knowledge, and to gain from them such consideration that they may concede to me in the case of a simple letter what, whether they like it or not, they will have to concede to the Apostles in the Holy Scriptures."[38] In our opinion it is so evident that Jerome, and all the Fathers alike, consider the inerrancy of Scripture to be a point of Catholic faith, that there is no reason to dwell upon this subject.[38a]

But if such is the case, some may conclude, does it not necessarily follow that there can be no question raised regarding the strictly historical truth of biblical history? Once it is admitted that a passage is not a parable or poem, but history, is one not bound to conclude that everything in the narrative must needs correspond with the objective historical truth? It is plausible that a narrative, apparently historical, in the mind of the author may be a parable. Nor is there a real difficulty in assuming that an inspired writer could make use of a legend for a moral or religious purpose. But, if it is agreed that the inspired writer of a narrative intends to write *history*, how, then, is it possible, whether his purpose be religious or not, to maintain nevertheless that such a narrative can be at variance with strictly historical reality, even in its smallest details? And who dares deny that the authors of some biblical books do intend to write history?

Jerome, we saw, asserts that it is the "law of history" to relate the common opinion held by the historian's contemporaries, and acknowledged by them to be true. Modern scholars eagerly discuss the meaning of Jerome's assertion. It is self-evident that, even in inspired historical books, there is room for *material* inaccuracies or errors, if biblical history has to be understood in this sense, that the biblical historians intended to relate what was held to be true, and drew their narratives, maybe, not even from official documents, but from tradition or history living among the people. Living history is so frequently at variance with objective historical reality that, in the opinion of not a few theologians, Jerome's asser-

[38] Ibidem., p. 575.

[38a] In *abbé* Lefranc's recent work on *Les Conflits de la Science et de la Bible* (pp. 1–25, Paris, 1906), this doctrine is severely criticised. However, as far as we can see, all his criticisms are sufficiently answered in the BULLETIN of last year (January and April), where we distinguish between the writer considered as *author* and the writer considered as a *man* of his time.

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tion would be almost absurd, if taken in that sense, which we maintain to be the only possible one. Biblical history, we hear them saying, would lose its value almost completely in such a hypothesis.

We said a few words about Jerome's "law of history" in the foregoing articles. We will have to deal with it more fully in what follows. First, however, we have to explain how there can be a real disagreement between historical reality and a book published by an inspired author *intending to write history.*

Critics distinguish between ancient and modern history. However, if the distinction between different kinds of historical literature designates ultimately nothing else but more or less perfect historical knowledge and methods, it does not explain, by any means, how there can be errors related in a book written by an *inspired* historian. Whatever may have been the difficulties facing the ancient historians in their research of the past, whatever may have been the imperfections of the kind of history generally written in those olden days, inspiration excluded every error on the part of the sacred writer, as author. Critics call attention to the religious aim of the sacred historians. But what difference does it make to the truth of a *narrative,* whether or not it be related for a religious or for a political purpose? How, then, could an inspired author intend to write history and, nevertheless, relate things which are not in perfect harmony with the objective historical reality? Is it not a *contradictio in terminis?*[39]

[39] "Itaque sive mythos sive legendas sive traditiones populares, sive historiam veterem sive historiam orientalem, sive aliud quid simile dixeris, si his nominibus tegere studes opinionem, qua Deus dicitur potuisse inspirare errores, saltem in rebus accidentalibus et nullius ad salutem momenti, a traditione catholica recedis, quae docet non res principales tantum et substantiam narrationis debere esse veram, sed omnia et singula, quae affirmentur" (Pesch, "De Inspiratione Sacræ Scripturæ," p. 552). Every scholar is bound to admire the great learning of this broad-minded theologian. The publication of a treatise on Inspiration by Chr. Pesch is an event in the theological world. But we remind our readers of what we said, in the preceding articles, about the further development of the notion of inspiration, after theology has given all information which it is able to give. In the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* (Febr., 1906) Pesch quotes us as saying that the question of inspiration has to be solved by critics or historians, not by theologians. We said nothing of the kind. What we said, and what we maintain, is this: after the theologians have explained the teaching of the Fathers and the decrees of Popes and Councils on this point, the *further* determination of the notion of inspiration, and of the inspired character of the canonical books, may be more readily expected from those scholars who apply

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Such would be the case indeed, if we had not to distinguish between two kinds of history *radically* and *essentially* different from one another; and not merely between different degrees of perfection reached in ancient and in modern times.

We do not discuss the great question as to whether or not the historian *has to* judge and interpret the past, instead of confining himself to an accurate impartial report. We do not decide what class of history ought to be a modern historian's ideal. In point of fact, as everybody admits, the task of the historian has been conceived in different ways. For us the only question is, how the *biblical* historians understood their task. Must we consider them to be the mere *witnesses* of the events related, or are they more than that? Must we not look upon them as being the inspired *judges* and *interpreters* of the past? The reader will soon realize the importance of this question.

Historians of the first and inferior class relate and teach what happened. They are photographers, who intend to present a true image of the past, which has itself disappeared. They *affirm* and *teach* what they *relate*.

The formal object of this kind of history is a true description of the life of mankind, peoples and individuals. The writer intends to make us acquainted with persons who lived long ago. But even this kind of history, to be perfect, must

themselves to the study of literature and history. If this assertion needed to be demonstrated, it would be proven by the publication of this work on Inspiration by one of the greatest theologians of our age, Chr. Pesch himself. The following pages go to show that Pesch gives a false solution to the most important questions, dealt with in his work, because he misunderstands the character of biblical history. This misapprehension is the cause of almost all the flaws in this treatise on Inspiration. Pesch puts the saddle on the wrong horse, when he writes, p. 520: "Ad hoc fit narratio historica, ut rerum notitiam accipiant ii quoque, qui rebus ipsis non interfuerunt. Atqui nisi narratio conformis est rebus, nulla notitia traditur, sed error spargitur." If the learned theologian had distinguished between the two kinds of history, radically different, to be dealt with in this article, his philosophical and logical mind would not have compelled him to draw conclusions which Bible students maintain, and will always maintain, to be at variance with the *facts* to be accounted for by Catholic scholars. We even do not see how it would be possible to account for some facts acknowledged by Pesch himself, if we had to start from his notion or definition of history. It seems to us that, logically, from his standpoint, he ought to be more severe than he is when dealing with the theories of modern writers regarding, e. g., the historical origin of the name of Babel, p. 551, the mention of Cainan in Our Lord's genealogy, p. 547, and implicit quotations at large, pp. 540 ff. From his standpoint even the explanation of the narrative of creation, pp. 515 f., does not seem quite satisfactory. Cf. Lefranc, Les Conflits de la Science et de la Bible, Paris, 1906.

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be more than an enumeration of events; the personality and the character of Napoleon are objective historical realities, distinguished from events or facts. A mere photograph of Napoleon is a true, but very imperfect image of his person. Hence, even from a historical point of view, his picture frequently will be more *true,* if painted from life by an artist. What *art* would make us see on the *face* of a person, *e. g.,* his character, must evidently correspond to the historical reality of that person. But the critic of a picture is supposed to allow for the different standards of truth by which photographs and paintings from life should be judged. History, therefore, is not a mere science, but an art at the same time: "*ars critica.*"

By *idealizing* the *features* of a person, a writer does not necessarily falsify the historical reality of his personality. The most perfect image of an historical personage is that which produces upon the readers the same impression which the living person produced upon his contemporaries. It stands to reason that a mere photograph can never reach such perfection. The most perfect historical pictures, as we shall see, were not painted by the "realistic" school. But, on the other hand, the ideal is usually almost the opposite of historical reality. There are different degrees in idealizing the features of a person; but the more a person's features are idealized, that is to say, the more the "real" resemblance disappears, the more we approach to what is styled a mere *type,* and has no longer a truly historical character.

This first class of historians, intending to relate and teach what happened, may be subdivided into two sections. The lowest level is occupied by "*popular* historians," who intend to relate what happened according to what they are told by trustworthy men, or read in sources of which the historical character is generally acknowledged. The "*scientific* historians" stand on a much higher level. They intend to examine the historical value of the available sources and traditions. They distinguish and separate themselves from the crowd. They relate what they themselves hold and affirm to be true or false in the "popular" history. In one word, the scientific

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historians intend to relate and teach what happened according to the objective historical truth.

Therefore a scientific historian affirms an error whenever he relates, without any reserve, something which does not correspond with objective historical reality. But what must we hold about the requirements for truthfulness on the part of a popular historian?

When a popular historian relates something which is proven to be false by later critical researches, but which at his time was commonly believed to be true, there is evidently nothing *morally* wrong in his historiography. Moreover, when popular historians are eye-witnesses or contemporaries of the events related, or when they make use of reliable historical documents, their popular history will have a high *scientific* value. Who does not see the difference between the scientific worth of two historical works, one of which conscientiously relates what people and scholars believe to be true regarding contemporaneous public persons and events, while the other relates the oral traditions of the author's time about persons supposed to have lived, and events supposed to have happened, thousands of years before?

As regards the *truthfulness* of both works, we have to distinguish between the sources followed and the books themselves. When question is raised about the objective historical truth of the events related, the authority, affirming it, is not the same for each event. The truth of each event depends upon the authority of the author of the source relating the event in question. Moreover, the "generation" which in the days of the writer of the book gave credit to the historical character of a tradition, may be called responsible in some way; because the writer was influenced by the common belief of his age, when he selected a tradition to be mentioned in his work. The testimony delivered by the author of the source was corroborated by the confidence placed in him.

The writer of the popular book himself affirms what *his book* is understood to affirm; and the readers expect to find in such a book a true account of sources and traditions, considered by the writer's contemporaries to be historical, and reflecting the knowledge of his "generation" regarding the

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events of the past. In one word, the readers do not expect "scientific" but "traditional" history. Therefore, when sources and traditions are faithfully related, the popular book is true. To expect something more scientific, is to expect something which the book does not pretend to give.

Things related by the author of a popular history may afterward be discovered to be false. But notice that, if first we ourselves believed them to be true, we did not believe so on account of the personal authority of the author of the book, but on the authority of the source or tradition which the author of the book faithfully transmitted.

This distinction between scientific and popular historians, or scientific and traditional history, can hardly be disputed. The great question is whether or not the inspired historians could follow the custom of the popular writers and relate traditional history.

We would answer in the negative if the biblical historians belonged to that class of historians whom we were dealing with in the preceding lines. If God inspired a writer to make him *relate,* or describe, what happened in the days of Solomon or David, that is to say, of an inspired "God-man" intended to be himself the authoritative *witness* of Israel's past: in our opinion it would be unworthy of the inspired and divine character of his book, to relate merely the common opinion, and perhaps gossip, of the crowd. The testimony of a witness, sent to us by God *to be a witness* of the past, cannot be a mere second-hand testimony, to be controlled by the authority of the human testimony or source at the back of it. We know that it is not for us to indicate the ways to be followed by Divine Providence; we know that the Son of God himself "took the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man." But, nevertheless, we hold that it would be unworthy of a divine witness to depend entirely upon the authority of a human witness. The *cardo quaestionis,* therefore, is whether the biblical historians do intend to be, in the strict sense of the word, the *witnesses* of Israel's past; whether they do belong to that class of writers who intend to relate or describe the events of the past.

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III. The historians of the second class, to be dealt with at present, are of a much higher standing. The best name for them would be "*prophetical*" and "political" historians. They are *judges,* not mere witnesses. Their narrative of the past is primarily the author's *interpretation* of the events related; it is the author's *judgment* passed on the acts and life of a person or a people: not merely a series of impartial statements of fact. This higher kind of "prophetical" or "political" history is, practically, the interpretation of the lower kind, whether "scientific" or "popular." As far as the *form* is concerned, every history is evidently a narrative. But the aim and object of prophetical and political historians is quite different from that of a story-teller.

We do not lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with true historians. The books of which the character has to be determined, are indeed historical books, not merely or formally philosophical treatises. In other words, we are confronted with historical *narratives.*

Now, then, an author intending to interpret and to judge the past from his political or religious standpoint, when he wishes to adduce the testimonies of *others,* must evidently himself incorporate these testimonies in his book. He may intend nothing else but to interpret and to judge the political or religious value and character of what is testified by others to have occurred in the past, but he himself is bound to relate in his book what these others testify to have happened. How can a man interpret something, without saying or indicating what he interprets! Frequently historians of this class suppose all the historical statements, from which they start, and have to start, in their interpretation, to be known to the readers. As a rule, especially in ancient times, they have no intention whatever to quarrel about the critical or uncritical character and occasional inaccuracies of the written and oral traditions, which their contemporaries call "history" and hold to be true. They do not intend to relate historical events which the readers never heard of before, or to inform them about some new discovery. Neither do they intend to put upon trial and to verify the "traditional" history. Thus, then, the history which they interpret and judge is not the

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result of personal critical researches; but it is the traditional history, known to the people before the prophetical and political authors commit themselves to write its interpretation. However, as will be seen, the selection itself of the narratives related may be part of the author's interpretation of the past.

It stands to reason that a historian-judge *can* critically examine by himself the sources and traditions of which the historical character is generally acknowledged at his time. After this process he is in a position to interpret "scientific" history. But, as a rule, "prophetical" and "political" historians intend to interpret and judge "traditional" or "popular" history.[40] They do so almost naturally. For, the authority of their interpretation of "history" would be jeopardized by every statement of fact, at variance with the history generally held to be true; unless each statement of this kind was thoroughly established and the readers—friends and enemies alike—were convinced that the opinion commonly held was false. Moreover, "prophets" and "politicians" generally do not happen to be at the same time scholars, or men inclined to indulge in critical researches. It was not necessary for them to be such, especially for those who addressed the common people. Unless they dwelt at length upon those points, where they parted from tradition, critical "corrections" would do more harm than good.

How do we know whether or not the writer wishes to give either scientific or traditional history, when we read a book, whose author evidently writes history for a prophetical or political purpose, that is to say, interprets the events and judges the persons? Generally the solution of this question does not offer great difficulties.

When we notice that the author challenges, discusses or disputes the truth of traditional history, we know that he intends to give his personal account, distinguishing tradition from objective historical reality. Whether the history which he relates be true or false, he intends to write "scientific" history, and makes this history the object of his interpretation.

[40] Traditional history, we repeat it, can have a perfectly "scientific" value, but it is called "popular" history in as far as it is made use of by an author who intends to relate traditional history, instead of examining the objective historical truth and distinguishing it from tradition.

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But frequently we will notice that the author of a book interpreting the past, does not make any attempt whatever to show that, in some points at least, the readers ought to distrust tradition regarding the historical character of the events and persons in question. In such cases it is safe to hold that —as regards the historical existence of the persons mentioned, and the historical character of the facts related in his book— the author intends to follow traditional history. Even were we to suppose that the author intended to deceive the readers, and with that purpose represents the facts a little differently from what they were according to the common tradition: we may be sure that he does not wish *to be understood* as departing from tradition! He wishes every reader to think that the history which he interprets from a prophetical or political standpoint, is the ordinary traditional history, the truth of which is not doubted by the readers. Therefore the lack of any endeavor to throw distrust upon the traditional history of the period or person in question, is generally sufficient proof that, according to his own wish, the prophetical or political author must be understood to be relating traditional history. We will be the more sure of it, when we notice that, as far as the statements of fact are concerned, the author continually refers the readers to the documents of Tradition or faithfully copies the sources.

Thus, then, in a book written by a historian of the second class, there is a distinction to be made between judge and witnesses: the author of the book is the judge, the authors of his sources are the witnesses. The scientific historian examines the trustworthiness of the testimonies delivered by those witnesses; the popular historian takes this trustworthiness for granted. Both of them can be prophetical or political historians.

In historical works of this kind testimonies of the witnesses and verdicts of the judge are blended into one "narrative." The author might be a great philosopher or moralist, but he would not be a historian, if he did not give his interpretation of the past in the form of a narrative. In this higher class of history the narrative itself, therefore, in not a mere description, but primarily the interpretation of the

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past. In as far as it gives a description of the past, the narrative is based upon the testimonies of the witnesses, the authors of the sources. As regards the interpretation of the past, the narrative is the expression of the verdicts pronounced by the judge, the author of the book. The judge himself, no doubt, relates the testimonies delivered by the witnesses, but this he does for the simple reason that the witnesses are not present and that a book or manuscript is generally written by one man. We saw that in prophetical and political history the truth of the testimonies themselves is generally taken for granted. The author relates traditional, not scientific, history.

Once we know that the historian is a judge, it stands to reason that the truth of the history written by him, must be accounted for according to a *standard of truth,* quite different from that by which we determine the truth of a narrative written or told by a witness. Not everything *related* in the preambles of a judge's sentence or verdict, is *affirmed* by the judge himself! He relates the testimonies of the witnesses, even when they are contradictory to one another. The truth of his verdict will be the less distrusted the more accurately he relates what the audience knows that the witnesses did testify. Frequently small contradictions in the testimonies will not weaken, but rather strengthen, the truth of the judge's verdict; they show that the testimonies are independent of one another. Thus, then, the verdict pronounced by a judge can be perfectly true, although there are inaccuracies related in the preamble. When, on one hand, the verdict itself is true, and, on the other hand, its preamble renders faithfully the testimonies delivered, there is evidently nothing untrue in the document read or published by the judge—in as far as it is *his.*

However, if we suppose that the testimonies adduced are all false and fictitious, the judge would not deal with a historical case; he would simply give the true solution of a question of casuistry. The paper published would not be a historical document. Moreover, every historian evidently intends to relate, or to interpret and judge, things which really happened.

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Everybody knows that historians relate and describe the past, which itself has disappeared, according to what is left of it in sources and traditions, or what we may call its "sensible appearance."[41] But, even popular historians—who do not scientifically examine the historical reality behind this "sensible appearance" and take for granted the trustworthiness of tradition—evidently intend to relate the real past, and therefore implicitly affirm—not only as men of their time, but also as authors—their belief in the historical character of tradition. True, popular historians do not, like their scientific colleagues, personally affirm the strictly historical reality of every detail related by tradition and mentioned in their books. But they must be regarded as implicitly affirming the substantial trustworthiness and truth of tradition. Therefore prophetical and political historians must be regarded as implicitly affirming the truth of the traditions related in their books, *in as far as the truth of their interpretation of the objective past, such as they have the intention to give, depends upon the truth of the tradition, which they actually are interpreting.*

When we hold that an author intends to write or interpret history, we implicitly admit that the author, as such, would be mistaken if he did not write or interpret history, but fiction. When, further, we maintain that the historian's interpretation of the past is true, we implicitly admit that the testimonies adduced by him afford a true image of the real past. However, we insist and we repeat, that image must needs be true only in as far as the truth of the interpretation of historical reality depends upon the truth of the image. In a book which interprets popular history, this image is given according to tradition, without any guarantee, on the part of the writer, of such details as do not compromise the truth of the interpretation which he intends to give of the real past.

[41] Since we distinguish between the historian or *judge* and the *witnesses*, whose testimonies he relates, we need not answer Pesch's criticisms (op. cit., pp. 519 ff.) of the right of comparing the "sensible appearance" concerning matters of natural science, in popular language, with the "sensible appearance" of historical reality in Tradition. As regards the teaching of the Encyclical *Prov. Deus* on this point, we will take the first opportunity to justify our interpretation of the famous sentence: "*Haec ipsa deinde . . .*"

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Whether Napoleon was stout or thin, whether on a certain Sunday he went to Versailles or to Fontainbleau, are both questions of no importance as regards the truth of a book in which the author—describing Napoleon's career according to traditional history—interprets the political character of the French emperor's life, and gives a true judgment on the influence exercised by him on the future of European countries. Whether Charlemagne, as a private man, was indeed in every regard so great a saint as he is seen in tradition—where he is the personification of almost every perfection—whether each miracle, attributed to him in mediæval sources, is indeed historical, are both questions again which do not touch the truth of a book, in which the prophetical or ecclesiastical historian intends to give, and does give, a true interpretation of the life of Charlemagne, in as far as it was part of the history of human civilization and left traces of its influence in the development of social, political and ecclesiastical institutions. The only history which really deserves to be written and read, is the history of institutions in some way connected with ourselves. It is the history of the birth, growth and development of that civilization in which mankind is living still, and in the history of which therefore all of us are interested. That part of the life of a man, which did not influence in any way the life of his people and the development of human institutions, did and does not belong to "history" in the opinion of those who understood and understand history to be something higher than the mere satisfaction of curiosity. Whether Charlemagne had less physical power than we are told in mediæval legends, whether his wife was aware that as her husband he was less great than he was as emperor, what difference does it make to us, living in the twentieth century? In any case we cannot find fault with people in the Middle Ages because they asked a picture of Charlemagne in his imperial garb, and did not feel the desire of having another picture of the emperor in his every day costume. Mediæval Tradition may have idealized some features of Charlemagne, but it transmitted to us a true knowledge of the great emperor. Charlemagne of tradition is a great, truly historical personality, and the image which tradition gives of the first German

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Imperator Romanus is historically much more true than many a modern critical pen-and-ink sketch, where attention is paid to every hair of his beard. Consequently a true interpretation of Charlemagne in tradition is a true interpretation of that great, truly historical personality of the eighth century of our era.[42]

We need not add that a book, describing Charlemagne's life according to mediæval tradition, does not give a critical or "scientific" history of the life of that "man," who perhaps in his private moral life was not at all the ideal of a Christian. Moreover, the history given of him is not complete. But all this does not prevent this history from being sufficiently true to make possible an interpretation of tradition, which is the true interpretation of historical reality. A religious or moral teaching attached to a play upon the words—for instance, the proper name of a person or city—a theological explanation of a legend, understood in a parabolical sense, and other liberties taken by ancient historians—to be dealt with afterward—evidently do not destroy the historical character of a book which interprets indeed the traditional, but true history of the great emperor.

As the readers remember, in the character, life and personality of a man there are historical, unanalyzable realities, of which the impression produced upon contemporaries, cannot be transmitted to us without making use of fiction. For that reason critical history when confining itself to mere facts and events, can never be the highest perfection. The highest perfection *can* be reached by popular or traditional history; because tradition contains the impression produced upon the mind of those who knew the historical "person" himself and transmitted their impression to others. However, the dangers which historical reality runs when transmitted by Tradition, either written or oral, is shown in every text-book on historical methodology. We hope that no reader will misun-

[42] Cf. Pesch, op. cit., p. 548: "Inspiratione enim non excluditur usus illorum fontium, ex quibus vera accipi possunt." The learned Jesuit is right when he says: "Historia sacra tandem relative vera est quatenus hagiographi saepe proxime nihil aliud intendunt nisi referre ea, quae in certis fontibus invenerunt" (p. 526). But, since the biblical historians are *judges*, he should express himself differently, as regards the "debitus usus" (ibidem) which the historian makes of the testimonies delivered by his witnesses, and we hope he will do so in his second edition.

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derstand our appreciation of "traditional" history to clash with the common teachings of criticism regarding the trustworthiness of historical, not dogmatic Tradition. We sincerely hope also that no one will see in our distinction between "relating" and "interpreting" history a subterfuge of an embarrassed theologian. The suspicious reader will find sufficient information in a study on "Legenden als Geschichtsquellen" by A. Harnack, a scholar whom in this regard he certainly cannot distrust.[43]

We call attention to the following conclusions drawn by Harnack in defining the character and nature of "history," with no special regard to biblical history, still less to the Catholic doctrine of biblical inspiration.

"Somit leben wir in einer doppelten Geschichte: in der Geschichte der Tatsachen, die mit elementarer Macht uns bestimmen, und in der Geschichte der Gedanken uber die Tatsachen. An jener Geschichte vermögen wir nichts zu ändern, wenn sie sich einmal vollzogen hat; an dieser Geschichte arbeiten wir unaufhörlich selbst mit" (p. 10). Facts or events, for instance, a war or the historical existence of a false worship, are followed by their natural consequences: "ihre natürlichen Folgen bleiben bestehen; aber sie haben noch andere Folgen; denn sie treffen, indem sie den Menschen treffen, nicht Holz und Stein, sondern den lebendigen Geist. *Aus der Art aber, wie der lebendige Geist sie auffasst, entsteht eine neue, zweite Geschichte*" (p. 11). "Die Deutung ist oftmals in der Geschichte viel wichtiger geworden als die Sache selbst" (ibidem). "Durch die Deutung können die natürlichen Folgen eines Ereignisses geradezu umgebogen und in ihr Gegentheil verwandelt werden. Wer ausseres Leiden, Kummer und Not sich als Mahnungen oder Prüfungen deutet, der vermag Trauben von den Dornen und Feigen von den Disteln zu sammeln" (p. 12).

[43] "Reden und Aufsätze," I, pp. 3–26. Gieszen, 1904. In the last number of the *Stimmen* for 1905, there is an interesting article by Fr. Beissel on "Truth in Religious Pictures." Students of history, when reading that study by an art-critic, frequently will think, almost spontaneously, of the "truth" in some literary pictures of the past. As regards the value of Tradition see, for instance, *Questions de Principes concernant l'Exégèse Catholique contemporaine* by Father Lacome, O.P., Paris, 1904.

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Thus, then, Harnack—considered by many of our opponents to be the highest authority among modern scholars in questions of this kind—admits and emphatically maintains the existence of two radically different "histories," running parallel to one another: a history of events or facts, and the natural consequences of those facts, and a history of the interpretation of those facts and the consequences of the interpretation given.

The Old Testament prophets certainly did not confine themselves to military reports of the wars waged by the Israelitic kings! In their books they *judged* the events of the past, as in their preaching they judged the events occurring in their days. The history published by them was not a lifeless photograph! It was a living factor of the highest importance in the history of the development of the present into the future. The publication of a prophetical book was itself a great event, frequently producing wonderful results. The prophetical interpretation of what happened at the present time and in the past, produced, we may say, a history of its own in the future.

The "history" taught by the prophets was a tremendous power. The real, historical development of Israel was for a great deal the result of the history written and preached by the prophets and their disciples. Frequently the power of this "history" clashed with the power of the events, and in the main the final victory was on the side of "history." The influence exercised upon Israel by Babylonian, Egyptian, Syrian and Canaanitish civilization was checked by the prophetical interpretation of treaties and wars, of the wealth of corrupt cities, of the policy followed by Israel's rulers, in one word, of "the history of the events." When the faithful were about to give up courage, the history preached by the prophets, of idolatry on one hand and lawful worship of Jehovah on the other hand, made the people take heart again and keep up their spirits. History, therefore, was a prophet's strongest weapon. It was the usual instrument by which, in the Old Testament theocracy, Divine Providence ruled Israel and led it along ways entirely different from those where the kings

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of Jerusalem and Samaria, with all their power, attempted to lead the chosen people.

What a difference between this class of history and the mere accurate report of witnesses! Would not the inferior class of history seem almost unworthy of divine inspiration? The work of a photographer may satisfy curiosity, but it does not influence the real history of living and toiling mankind. The authors of Josue, Judges, Samuel and Kings are rightly called in the Hebrew Bible the "Earlier Prophets"; the history written in those books, like in all the historical books of the Bible, is indeed "prophetical" history.[44]

In the continuation of this study we will have to examine the character of each historical book of the Bible separately. The historical character of a book, or of narratives related in a book, evidently cannot be established *a priori*, but only in as far as errors in the interpretation of the past are excluded from the works of inspired historians. Postponing the solution of those separate questions to another time, we are entitled to draw the following conclusion from the foregoing considerations on the general character and nature of history: If Jerome's "law of history" is understood as we maintain that it must be understood, this "law" does not come into conflict with the inspired character of the Bible.[45]

[44] "Idem mutatis mutandis dicendum est de omnibus libris sacris historicis: Relationem, quæ intercedat inter homines et maxime populum electum et Deum, historice ostendere volunt, non vero referre facta humana per se ipsa. *Historia igitur sacra est historia religiosa*, non saecularis, non completa, non "pragmatica," non "critica," non comparanda cum historia "moderna," sed hac magna praerogativa ornata, quod nihil affirmat ut verum, quod est falsum, nihil respuit ut falsum, quod est verum." Chr. Pesch, op. cit., p. 525 f. We are not sure in what sense Pesch wishes the term "pragmatica" to be understood in this context; but otherwise we heartily agree with him, provided he approves of our assertion that the biblical historians are *judges*, not mere witnesses. It can hardly be disputed that the truth of documents published by judges, has not to be determined according to the same standard of truth as documents written by witnesses.

[45] Father Brucker's "*Réponse au R. P. Lagrange*" (*Études*, Mars, 1906, pp. 847–859) will be easily disposed of by the readers of the BULLETIN. They will notice that the author, on one hand, misunderstands the character of biblical history, and, on the other hand, does not sufficiently distinguish between the Fathers considered as *witnesses* of the dogmatic Tradition in the Church, and the Fathers considered as *scholars* of their time. (See BULLETIN, 1905, pp. 152 ff.) Every one must admit, and Father Brucker himself agrees, that the biblical history of the Origins is a kind of history entirely peculiar to itself. We will have to examine it carefully when dealing with the historical character of the biblical books separately. But we may notice here that Fr. Lagrange, the great Catholic scholar to whom we owe so much, does not throw doubts upon

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What we have to investigate now is whether Jerome indeed wishes to be understood that way. And first of all we will examine what has been called Jerome's "*Credo scripturaire.*" It will be seen that this denomination or epithet reveals a complete misunderstanding of the passage in question.[46]

HENRY A. POELS.

the historical reality of anything, which is supposed to be historically true by every one admitting the truth of the biblical interpretation of the past. Moreover we cannot approve of the way in which Fr. Brucker puts the question; the readers of the *Etudes* get the impression that Fr. Lagrange denies what Fr. Brucker proves, that is to say: "Il est donc manifeste qu'on ne peut dire des premiers récits de la Bible qu'ils sont étrangers ou indifférents à la foi et à la morale, et comme tels soustraits à l'interprétation souveraine de l'Eglise et des Pères" (p. 850). Fr. Lagrange never thought of denying that! On the contrary, he attempts to show that those narratives keep that value also in this age of critical studies. And we believe that he has done more to convince modern scholars of the trustworthiness of the religious teaching of those narratives than all those who would make us view them in the same light in which they were viewed by the Fathers and the Schoolmen. This evidently is not possible but to those scholars whose standpoint in the field of historical knowledge and critical development is still the same as that of their predecessors many centuries ago.

[46] As regards the recent decisions of the Biblical Commission, it will be sufficient to notice that there is a great difference between asserting that an author interprets "traditional" history, and saying that the history, written by the author, is false! Moreover, the events as such may be of a religious character. The author's "judgment," therefore, may refer to the historical truth itself of the facts related. In such cases the judge himself evidently becomes a witness of the highest order: "and he that saw it hath given testimony; and his testimony is true. And he knoweth that he saith true; that you also may believe" (*Joan.* XIX, 35). Concerning the author's attitude towards determinate facts or details, see BULLETIN, 1905, pp. 63–67, 170–74, 183–88. "To speak *as author*" is only another way of saying what is expressed by the Biblical Commission in the words: "proprio nomine loqui."

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THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA [1]

The first practical steps towards the publication of the Catholic Encylopedia were taken in January, 1905. A board of editors was then organized and arrangements were made for the financial administration of the work. In April, 1905, a prospectus was issued explaining the need, scope and character of the undertaking. During the summer, one of the editors visited England and Ireland for the purpose of securing the coöperation of well-known writers in those countries. With a like end in view, another editor visited Canada. Contributions in more distant countries such as Australia and the Philippines, were secured by correspondence. A certain number of articles were selected from the first series of contributions and were printed as specimen pages in January, 1906. The specimen volume contains, also, a more detailed plan of the work, its principal divisions, a partial list of contributors, samples of illustration and letters of endorsement from the clergy and laity.

Since the publication of the specimen pages, many letters of commendation have been received from scholars in America and in foreign countries, showing a thorough interest in the Encyclopedia. Replies to inquiries sent out by the editorial board manifest a general willingness on the part of Catholic writers to lend their assistance; and many of them have offered valuable suggestions. The attitude of the Catholic body at large, especially in the English-speaking countries, is no less encouraging. On all sides, the project has met the heartiest approval; and what was once regarded as desirable is now welcomed as a necessity.

It is quite generally felt that the time is ripe for a work of this character. Other encyclopedias, of course, have recently shown a disposition to give larger space and fairer treatment to Catholic topics. The Church is no longer ignored, nor is prejudice allowed to say whatever it pleases.

[1] The Catholic Encyclopedia, Specimen Pages, Robert Appleton Co. New York, 1906. 4° (illustrated).

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Negatively, at least, there has been some improvement. This is the more needful and expedient because Catholics themselves are in a position to demand it. They are not disposed to accept misrepresentation as their due portion and still less to pay for it. If an encyclopedia can afford to be just in regard to all other subjects, it certainly has no excuse, in these days of scholarship, for slighting or distorting the facts that are of interest to Catholics.

On the other hand, one should not expect too much even from the best of intentions. In matters pertaining to the Church, her doctrine, practice and history, the Catholic reader naturally asks of any book: by what authority? He knows also that to this question there is but one satisfactory answer. The only guarantee that means anything is that which comes from the Church and her representatives. It is what one looks for on the first page of the catechism and what one finds in every acceptable manual, whether of devotion or of theology or of ecclesiastical law. The same holds good, in a larger way, of an encyclopedia. It must furnish accurate information and bear the stamp of erudition; but it must also, if it is to inspire full confidence, receive authoritative approval and appear under Catholic auspices. What it has to explain is not the view of an individual nor the theory of a school, but the positive teaching of the Church. Where the Church has not given a final decision, it is important to know that Catholics are free to accept one opinion or another. And it is equally important, when the Church does speak, that her decision should be communicated through accredited channels.

Catholic readers, therefore, will be gratified to note that the Catholic Encyclopedia has been undertaken with the cordial approval of the Hierarchy, and that the guiding principle of the publication is loyalty to the authoritative teaching of the Church. To intelligent non-Catholics also, the work must appeal as a presentation of what the Church actually teaches and of the attitude taken by Catholics in regard to controverted questions. Thanks to the development of the historical sciences, there is at present a more general and more earnest desire to get at the truth than there was a few decades ago when whole centuries were passed over as hopelessly dark.

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There is, at any rate, a willingness to review calmly and critically many questions which, it was once supposed, had been settled by a verdict unfavorable to the Church. Wherever such a spirit prevails, the Encyclopedia is sure of a welcome.

The peculiar nature of the work and of the requirements which it has to meet, calls for special qualifications on the part of the writers. In a general encyclopedia, the fitness of each contributor is gauged by his scientific ability, his reputation, position and writings. It matters little what religious belief he holds or whether he believes in anything. Provided he is competent as a purveyor of knowledge, neither publishers nor readers are concerned about his orthodoxy. He may even be regarded as a desirable authority on matters pertaining to religion, because he is altogether free from bias, "unsectarian" in the broadest sense of that elastic term. How many encyclopedia writers really belong to this class of the impartials, is not worth while inquiring. In fact, one is usually prepared to make allowance for certain shortcomings in a writer who evidently means to be objective and sincere.

With a Catholic encyclopedia, the case is different. Articles of belief are not mathematical formulas which can be drawn up and expounded by any one and every one. Only those who have a living experience of faith and a personal sense of its value are fitted to explain its teachings. Hence it so often happens that statements of Catholic doctrine presented by well-meaning Protestant authors, suffer from vagueness or from the failure to emphasize what is essential. A phrase or a word, because it lacks precision, may convey an impression and lead to conclusions which are quite foreign to Catholic belief. Likewise in regard to the practices, institutions and discipline of the Church: viewed from an external standpoint they may seem unreasonable or perhaps grotesque, whereas to the Catholic mind they are the practical embodiment of the Christian spirit.

It is needful, then, for the purposes of a Catholic encyclopedia, that its writers, in addition to their other qualifications, should bring to their task an insight born of sympathy, and

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that, in setting forth the truth, they should be personally conscious of its meaning. Such writers alone are able to realize the difficulties with which Catholics have to contend, to bring doctrine and fact within reach of the people and to provide answers for the objections that are urged against the Catholic position. Both clergy and laity know by experience that misleading statements frequently appear in magazines, reviews and newspapers, and that prompt replies are the only means of correction. The necessary information, scattered as it now is through whole libraries and contained in volumes on special topics, must be made available and must be adapted to our present needs. It must be cast into such shape as to be thoroughly accurate and reliable from the scientific point of view and yet be of service to readers of average intelligence.

One of the most serious problems involved in the preparation of a Catholic encyclopedia is the selection of subjects. The interests of the Church are so varied that it is difficult to say what should be excluded. In any given department of knowledge, the adequate treatment of Catholic topics might easily fill a work of encyclopedic dimensions. Such, in fact, are the dictionaries of theology, archæology and biblical science which have been published recently or are now in course of publication. These works, published in foreign languages, are veritable mines of information, complete and detailed. They are just what the student requires for work along special lines. But the general reader looks for more concise statements and for a wider range of topics. How wide it must be in order to secure proportionate treatment for at least the more important subjects, is shown by the division of the departments or sections, each of which is comprehensive enough to fill a volume. No better proof could be given of the manifold activity of the Church, of her progressive spirit and of her influence upon all spheres of human endeavor.

From this grouping, moreover, it is evident that the scope of the Encyclopedia is not limited to purely ecclesiastical affairs. While subjects directly connected with religion occupy a conspicuous place, many other subjects are included which possess a scientific, historical or literary value. Ample space is allotted to civil law, sociology, philosophy, education and

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art. These are subjects in which the layman no less than the ecclesiastic is interested. They represent so many different fields of investigation and production which have been cultivated for centuries under the auspices of the Church. Though it is known that Catholicism has been an influential factor in shaping civilization, the work of individual Catholics is too often overlooked. Their contributions, especially, to natural science are passed over in silence or are mentioned without reference to the fact that the authors were loyal sons of the Church. Now it is plain that the religious belief of a scientist may have little or no significance in the estimate of his work. But it is equally true that religion is charged with indifference to science or with downright opposition to scientific research; and the only adequate answer to the charge must be found in an account of what Catholic scientists have accomplished. While, then, the Encyclopedia may not enter too far into the technical details of any science, it will render invaluable service by recalling the discoveries and inventions through which Catholic scholars and investigators have enriched our knowledge.

The impression, however, should not be given that this scientific work is entirely a matter of the past—that it has no modern representatives. In spite of the disadvantages under which they labor, Catholics are doing their share towards the advancement of learning. As a rule, also, their merits are recognized by those who follow with a personal interest the progress of science. But their names and attainments should become familiar to Catholics the world over. There are no national boundaries and no foreign languages for knowledge, and still less for the truly Catholic mind. The fruits of scholarship are the property of all; they must be brought within reach of all in such a way as to strengthen and render more clearly conscious the unity of thought and purpose.

The partial list of contributors published in the specimen pages of the Encyclopedia represents twenty-seven different nationalities. While the English-speaking countries furnish the largest quota of writers, the work is fairly distributed throughout other countries. The clergy, religious orders, laity, universities, seminaries, colleges and learned profes-

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sions are well represented. Each of the writers selected is qualified for the task by experience and personal investigation. The aim, in fact, of the Encyclopedia is to have its various subjects handled by experts, so that, within the necessary limits of space, each article may contain the most useful information drawn from trustworthy sources.

In most cases, naturally, condensation is a prime requisite. Exhaustive treatises on any topic do not fall within the scope of such a publication. Its purpose is rather to state clearly and accurately what is essential, to trace in large outlines the development of thought and to indicate the more important matters that are still under discussion. But as even concise statements suggest further inquiry, the Encyclopedia indicates the sources of more complete information and more minute research. The bibliography accompanying each article is so arranged as to acquaint the reader with the recent literature of the subject and direct attention to publications in which extended references are provided. This citation of authors, both Catholic and Protestant, is in itself an object lesson. It gives some idea of the diversified interest, the energy and productivity which characterize modern scholarship; and it furnishes a key to the learning that is stored in periodicals, collections and standard works.

The alphabetical order usually followed in encyclopedias has its obvious advantages. But as each important subject is related to many others and as these may be treated under titles that are alphabetically remote, it is needful to establish a connection between articles that are cognate in nature though occurring under different initials. This is done by a system of cross-references. The reader who begins with the more general aspect of a question may thus trace out its details, and conversely, taking up a single detail, he may widen his study to any desirable extent. The materials which are scattered through the fifteen volumes of the Encyclopedia would form, when correlated as the references suggest, a rather complete account of at least each principal subject.

As a further aid to the reader, the Encyclopedia offers a series of illustrations varying in size from the line-cut to the full-page. They include maps, portraits, copies of famous

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manuscripts, and plates illustrating the masterpieces of architecture, sculpture and painting. In the same way are represented the liturgy of the Church, educational institutions and historical events. Much care has evidently been taken both in the selection of subjects and in the work of illustration. Restricted within proper limits, this pictorial feature adds to the general appearance of the Encyclopedia and to its utility.

So far as one may judge from these specimen pages, the work bids fair to take high rank among publications of the class to which it belongs. In its own special province, it has the advantage of an open field. It offers to English-speaking Catholics the service which has been rendered to religion by encyclopedias published in various European countries. It will naturally give prominence to the development and work of the Church in America. The growth of our dioceses, the lives of men and women who have labored for the faith, the history of our educational and charitable institutions and the activity of our Catholic associations, will be duly recorded. When the record is complete, it will be seen that Catholicism in the New World has lost none of its vigor, and that the Church has not failed to profit by the favorable conditions which religion in this country enjoys. The fact that both clergy and laity have come forward in support of the Encyclopedia justifies the undertaking and ensures its success.

EDWARD A. PACE.

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THE BALTIMORE CATHEDRAL CENTENARY.

It is eminently fitting that the centenary of the Cathedral of Baltimore should be marked by a special observance. In this commemoration, the religious interests of a people gathered from all the nations of earth, rightly converge. From this stately concourse of our ecclesiastical rulers, thought turns back to survey the events of a century as remarkable in the annals of Catholicism as it is in the progress of humanity. In a New World there has sprung up a new life, nurtured by freedom, quickened by opportunity, enriched by the very complexity of its conditions. Through it all, part of it and yet distinct, runs the history of the Catholic Church, a spiritual force in the midst of material growth, an organized activity that draws strength from time and initiative from contact with its changing environment. In no other part of the world has the vitality of Catholicism been so plainly manifest. No other occasion could bring more clearly to consciousness the sense of our unitary Catholic life than this centenary which merges in one solemnity interests that are local and national, historical and actual.

Around the structure whose foundations were laid in the early days of the Republic, a mighty city has grown, developing through the century its varied activities, commercial, financial and educational. The vicissitudes of war and peace, the transformations wrought by the greatest of modern inventions, and the necessities of municipal expansion, have swept away too many of Baltimore's landmarks. The Cathedral remains—a center of historical associations which appeal to every citizen, a memorial of men who labored earnestly in behalf of civic honor and virtue.

For the Catholic mind the Cathedral is more than a secular monument. It enshrines the memory of America's first bishop and it holds in its keeping the dust of his great successors. To the beginning and growth of religion, to its solemnities and ministrations, these walls are sacred with the consecration of a hundred years. From this sanctuary a long

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line of devoted priests has issued, to serve as witnesses of God's truth and as doers of God's work. With them and through their efforts, the Catholic people of the Archdiocese have come to regard the Cathedral church as the source of their religious life. For clergy and laity alike the centenary has a meaning which is the deeper because it is personal, heartfelt, direct.

In its wider significance, this occasion claims the interest of the Church throughout the United States. Baltimore has not lived for itself alone. As became the primatial See, it has furthered the work of religion in North and South, East and West. Again and again its original territory has been mapped out in diocese and province. What was once within Bishop Carroll's jurisdiction is now ruled by a hundred bishops. And the Catholic population of the country is just fourfold the number of citizens with which the Republic was founded. Whatever causes may have been operative and whatever hindrances may have stood in the way, the obvious fact is that Catholicism has progressed and that the widening circle of its influence has had Baltimore for its center.

The bishop who laid the foundations of the Cathedral was himself the corner-stone of an edifice not built by human hands. Upon his work has arisen the Hierarchy of the United States. Imbued with his spirit, the bishops of this country have toiled as pioneers, advancing as the national territory expanded and solving new problems which the growth of the nation presented. Through them and through the clergy under their direction, the Church has wielded a wholesome influence upon the moral and social development of the American people. The hopes of Archbishop Carroll have been more than realized. From Baltimore there has radiated to every part of the land a vigorous religious life, strong in its power of adaptation and stronger still in its practical adherence to the Catholic faith.

In a country whose republican institutions are based of necessity upon respect for law, the Church finds an open field for the exercise of her authority and the maintenance of her discipline. Not only in her immediate action upon Catholics but also in the example which she holds up to citizens of every

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creed and class, the Church is the mainstay of government and the safeguard of order. Prescribing individual and social duties, securing the family in its most sacred ties and defending the rights of conscience against every encroachment, she proves herself an indispensable factor in the preservation of liberty and the furtherance of the nation's best interests.

Baltimore has been for a century the capital of Catholic America; its Cathedral, the hall of ecclesiastical legislation. More than once, the Episcopate has assembled here to deliberate upon the needs of religion and the issues, various and important, which confronted the Church. In these plenary councils, decrees have been enacted that affect the lives of millions, uniting them more closely in the bond of a common faith and of a common observance, warning them against manifold dangers, correcting abuses, stimulating the love of God and of country. Among the forces that make for righteousness in public and in private life, none is more potent than this exercise of spiritual jurisdiction. Nor is there in our legislative history a series of enactments displaying greater wisdom and moderation than that which characterizes the ordinances promulgated in the Cathedral of Baltimore.

Though framed to meet actual requirements, these rulings are but the application of the large and salutary principles which have controlled the legislation of the Church from the beginning and have borne the test of experience through ages of changing civilization among all the races of mankind. The Councils held in Baltimore have been guided by the supreme authority of the Holy See, have merited its approval and thereby secured for their decrees validity and sanction. Through this ratification, the Church in the United States is bound by inviolable ties of unity, obedience and fealty to the source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Through one and the same channel of communication, the Apostolic See has made known its behests and has received in turn the homage of loyal hearts.

As the scene of legislation designed to preserve morality, concord and the sense of civic obligation, the Cathedral of Baltimore is to the Catholic mind what the neighboring Capitol in Washington is to the mind of the people at large.

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Endeavoring in the spirit of the Constitution to secure equal rights for all citizens, the State has provided ample scope for the exercise and development of religion; while the Church, profiting by a liberty of action which is her due, has wrought effectually for the temporal no less than for the spiritual welfare of the nation. The cordial relations established by the first President and the first Archbishop have been maintained by their successors in office. In quiet co-operation, marked by courtesy, tact and mutual respect, the chief representatives of political and of religious authority have, as occasion required, taken counsel for the adjustment of questions in which each was concerned, and from the settlement of which only a deeper sense of harmony and a finer perception of equity could issue.

Happily for the larger interests of the Church in the United States, the Archdiocese has had for its rulers men characterized by breadth and discernment, by patriotism no less than by solicitude for the general weal of religion. In the midst of duties, arduous at once and delicate, they have found time for intellectual pursuits and for the production of works which serve to instruct those who are of the household of the faith and to enlighten the many who are still without. In such writings, calm with the assurance of truth and persuasive with the gentleness of Christian zeal, the student of religion finds an admirable model. They exemplify, in substance and in tone, the method that is best adapted to the needs of our country and that responds most fully to the spirit of inquiry aroused by the diffusion of knowledge.

To the zeal of its Archbishops also, Baltimore owes its prominence as the center of Catholic education. In its colleges for the laity, its seminaries for the clergy and its universities for advanced students in every department of science, it possesses a complete system. Some of these institutions have already passed the century mark; others, more recently founded, are evidences of educational progress along various lines. Animated by a common purpose, the teachers in these schools have done their full duty in preparing Catholic youth for the Church and the learned professions. Their graduates, trained in the principles and practices of Christianity, have been called to positions of honor and trust

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in the public service, and to wide fields of labor in the cause of religion. The sons of Georgetown, oldest among our Catholic colleges, and the alumni of St. Mary's, parent of our theological seminaries, have every reason to be proud of these institutions which, from the beginning, have so ably seconded the Hierarchy and the clergy in spreading and maintaining our Catholic faith.

The work of secondary education, successful as it has been, would not have been possible without the work of the primary schools. In these are laid the foundations upon which the whole educational structure rests. In proportion as we build upward, it behoves us to see that the basis is secure. From college and university we must eventually turn back to academy and parochial school, if we would realize fully what has been accomplished in these hundred years. In the lives of the pastors who have built our churches and schools, and in the work of self-sacrificing teachers, is written the record which shows what Catholicism can do, in a free country, to instruct and uplift all classes of the people. It is, therefore, a matter of congratulation that the completion of the century finds our Catholic schools, from the highest to the lowest, consolidated in a unity as compact as that of the Cathedral itself.

When the first stone of this edifice was laid by Bishop Carroll, the Church in the United States was little more than a collection of struggling missions. Fortunately, the missionary spirit has not failed; nor has it wanted for opportunity to put forth its hardihood, energy and zeal. From far distant sections of the country, the outposts of civilization and religion, men of faith and courage will look, on this centenary occasion, to Baltimore, to find, in dwelling upon the splendid growth of the Church, fresh ardor for the noblest of tasks. Their work indeed is more than a commemoration of pioneer days; it is a constant renewal of America's apostolate—a sowing of which coming generations will gather the harvest.

But even in the older and more fully developed portions of our country, there is missionary work to be done. Where church organization is most perfect in resources, institutions and material structures, there remains the never-ending task of upbuilding and strengthening the spiritual life. To pro-

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vide for intellectual needs that become daily more urgent and to solve the complex problems which emerge from our social and economic development, is the mission entrusted to the Church in the century that is just begun. It is an undertaking which the wisest will regard as serious and perhaps as difficult. Yet the Church brings to it an experience which, humanly speaking, is a guarantee of success and a power of endurance firm as the rock on which Christ builded. In the security of the divine promise, Catholicism will continue, amid all the changes in its secular environment, the mission of leading men onward to the City of God. And the Cathedral of Baltimore, either in its present form or in the larger proportions which progress may demand, will be, as its founder hoped, a source of grace to multitudes in all time to come: "et erit mons elevatus super omnes colles, et fluent ad eam omnes gentes."

EDWARD A. PACE.

LETTER OF POPE PIUS X TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL GIBBONS, ON THE OCCASION OF THE CENTENARY OF THE CORNER-STONE LAYING OF BALTIMORE CATHEDRAL.

Dilecto Filio Nostro Jacobo Tituli S. Mariae trans Tiberim S. R. E. Presb. Card. Gibbons Archiepiscopo Baltimorensium, Pius PP. X.

Dilecte Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Quum centum ante annos primus Baltimorensium Archiepiscopus primum statuebat lapidem ædi isti cathedrali ædificandæ, lapidem enimvero collocasse dicendus est, quo super, in fastigium et in gloriam, deberet America sacra consurgere. Nam sive ad efflorescentem eorum propaginem intendamus animum, qui aucti sacerdotio sunt aut episcopi consecrati, sive coacta apud vos ad hæc usque tempora concilia cogitemus, sive habita istic splendidissima quæque sollemnia recolamus, hæc videmus omnia in Cathedrali Baltimorensi templo nativum quasi locum fortunate reperisse. Fortunate, dicimus, et cum omine meliorum quotidie rerum; quarum quidem argumento

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sunt et prolata apud gentem vestram hierarchia, et auctus catholicorum numerus, et tranquilla religionis conditio, et firma cum Romana Sede necessitudo, et solatia omne genus, quæ præbita cordi nostro virtutibus vestris fuere.

Quapropter plurima dignum commendatione consilium arbitramur agendi communibus lætitiis auspicatam præclari facinoris memoriam.

Harum vero celebritatum non equidem opus est enarrare quam libenti Nos animo quantis cum votis partem capiamus. Nostis enim omnes quæcumque maxime valerent ad decus Religionis nostræ in Americano populo provehendum, ea Nos et præcipuo semper desiderio quæsiisse et velle nunc eodem ardenti studio complecti. Complectimur autem idcirco cupidius, quia compertum exploratumque habemus responsuros fore vos invitationi Nostræ, una et eadem consensione voluntatum, si per opportunam hanc jucundamque tempestatem, ejusmodi impulsi sacrorum progressuum memoria, cohortemur Americanum populum ad majora etiam quam usque adhuc comparandæ rei catholicæ incrementa.

Id quidem instantissime facimus, eo vel magis quod non modo ad amplificandam religionem, sed ad exaugenda etiam rei civilis commoda sciamus verba Nostra debere conducere. Vobis propterea universis, de sacris patrum memoriis ac de fidei illustrandæ gloria sollicitis, intimo ex corde gratulamur, laudemque vere meritam, et pro studio unde lætitias publicas paratis, et pro eo qui inde elucet habitu animorum, tribuimus.

Tali sane animo vos esse demonstratis, qualem in catholicis omnibus valde expeteremus; tali nimirum, qui firmam fecundamque contineat futuri temporis spem.

Pro vestrarum felicitate ecclesiarum, itemque pro sollemnium sæcularium exitu lætissima nuncupamus vota, auspicemque cœlestium munerum ac testem prægrandis dilectionis Nostræ Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi, Episcopis, clero universoque populo Americæ Septentrionalis peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum die II Martii anno MCMVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

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[TRANSLATION.]

To Our Beloved Son James Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, Cardinal Priest, of the Title of St. Mary across the Tiber, Pius PP. X.

Beloved Son, Health and Apostolic Benediction:

When the first Archbishop of Baltimore, one hundred years ago, laid the corner-stone of the Cathedral, he laid, we may truly say, the foundation upon which the Church of America was to rise to its full and glorious height. The priests ordained in ever increasing numbers within its walls, the bishops there consecrated, the councils there celebrated, and the various magnificent solemnities that it has witnessed, have all happily found, as it were, their home in the Cathedral of Baltimore. Happily, We say, and ever with the promise of better things, as is proven by the extension of the Hierarchy, the growth of the Catholic population, the peaceful state of religion, your steadfast union with the See of Rome, and the manifold consolations which Our heart has gathered from your achievements.

Hence, We deem it worthy of Our highest approval that you propose to commemorate with general rejoicing so signal an event. We need not tell you with what sentiments of good-will and of heartfelt interest We share in this celebration. You are all aware that We have always most ardently sought, and are now equally eager to adopt, whatsoever may avail to enhance the honor of Our religion among the American people. Our eagerness herein is greater because We are sure that you will respond with common accord and endeavor to the invitation which We, prompted by the memory of what you have accomplished for religion, extend you on this timely and joyous occasion in urging the American people to still greater efforts in behalf of our Catholic faith. This exhortation we repeat in all earnestness, knowing full well that Our words must aim not only at advancing the cause of religion but also at furthering the public weal. Intent, therefore, as you now are upon extolling the sacred memories of your forefathers and setting forth the glory of your faith, We offer you Our sincere congratulations and bestow upon you the praise

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that you fully deserve both by your zeal in organizing this public celebration and by the habitual attitude of mind therein displayed. You manifest indeed a temper that We ardently desire to see cultivated by all Catholics, a temper, namely, which holds within itself, strong and full of promise, the hope of the future.

Right joyously, then, We express our wishes for the prosperity of your churches and the success of this centenary observance. At the same time, as a pledge of heavenly graces and a token of our deep affection, We impart most lovingly Our Apostolic Benediction to you, the bishops, the clergy, and the whole American people.

Given at Rome, the Second of March, 1906, in the third year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS PP. X.

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BOOK REVIEWS.

The Christian Doctrine of Salvation. By George Barker Stevens. New York: Scribner's, 1905. 8°, pp. 8 + 546.

Professor Stevens devotes the first part of this volume to a study of the biblical basis on which the Christian doctrine of salvation rests. The Old Testament thought-world furnishes two inquiries not without some significance for the subject he has to treat; these are the sacrificial system and the prophetic doctrine of salvation. The origin of the Old Testament sacrifices is a question that has as yet yielded no definite results. With regard to the religious meaning and value of these sacrifices, none of the four theories—gift, homage, meal, satisfaction—is exhaustive or adequate. Religion is too complex to fall under any one single category, and there is always the danger of simplifying matters too much. The "priestly code," whatever may be thought of its legalism, is not wanting in ethical elements. The assumption of Leviticus that God is not estranged from man, or indisposed to forgive the sinner, cuts a sharp line of cleavage between the heathen and biblical conceptions of sacrifice.

This line of cleavage between Judaism and heathenism becomes clearer still in the Prophets, who criticize sharply the existing sacrifices, and deny that through these alone lies the way to God's favor and forgiveness. The prophetic doctrine of salvation is highly ethical and moral, notwithstanding the external and political features which it takes on from contact with the national life of Israel. The proverb of the fathers who ate sour grapes and the children who had their teeth set on edge in consequence, is questioned by Jeremiah and refuted by Ezekiel. The sense of individual worth and responsibility increases. The idea that God is inherently merciful and not made so by propitiatory sacrifices is the presupposition of the entre Old Testament teaching, and is a far truer view of the religion of Israel than the degenerate legalism that came to its full fruitage in Pharisaism.

Nor was this mercifulness of God conceived by the prophets as a rival principle to divine justice; the idea is rather that of two aspects or phases of one and the same character. Salvation is viewed not merely as a collective, but also as an individual affair, an ethical process of recovery from sin, and an inward renewal, growth in moral

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likeness to God. It is in these elements that the prophetic teaching approaches the Christian doctrine of salvation. Even in the passages of the Old Testament where the idea of vicarious satisfaction or substitution occurs, the ethical element is not absent. This is an important point to be kept in mind, because the fundamental question underlying all constructive theories of salvation is whether the redemption is the cause of God's love for man, or the effect of it.

The author next examines the Synoptic records of the Lord's preaching, and describes the idea of God and of man which is there portrayed. He finds no one formula or theory of salvation. Men must become and live as God's true sons, obedient to His will, trustful in His care, morally like Him in motive and purpose. But the parables cannot be regarded as containing all Christ's teaching. The object of the Lord's mission is service to humanity—and this object He pursues steadily to the very end of his life. What significance for his saving work did Jesus attribute to his sufferings and death? Was this relation of his life-work to his death an after-thought added by the disciples when they saw the facts in perspective? The author, after discussing the exegetical issue involved, states it as certain that the Lord connected his death with the idea of his service to mankind, of which His own career had furnished the typical illustration. Christ was well aware that his death was an integral part of his mission. His conviction of his coming death was not that of a metaphysical or historical necessity; but a consciousness of his Messianic vocation in the complete programme which it involved. The phrases "ransom for many," "unto the remission of sins," and the cry of abandonment uttered upon the cross beyond establishing the fundamental fact of the connection between the Lord's life and death express no theoretical elements. We must not read into them the later theological theories of substitutionary sacrifice and vicarious satisfaction.

Exception must be taken to what Professor Stevens says on the import of the Lord's language at the last supper. He seems to limit it to what is already contained in the ratification of the covenant at Sinai. It is altogether too much to say, as does Holtzmann, that Exodus furnishes the sole clue to the Synoptic narrative here; such a statement, if made categorically, would beg the question outright. But Professor Stevens does not go so far even though he leans strongly toward the view that the language is non-sacrificial in character. Matthew's phrase "for the remission of sins," textually considered, has an element of surprise about it, it is true; but this surprise disappears in the "total drift" of the Lord's teaching—a prin-

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ciple which Professor Stevens admirably employs against those critics whom we might be pardoned for calling "the fragmentarians."

The idea of substitutionary expiation is only one of two ways in which St. Paul regarded the import of the Lord's death,—the judicial as contrasted with the ethical conception. St. Paul transcended his own contrast of love and justice in his Christian conviction that it was the divine love alone which found a way to satisfy justice. The idea of substitution, satisfaction, thus became secondary, and the seeming contrast dissolved into unity. The death of the Lord is not to St. Paul's mind a case of vindictive justice, a penal substitution of the innocent for the guilty, much less a punishment pure and simple. The Pauline idea of expiation, once we disentangle it from the "argumentum ad hominem" which the Apostle employs against the Judaizers, has in it the voluntary elements of devotion and sacrifice, and is not the mere working out of an objective legal process. Professor Stevens shows here what clear results can be accomplished by the use of that scientific insight, which the French call "appréciation d'ensemble." Incidentally, he cuts the ground from under the theories of substutionary sacrifice and vicarious satisfaction, familiar to Protestant dogmatics out of which the element of love was almost entirely exegeted, owing to a too exclusive construction of doctrine on one aspect of St. Paul's teaching.

The epistle to the Hebrews expresses under the categories of priesthood and sacrifice the objective aspect of Christ's work but it does not confine the thought wholly within this side of the problem. The voluntary side of Christ's oblation is also made clear; spiritual and moral considerations complete the legal and extrinsic phases. The same may be said of the view expressed in the Fourth Gospel. One will search it in vain for the idea that guilt is juridically cancelled and nothing more. Purification from sin by an actual renewing power is the thought. Professor Stevens does not think that the Savior's death is presented by St. John as an expiation of sin, and sees in the usually quoted phrases no evidence of a definite theory. The thought-world of St. John, due allowance being made for his mystic forms of expression, is the same as that of the Synoptists.

In his appreciation of the biblical sources, Professor Stevens regrets that the focus of thought and interest for Protestant dogmatics has been the atonement, not the incarnation; the death rather than the life and gospel message of Christ. The ethical features were to a great extent lost sight of in the effort to construct a theory of salvation on the analogy of a legal process in a court of justice. The moral

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nature of God and of man affords the surer basis, even in the Scripture narratives, on which to frame a systematic conception of the nature and method of salvation. The author points out that the saving import of the Lord's death was submitted to much reflection, and became the subject of considerable development even within the first Christian century. He thinks that no fruitful investigation of the beginnings of Christian theology can be made until Christianity is not identified with the special modes of thought which any particular thinker, speaking the language of his special circle or peculiar education, may use to convey to others the most effective impression of its truths.

The Catholic theologian rests content, it may be said in passing, if the gospel foundation for the doctrine of the redemption is not explained away. That Christ foresaw His death as an integral part of His mission not merely through "circumstantial" evidence, and revealed Himself progressively as Messiah and Savior, is solid ground on which to build. That Christ at the last supper proclaimed the existence of a relation between His death and the pardon of sins is sufficient. In the simple fact that Christ gave His life for us and for the remission of our sins the whole theology of the redemption finds its initial source. The continuity between the Redemption and the Incarnation is not cut, nor is the significance of the Lord's life reduced to the three sad days which closed it.

It matters not whether the two ideas of ransom and sacrifice express a definite theory of salvation; it may be conceded that Christ by these words expressed neither the idea of expiatory nor that of vicarious sacrifice which later emerge in Christian thought. The Protestant scholastic theologian, of a more or less fixed type not wholly yet extinct, who has drawn so heavily on this well of evangelism undefiled for his legalistic conception of the redemptive process will have to fall back upon St. Paul's writings to defend his contention. Even here Professor Stevens will not leave him unmolested. St. Paul's juristic analogy is not a definition of the process of justification at all, but an "argumentum ad hominem" against the Pharisaic theory of self-merited salvation.

Of course, the rationalist of the extreme type, who is pleased to regard Christianity as a fossil to be exhumed out of documents and restored in its original simplicity, will treat under the concept of degeneracy, rather than that of development, the historical unfolding of Christian thought. To him it is all a problem of additions, foreign importations, not of vital growth and continuity. His "pure Gospel"

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must remain without the color of time, place, and circumstance, an idea that never should have had contact with the great stream of human consciousness or the movements of history. He may be left to his own chosen profession of photographing the acorn and the mustard seed. When one takes Christianity out of the field of history and of life altogether, its whole career must seem too actual to the dealer in pure essences, unadulterated abstractions, and original simplicities.

In the second part of the volume, Professor Stevens reviews at length the extinct patristic theory of a ransom paid to Satan; the "commercial" theory of Saint Anselm; modern penal and ethical satisfaction-theories; and finally the 'subjective' theories that have latterly tended to displace the traditional views. He is careful to point out in passing that the ransom theory is far from being an adequate summary of patristic thought. Of Anselm's view as expressed in the "Cur Deus homo?" he has nothing to say in commendation. It is too juridical, external, uncorrelated, to pass for a plan of salvation.

It must be admitted that this criticism is well founded, so far as Saint Anselm's constructed system is concerned. But in his "Meditationes"—especially the sixth, eleventh and twelfth—St. Anselm escapes from the rigors of his own dialectic, and shows that his conception of salvation was based on the moral nature of God—His goodness and mercy—not merely on the juristic analogy which the interests of system-building compelled him elsewhere to select. This "unfettered" conception might, it seems, have been taken into account in forming an estimate of the satisfaction theory proposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Reread in this softer light, it will not appear so wholly outside the human conscience, so utterly without the note of divine love which is the first and last word of the mystery of the Redemption.

The author in the third part of the volume discusses the "previous questions" with which the doctrine of salvation is vitally connected; namely: How are we to conceive the ethical nature of God? What were the method and aim of our Lord's mission? What is the relation in which He stands to our human history and destiny? The ethical nature of God, His justice or righteousness, includes both goodness and severity; and Christ's work was not to reveal or satisfy some single attribute of God, arbitrarily defined and separated from His total moral perfection, but God Himself in His saving, holy love. Hence, those theories which define God's righteous nature in the

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narrow sense of retributive justice; which consequently, make salvation from punishment, not from sin, the chief aim of Christ's work, are unscriptural, and deserve the obsolescence into which they have fallen. Salvation is no mere external affair, but an inward process of renewal and recovery. The plan of salvation must not be inverted so as to make God's love for man the consequence of Christ's saving labors. The true view is that love was always the incentive of God's dealing with men; love of the sinner, hatred only of his sin. Professor Stevens places the essence of human salvation in the relation of fellowship, oneness with Christ. Faith is only the consciousness of this relation as progressively realizable, not an intellectual assent at all. The Christian character, the God-like life, is salvation. Anything like a doctrine of total depravity, or moral inability, is essentially un-Christian. The doctrine which would conceive the unfolding of human character as separate from the grace of God is due to false contrast. Instead of opposing the natural and the supernatural, we should rather view the process of salvation as wholly the latter. The controversy about justification between Catholics and Protestants was idle, because based upon a passing reproof administered by St. Paul to the Pharisees, whose ideas he had himself so far outgrown that he could retort the argument they alleged in favor of the works of the law.

Professor Stevens does not conceive man's relation of fellowship with God to be 'vertical' only; it is a social relation within the community of the godlike, in which man finds the possibilities of his self-development increased, and, to some extent, organized. The work of salvation continues in the world of the dead; and it does not follow that the idea of Purgatory is false and unscriptural, whatever one may think of the Catholic doctrine on the subject, or its application. He expresses his "wish to believe" that death does not necessarily mark the boundary of the day of grace for mankind, nor end moral opportunity. He closes by saying that the atoning work of Christ is the production of the consciousness and experience of sonship in mankind. To repeat Christ's life of sacrifice, is salvation.

Professor Stevens has limited his study to the "soul" of the Church, to the psychology of the Christian life as one sees it portrayed in the New Testament writings. He has accordingly treated the whole question of salvation as a psychological experience, and abstained from any attempt to justify it intellectually. It is a progressive consciousness of divine fellowship, no less, no more. Rational assent does not enter into it at all. Where metaphysical at-

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tempts are made to rationalize somewhat the contents of the Christian faith, these are criticized away as unbiblical, and the development of Christian thought is confined to that of the single idea—fellowship. Faith and rational knowledge are thus divorced, and we have a disembodied spirit rather loath to enter into the body of historical Christianity from which it has been separated for purposes of study. It is not necessary to see in the dominance of the rational special danger to religion; particularly at present, when Christianity seems with many to have reduced itself to an emotional appreciation of the value of Christ's personality, and to distrust constructive reason altogether. The danger is all the other way, in regarding the undefined subconscious as the channel of religion.

It is to be regretted that Professor Stevens did not trace the development of patristic thought on the topic of salvation. Had he done so he would have found in the penitential discipline practised by the Latin Church—in Tertullian's "omne delictum aut venia dispungit aut poena"—an ecclesiastical source for the Anselmic theory of satisfaction, the origin of which he seems to ascribe to feudalism and Germanic law. It is easy to mistake the influence of environment on the growth of an idea, on its systematic presentation, for the original source of the idea itself. But the proof of the importation of the idea from foreign sources is often as thin an argument from analogy as those which are continually held up to condemnation, in the history of theology, as "far-fetched."

Nor does it seem to be an exigency of "critical thought" to identify rational theology with certain abstract, one-sided methods which have had their day. These methods may be discarded and a more vital view taken, say, of grace, than was possible when ideas that were only incomplete became polar opposites by the sheer force of contrast. The fate of rational theology is not linked with any method or terminology, and new points of view may be just as partial and incomplete in another direction as were the old in theirs. It seems to the reviewer, also, that the antithesis between "personal religion" and religion of authority dissolves in the admission that man's relation to God is "horizontal," not merely "vertical." In other words, the author's principles are welcome to many not of his "school" of thought.

Professor Stevens' work contains many searching criticisms of positions traditionally dear to Protestant scholasticism. He says that the doctrine of salvation has been primarily constructed out of the survivals of Pharisaism in St. Paul's thought. This criticism

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will hardly touch the Catholic doctrine of grace as an inner renewal. St. Augustine in the fifth century dropped the irrelevant features incident to St. Paul's controversy with the Pharisees, and selected the idea of "donum" as the thought-centre of St. Paul, around which to build the doctrine of grace as a gift.

Catholic thought, from the Middle Ages on, has been spared the artificiality of "imputations," "substitutions," and of "equivalences" though the latter has had its devotees. The idea of satisfaction mentioned in the creeds has been retained, but the theory of Anselm practically ceased with him; it is not an adequate conception of Christ's work, anyway. The merit-winning and the debt-paying functions have their place with us in the efficacy attributed to Christ's death. But along with these—to save us from the lawyer's view of salvation—we have had the counter-balancing conceptions that the least of Christ's actions had an infinite value; that His satisfaction was superabundant, whether rigorously adequate or not; and that love far more than justice inspired the divine profusion exhibited in the Lord's life and death.

Christmas has saved us from seeing only Good-Friday. Bossuet and Bourdaloue—not to mention lesser lights in the art of preaching—were fond, it is true, of describing the war between the divine attributes of love and justice, and even of regarding Christ as the object of divine fury. But these oratorical excesses cannot be laid to Catholic teaching. The Incarnation has always been central and primary in Catholic theology from the days of the Fathers. We did not need Duns Scotus to tell us that Christ would have come even had there been no sin to save us from; and we can look with composure upon the destruction of purely legalistic theories concerning the nature of salvation. We would rather however, see reaction against them take the form of new attempts at construction, than an utter abandonment of what is called the "objective side" of the Atonement. We do not share the distrust of reason now prevailing, nor the over-confidence which is placed in the mere experience of a sense of fellowship with God. EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

The Church and its Organization in Primitive and Catholic Times. By Walter Lowrie. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904. 8°, pp. xxxvii + 402.

The Catholic view that the Church is a divinely constituted unequal society, whose ministerial priesthood, originally vested in the apostles, was meant to be perpetuated by a legitimate succession of

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duly ordained bishops and priests, has given no little trouble to Protestant scholars. They look on its monarchical episcopate as a perverted outgrowth of primitive conditions. But in explaining the organization of the primitive Church, and accounting for its unwarranted conversion into the Catholic system, they are by no means agreed. To the many divergent and contradictory theories already excogitated on this subject, Professor Sohm, in the first volume of his Kirchenrecht, has made bold to add another, and it is this theory which Mr. Lowrie expounds for the edification and enlightenment of his English readers. He candidly admits that his book is in no small measure a translation and adaptation of the work of Professor Sohm, though here and there he has seen fit to make a few minor modifications.

According to this theory, the ideal Church, as exemplified in the primitive Church, did not rest on legal organization, which is opposed to the very nature of the Church. It condemns the Protestant idea of ministerial power delegated by the faithful to individuals thereby giving them legal authorization. It is one with the Catholic view in making the exercise of authority a matter of divine right, coming from above, not from below. But it rejects the Catholic idea of an undying authoritative ministerial priesthood vested by Christ in the apostles, and perpetuated by the rite of ordination in an unbroken line of legitimate successors. This Catholic form of Christianity is set down as a radical departure from primitive ideals, though at the same time it is admitted "that the character of legalized (Catholic) Christianity was conditioned essentially by the primitive conception of the nature of the Church. The legal constitution of the Church *must* assume monarchical form; because from the beginning the Church was ruled by Christ's spirit, by Christ's word, through the men whom he had charismatically endowed to speak in his stead. That is to say, the officers of the Church are the representatives of Christ (God), not the representatives of the congregation. Thus also ecclesiastical law—if law there be—can only be regarded as an authority *jure divino,* because no other law is of force in the Church but God's law" (p. 12).

In the primitive Church there was order, uniformity, disciplinary government, but it rested not on legal rights and duties, but on the recognition of the divine authority of individuals charismatically endowed, through whom the will of God was revealed and communicated to the faithful. These were the apostles, prophets, and teachers. "Christendom is organized through the impartation of spiritual gifts (charismata), which are at once an equipment of individual Chris-

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tians for a special activity in the Ecclesia, and a *call* to such service. . . . The impartation of the charismata furnishes the Church with a *God-given organization*. . . . The charisma of each individual claims recognition on the part of the other brethren; and in so far as it constitutes a call to a guiding, leading, or administrative activity in the Ecclesia, it exacts obedience" (pp. 147–148). "One gift, one charisma, there is to which is intrusted the conduct of the congregation, the government of the Church in Christ's name: *the gift of teaching*" (p. 150). The highest form of teaching is that based on the charisma of prophecy. The prophet, knowing God's will through many special revelations, is constantly busied with the communication of these divine messages to the faithful. "The prophetic voice was therefore not only the most direct expression of God's will, but commonly the most particular. Hence the preëminent authority of the prophets as the lawgivers and administrators of the Ecclesia. There was no authority of higher instance than the prophet, for in the Ecclesia there was no law but God's will" (pp. 231–232).

These charismata, being directly bestowed by God independently of human agency, did not necessitate any ordination-rite. The laying on of hands in the primitive Church was not a sacramental conferring of ministerial power, but was rather the Church's recognition that the "person receiving this rite . . . already possessed God's spirit and the spiritual charisma which furnished him with the faculty for his office" (p. 261).

But how are those who claim to possess these charismata to be spiritually discerned? This is accomplished through the instrumentality of the prophet, knowing God's mind and speaking in his name. "God's witness is manifested ordinarily through the medium of prophecy,—by the voice of a gifted teacher. To the witness of God is joined the witness of the assembly, which signifies assent to the word of the prophet, a recognition that it is God himself who speaks through the mouth of man" (pp. 255–256). Just how the assembly without a revelation on its part could be sure of such a recognition is not explained; nor are we told how the prophets themselves come to be securely recognized as the favored channels of divine revelation.

There being thus no such thing as legal organization in the primitive Church, how did the Catholic polity arise, the existence of which Mr. Lowrie admits was general in the second century, finding undeniable expression in the letters of Ignatius? This development, in his eyes irreconcilable with the true idea of the Church, had its starting point in the Eucharistic celebration. For the performance of this rite, no priestly qualification was necessary. Theoretically, any

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Christian could preside, for great insistence is laid on the dictum, "ubi tres, ibi ecclesia." Whether three Christian women would thus constitute the Church with its fulness of powers is not stated. But as it was a high honor thus to preside at the Eucharist and represent Christ, the most worthy was naturally chosen. This would be the charismatically endowed teacher, when such was to hand. But "even in the Apostolic Age they were the exception rather than the rule" (p. 272). Hence it was generally incumbent on the assembly to appoint one of their number, the most worthy of the elders, or presbyters. The one thus appointed had also the business of teaching, giving private counsel, and supervising the proper keeping and distribution through the deacons of the contributions of the congregation. Thus arose the office of bishop, which while not carrying with it a legal authorization, had a permanence by force of custom. The separation of the Eucharist from the Agape, and its union with the general service of prayer and instruction, constituting one principal assembly for the several small Christian communities in the neighborhood, gave increased importance to the office of bishop. "What had originally been a free assembly with little or no superintendence received through this union a formally constituted president in the person of the bishop" (p. 280). The logical corollary of this development was the single episcopate. It gave rise to the custom of the single bishop, surrounded by his presbyters and deacons, exercising *de facto* sole local authority over the Eucharist. It was the fatal mistake of Ignatius to treat this custom as a divine institution, to look on the bishop as *de jure* head of the congregation, and to say in his letter to the Smyrnians: "Let no man do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church. It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold an agape." "Ignatius," says Mr. Lowrie, "made a momentous addition to Christ's definition (sic) of the Church. Christ said that wherever two or three are gathered together in his name, he will be in the midst of them—and that constitutes the Church. Ignatius adds: when they have the legal organization of bishop, presbytery, and deacons. This is a grave addition indeed" (p. 296).

This fatal change was favored by the disintegrating effects of Gnosticism, especially on the smaller Christian communities. The adoption of the legal episcopal organization, while subversive of the primitive, charismatical system, was the more readily welcomed be-

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cause it offered a strong bulwark against heresy. With its introduction primitive Christianity was transformed into Catholicism.

Such, in a few words, is the theory which Mr. Lowrie elaborates with a considerable show of erudition in several hundred pages. It is to be regretted that so much labor should be expended on a theory lacking not only in convincing power, but even in plausibility. Charismatical organization, resting on individual claims of special revelation, would soon land the Church in the wildest subjectivism, and split it up into innumerable sects confused and led astray by the divergent claims of rival prophets. The theory lays too heavy a tax on one's credulity. To lay down that the ideal Church calls for charismatic organization is to assert in the teeth of historic denial that what were merely supplementary and transitory gifts in the primitive Church are an essential element in the Church of all time. It implies in every age of the Church's existence a constant series of special divine revelations to the members of every local Christian community. It stultifies our blessed Lord in attributing to him the establishing of a charismatic polity, which despite his promise to be with his Church for all time, did not last a hundred years, and which at the first onslaught of Gnosticism was converted into a legalized hierarchy altogether foreign to his mind, but having nevertheless what his system lacked, namely the power of persistence. It would lead us to accept the incredible view that the Catholic polity which on the one hand could not have arisen in the Churches of Asia Minor in the lifetime of St. John, and which on the other is plainly evidenced in the Ignatian epistles as already firmly established, in the short period of twenty years supplanted the original system put in effect by Christ, without leaving in history the slightest trace of the opposition that so radical a change must have encountered. That the Catholic hierarchical system was unhesitatingly maintained as apostolic and divine by the most saintly and scholarly exponents of Christian thought from the very beginning of the second century, creates too strong a presumption in favor of its legitimacy to be overthrown by any theory of modern times.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

The Life of St. Patrick and His Place in History. By J. B. Bury. New York: Macmillan, 1905. 8°, pp. 404.

With a candor that his hitherto been rare among English historians of Ireland, Dr. Bury gives the key-note of his work in the following phrases:

"The justification of the present biography is that it rests upon a methodical examination of the sources, and that the conclusions,

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whether right or wrong, were reached without any prepossession. For one whose interest in the subject is purely intellectual, it was a matter of unmixed indifference what answer might be found to any one of the vexed questions. I will not anticipate my conclusions here, but I may say that they tend to show that the Roman Catholic conception of St. Patrick's work is generally nearer to historical fact than the views of some anti-Papal divines.

"The fragmentary material, presenting endless difficulties and problems, might have been treated with much less trouble to myself if I had been content to weave, as Todd has done, technical discussions into the story. It was less easy to do what I have attempted, to cast matter of this kind into the literary shape of a biography—a choice which necessitated long appendices supplying the justifications and groundwork. These appendices represent the work which belongs to the science of history; the text is an effort in the art of historiography."

In fact, the work consists of two very distinct parts—a second or fundamental part that deals with the original sources of the history of St. Patrick, and a first or narrative part in which the materials thus critically secured are used as a strong basis on which to build up a life of Saint Patrick that shall withstand all hostile criticism. Dr. Bury explains (pp. v–vi) that he was first drawn to this subject, "not as an important crisis in the history of Ireland, but as an appendix to the history of the Roman Empire." His studies on the vicissitudes of that power from the sixth to the tenth century led him to compare the work of the Slavonic apostles Cyril and Methodius with that of Wulfilas, Augustine, Boniface and Otto of Bamberg. But when he came to Patrick, he found the entire subject wrapped in obscurity and the same "encircled by an atmosphere of controversy and conjecture." Did he ever exist, and if so, was he not another, a namesake, and not his real self? He concluded that "the material had never been critically sifted, and that it would be necessary to begin at the beginning, almost as if nothing had been done in a field where much had been written." Let it be said at once that while, as a whole, there is nothing in our historical literature quite comparable with Dr. Bury's study of the "Sources" of St. Patrick's life, yet every page of this study furnishes evidence of earlier admirable critical work in detail, of which Dr. Bury has made a use both abundant and scholarly.

Quite naturally, he turns at once to what Patrick wrote or said about himself and his work, and to what contemporaries had to say

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about one or both of these subjects. Seven documents here meet us: the Confession of Patrick, the Letter against Coroticus, the Dicta Patricii, the Ecclesiastical Canons of St. Patrick, the Irish "Lorica" hymn ascribed to the saint, the Latin hymn of St. Sechnall and the Latin Life of Germanus of Auxerre by Constantius. The life of Germanus, written between 450 and 490, throws a certain indirect light on the earlier career of St. Patrick, while the hymn of Sechnall or Secundinus, coadjutor of Patrick, preserved in the Liber Hymnorum, pretends to be a contemporary panegyric of the saint. Dr. Bury accepts it as very ancient, and is not disinclined to accept its attribution to Secundinus—"Patrick is spoken of throughout as if he were alive and the absence of all references to particular acts of the saint or episodes in his life confirms the view that it was composed before his death; hymnographers of later times would hardly have omitted references. There is no mention of miracles." More important, however, are the first five documents, two of them the saint's own writings, the other three usually attributed to him. Of the "Confession" of St. Patrick, Dr. Bury writes as follows:

"It is perhaps superfluous now to defend the genuineness of the Confession, especially as Professor Zimmer, the most important critic who impugned it, now admits it. Two considerations are decisive. (1) There is nothing in the shape of an anachronism in the document, nothing inconsistent with its composition about the middle of the fifth century. (2) As a forgery it would be unintelligible. Spurious documents in the Middle Ages were manufactured either to promote some interest, political, ecclesiastical, local, or simply as rhetorical exercises. But the Confession does not betray a vestige of any ulterior motive; there is no reference to Armagh, no reference to Rome, no implication of any interest which could prompt falsification. And what Irish writer in the sixth century would have composed as a rhetorical exercise and attributed to Patrick, a work written in such a rude style? But besides these considerations, which are decisive, the emotion of the writer is unmistakable; and I can not imagine how any reader could fail to recognize its genuineness."

The letter to Coroticus is also authentic in the opinion of Dr. Bury. "The genuineness of the document seems to be written on its face, as in the case of the Confession . . . an analysis of the language and style points clearly to the same authorship as the Confession . . . in both documents he uses the same formula in describing himself: *Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet Hiberione*, etc. The Dicta

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Patricii[1] are three laconic expressions that have been always held to be utterances of the saint. Like the Confession and the Letter against Coroticus they are found in the Book of Armagh, and were therefore universally accepted as Patrician documents at the end of the eighth century. Following a brilliant clue of Dr. Gwynn, the latest editor of the Book of Armagh, Professor Bury makes it quite verisimilar that these "Dicta" are genuine utterances of Patrick, favorite sayings remembered by his disciples, and eventually written down in the "Liber apud Ultanum," a writing kept in Ardbraccan in the first half of the seventh century, and, after the Confession, the earliest work bearing on Patrick's life, for which we have a direct testimony, i. e., in the "Notes of Tírechán" a compilation of the second half of the same century. Dr. Bury detects a Patrician ring in the first "dictum": *timorem Dei habui ducem itineris mei.* The second is certainly Patrician, for it occurs in the Letter against Coroticus. They are "not the sort of thing that any one would think of inventing; there was no motive" (p. 231). He is inclined to hold the third "dictum" as spurious, and to locate its origin about A. D. 700. Here, however, Dr. Bury confesses that he is not sure of himself, as the argument turns upon the antiquity of the use of the Kyrie Eleison. Was it known and used in the Roman liturgy as early as the beginning of the fourth century, and therefore known to St. Patrick and easily introduced by him together with the Roman Mass? Dr. Bury admits (p. 232) that it is possible to hold that this dictum of Patrick may be genuine and an evidence that the Kyrie was used at Rome in the first half of the fifth century. At the same time he ingeniously remarks that this third dictum is not an emotional expression of Patrick's gratitude, but an ecclesiastical injunction, and that the Patrician "Deo Gratias" at the end is out of place. To the latter argument it may be said that the familiar "Deo Gratias" would be a kind of general authentication of Patrician material for Irish scribes, and applicable to any such fragment, especially if it had been found wandering alone in oral tradition. When first committed to writing this sign-manual of Patrick was stamped on the dictum and ever since clung to it. At this point Dr. Bury calls attention to another argument in favor of the genuinity of the third dictum, i. e.

[1] I. Timorem Dei habui ducem itineris mei per Gallias atque Italiam etiam in insolis quae sunt in mari Tyrreno.
II. De saeculo recessistis ad paradisum, Deo gratias.
III. Ecclesia Scotorum, immo Romanorum, ut Christiani ita ut Romani sitis, ut decantetur uobiscum oportet, omni hora orationis, uox illa laudabilis Cyrie lession, Christe lession. Omnis ecclesia quae sequitur me cantet Cyrie lession, Christe lession. Deo Gratias.

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the antiquity of the Mass found in one of the most ancient liturgical books of Ireland, the Stowe-Missal, which Mass the late Dr. Bartholomew McCarthy considered to be as old as the first half of the fifth century and the very Mass brought by Patrick into Ireland.[1] It has the Kyrie Eleison (Cyrie elezion) in the opening litany. Several ancient canons attributed to St. Patrick, but abjudicated from him by such modern critics as Todd, Haddan and Stubbs, and Wasserschleben, are declared authentic by Dr. Bury. These canons have come down to us partly "in a curious circular letter addressed by Patricius, Auxilius and Isserninus to the clergy and embodying ecclesiastical rules and penalties" and partly in a code of laws known as the "Collectio Canonum Hibernensis" (edited by Wasserschleben, 1874, 1885). En passant, the early mediæval treatise known as "Liber de abusionibus saeculi" (Migne, PL. XL, 619, sq.) falsely attributed by some to St. Cyprian or St. Augustine, and since the eighth century regarded in Ireland and Gaul as a work of Patrick, is declared by Dr. Bury to have been probably written in Ireland, whence it traveled to Gaul under the name of St. Patrick before A. D. 700. Finally, the famous "Lorica" or "Breastplate" hymn, an unmetrical quasi-poetical Irish text of great antiquity, immemorially attributed to St. Patrick, almost secures the adhesion of Dr. Bury for the traditional view. He says (p. 246) that "it may have been composed by Patrick, but in any case is an interesting document for the spirit of early Christianity in Ireland." At the same time he quotes the scholarly verdict of Professor Atkinson, a renowned Irish philologian: "It is probably a genuine relic of St. Patrick. Its uncouthness of grammatical forms is in favor of its antiquity. We know that Patrick used very strange Irish, some of which has been preserved; and the historians who handed down *mudebroth* as an ejaculation of his would probably take care to copy as faithfully as they could the other curious Irish forms which the saint had consecrated by his use." In other words no native Irish writer would have been guilty of such an inelegant work, while the very inelegancies of the document made it doubly dear to the Irish, once it was held to be the work of their great Apostle. Like all the other writings attributed to Patrick, it may be found in an English translation in Dr. Charles Wright's "Writings of Patrick" (London, 1889) both in the version of James Clarence Mangan and in that of Mrs. Alexander.

[1] The paper of Dr. McCarthy is in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy (1886), vol. XXVII, 135, sq. It refutes the theory of a later date, proposed and defended by Mr. Warren in his "Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church," London, 1881.

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Space is wanting to exhibit in similar detail the conclusions of Dr. Bury concerning the most ancient "Lives and Memoirs" of St. Patrick, composed between the end of the sixth century and the tenth or eleventh. The oldest are the well-known "Annotations" or Memoir of Patrick by Tírechán, the "Life" by Muirchu Mactheni, both of the latter half of the seventh century, certain supplementary fragments and notes in the Book of Armagh (transcribed about 807), and the Hymn of Fiacc (Genair Patraicc). As to the latter famous panegyrical hymn Dr. Bury is of opinion that its Irish diction and style, and its reference to *written* documents, forbids us to accept it as the work of a contemporary of our saint. It is probably an eighth century document, but may well (p. 265) depend on those older written materials in Irish, from which Tírechán and Muirchu drew much, if not all, of their information. One of the most interesting pages in Dr. Bury's work is precisely his outline (l. c.) of this "early Patrician literature in Irish."

"The preface to Muirchu's Life is weighty in this connexion. The novel movement of which he designates his father Cogitosus and himself as pioneers was the writing of hagiography (*narratio sancta*) *in Latin*. Hagiography already existed in Ireland; he implies, and refers to, written documents; and analysis shows that he used Irish documents. Thus before the seventh century the hagiographical literature which entertained the pious in Ireland was composed in their own language; and it was not till the age of Cogitosus and Tírechán that a new departure was made, and men began to write Latin works on Irish saints. But the demand for Irish Lives, for the mass of the fold who could not understand Latin continued; and the *Vita Tripartita* may be regarded as a descendant from the early Irish *acta*.

"Some of these *acta*, such as the account of the episode of Slane and Tara, may have had wide circulation in different kingdoms; and there may have been different versions. Others may have had only local circulation, such as the Ulidian stories garnered by Muirchu, and the Connaught traditions collected by Tírechán. Besides, many communities which ascribed their foundation to Patrick seem to have preserved written records of grants, which, whether genuine or not, were old and drafted in Irish.

"The Acts of Patrick which circulated in the sixth century supplied the public with what they liked—miraculous legends in a historical setting. But the legends which Muirchu derived from this source differ strikingly from the ordinary apparatus of the

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hagiographer—from the miracles, for instance, so colourless and monotonous which Adamnan has strung together in his wearisome Life of Columba. The Patrician legends, to which I refer, were worked up in the cells of ecclesiastics; but the arguments of the stories, which they moulded, were created by popular imagination, and suggested by the motives of 'folklore.' Such, for instance, is the story of the first Easter, inspired by a transference of Beltane customs to Easter Eve. Such are the Ulidian stories associated with the salt marshes at Lake Strangford. Such, we may conjecture, is the story of the ogre MacCuill, who tempts Patrick, is converted, and then, sent to drift in a boat made of skin, without oar or helm, reaches the Isle of Man, of which he becomes bishop. Some old legend, connecting Man with the coast of Dalaradia, seems here to have been hooked on to Patrick; and perhaps MacCuill, of Cyclopean type, may be the mythical MacCuill, 'son of hazel,' husband of Banba. But in any case we may take it that the name of a mythical ogre, familiar in the folklore of the regions of Lake Strangford, supplied popular imagination with a motif for a story of Patrick's power.

"But historical tradition was also present, determining and contributing. The Ulidian legends were determined by the memory of Patrick's actual and close association with Ulidia; the legend of his appearance at Tara, by the memory of an actual visit; the whole story of his relations with Loigare, by Loigare's loyalty to paganism. And we can detect genuine details, handed down by tradition, and embedded, like metallic particles, in the myth. Such is the notice of the presence of the poet Dubthach at Tara, when Patrick was there. It has all the appearance of being a true historical tradition, like the incident of Simon of Cyrene in the story of the Crucifixion of Jesus."

Of the "Six Lives" that John Colgan selected in the seventeenth century as the oldest and most reliable, the *Vita Tripartita* has always attracted most attention, among other reasons for its characteristic medley of Irish and Latin. Dr. Bury holds (p. 270) a middle way between those who formerly attributed it to St. Evan of Monasterevan and certain modern critics and philologians who reduce its date to the eleventh century. "The material used by the compiler was older than the ninth century, but there is no positive indication to suggest that the compilation was older." It belongs like Tírechán's work to a class of "tendency-literature" that was less concerned with the life of Patrick than with the assertion of the primatial rights of Armagh over all Ireland. Of the "Life" by Probus he conjectures that it may have been written previous to A. D. 920, and by Coena-

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chair of Slane (Four Masters, ad an. 948). With the possible exception of some British influence, it is based entirely or almost on Muirchu and Tírechán. As to the five Patrick-chapters added to the Historia Brittonum" by Nennius, a native of Wales, about A. D. 800, Dr. Bury calls attention to the personal relations of Nennius with certain Irish scholars (*peritissimi Scotorum,* perhaps like Dicuil and Colgu of Clonmacnoise), from whom he might have received oral information. Otherwise he depends partly on Muirchu, and partly on earlier sources; possibly, but not necessarily on Tírechán, with whose work, however, he seems to manifest familiarity.

Of some importance for the life of St. Patrick are the curious "Catalogus sanctorum Hiberniæ secundum diversa tempora," a very brief sketch of the ecclesiastical history of Ireland from the time of St. Patrick to A. D. 665, and the Liber Angueli (Angeli) "a clumsy invention fabricated at Armagh, probably early in the eighth century, in the interests of the Armagh jurisdiction, useful for the history of Ireland but not for the acts of St. Patrick." Finally, certain ancient Annals of Ireland, the Annals of Ulster, of Inisfallen (Kerry), of Tighernach, the Chronicon Scotorum, and the Four Masters, are briefly described and appreciated in the light of the best modern research, especially the exhaustive labors of the late regretted Dr. B. McCarthy. They are of very great value for the chronological data which were transferred to their pages from older chronicles now lost. Cathal MacManus, the compiler of the Ulster Annals (d. 1498) copied his ancient authorities with such accuracy that "side by side with the chronological errors he was unable to correct, (he) preserved the criteria whereby they can with certainty be rectified" (p. 280). "According to Dr. McCarthy, the Annals of Inisfallen, the diminutive island in the Lakes of Killarney known to all, contain the most ancient body of chronicles we possess"; he has shown how their fifth century basis may be reconstructed.

I can only indicate the valuable "notes" that Dr. Bury has added (pp. 288–321) to his own narrative of the life of St. Patrick; they contain very much that is both new and suggestive as to ancient Irish history, topography, and institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, e. g. the note (pp. 302–303) on the Easter fire at Slane, the note (p. 291) on the names Patricius and Succat, that on alphabets (Latin and Ogam) (pp. 311–312) on Ceretic or Coroticus (p. 313), on the crozier and bell of St. Patrick (pp. 320–321).

Not the least valuable portion of Dr. Bury's work are seventy pages (322–392) of "Excursus," in which he deals critically with a

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number of points raised in the course of his narrative, and whose treatment seemed better relegated to a separate section of small but thorough studies,—thus, the native home of St. Patrick, the chronology of his life, the personality of Palladius, Patrick's alleged visit to Rome in 432, his appeal to Rome (pp. 369–371), pre-Patrician Christianity in Ireland, the organization of the early Irish episcopate, the place of Patrick's burial, etc. Dr. Bury does not, of course, expect to have said the final word on points that have troubled a host of very learned and laborious scholars. Nevertheless, few have approached these Gordian knots of Irish history with so much learning, so open a mind, such fine academic training, and experience in the application of a "methodical Quellenkritik" that Scheffer-Boichorst himself would not be ashamed to acknowledge and praise. How far the study of early Irish ecclesiastical history has progressed since the days of Dr. Ledwich and even of that 'learned Theban' Dr. Todd, may be seen from the pages (60–66) in which Dr. Bury sums up his attitude concerning the Roman mission of St. Patrick, a mission that he recognizes as in perfect keeping with the historical status of the Roman Church at that time, however wrong he may be in attenuating the juridical force of the earliest papal decretals (p. 62) and the plain statement of St. Columbanus (p. 371) that the Catholic faith had been received by the Irish directly from Rome.

"The foregoing account of Patrick's setting forth for the field of his labors is based on a critical examination of the oldest sources. In later times men wished to believe that he, too, like Palladius, was consecrated by Celestine. Such a consecration seemed both to add a halo of dignity to the national saint and to link his church more closely to the apostolic seat. We have no means of knowing whether Patrick set out before or after the death of Celestine, but in any case the pious story is inconsistent with the oldest testimonies. Nor, even if there were room for doubt, would the question involve any point of theoretical or practical importance. By virtue of what had already happened, Ireland was, in principle, as closely linked to Rome as any western church. The circumstances of the consecration and mission of Palladius were significant; but whether his successor was ordained at Rome or at Auxerre, whether he was personally known to the Roman pontiff or not, was a matter of little moment. It will not be amiss, however, to dwell more fully on the situation . . ." (p. 60).

"When a new ecclesiastical province was to be added to Western Christendom, it was to Rome, naturally, that an appeal would be

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made. It was to the Bishop of Rome, as representing the unity of the Church, that the Christians of Ireland, desiring to be an organized portion of that unity, would naturally look to speed them on their way. His recognition of Ireland as a province of the spiritual federation of which he was the acknowledged head, would be the most direct and effective means of securing for it an established place among the western churches. If, then, they asked Celestine either to choose a bishop for them, or to confirm their own choice and consecrate a bishop of their choosing, they adopted exactly the course which we might expect. But once this step was taken, once the Roman bishop had given his countenance and sanction, it was a matter of indifference who consecrated his successor. There was significance in the consecration at Rome of the first bishop of the new province; there would have been no particular significance in such a consecration in the case of the second any more than in the case of the third. It was an accident that Patrick was consecrated in Gaul. If Palladius had not been cut off; and if Patrick had proceeded, as he intended, to Ireland in the capacity of a simple deacon, he might afterwards have been called to succeed Palladius by the choice of the Irish Christians and receive episcopal ordination wherever it was most convenient. The essential point is that by the sending of Palladius, Ireland had become one of the western churches, and therefore like its fellows, looked to the see of Rome as the highest authority in Christendom. Unless, at the very moment of incorporation, they were to repudiate the unity of the Church, the Christians of Ireland could not look with other eyes than the Christians of Gaul at the appellate jurisdiction of the Roman bishop, and the moral weight of his decretals" (p. 65).

While the work of Dr. Bury may not be epoch-making, it will act as a mile-stone, as a record of intellectual progress and historical gain. He will not have pleased extremists on either side, and he will not have closed the secular controversies over the details of earliest Irish ecclesiastical history. But he has justified his own criticism of Dr. Todd, a good but prejudiced scholar, who, like not a few of his Catholic opponents, had never performed what Dr. Bury calls the preliminary task of criticising the sources methodically: "The business of a historian is to ascertain facts. There is something essentially absurd in his wishing that any alleged fact should turn out to be true or should turn out to be false. So far as he entertains a wish of the kind, his attitude is not critical" (p. vii).

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The Life and Writings of St. Patrick, with Appendices, etc. By Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam. Dublin: Gill and Son, 1905. 8°, pp. 754.

The learned author of "Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars" is fitted, as few others, to write the history of the Apostle of Ireland. Long and intimate dealing with the original Patrician documents, an accurate personal knowledge of Irish topography that is so closely connected *ab immemoriali* with the memory of St. Patrick as to be no despicable "source" for his life, a solid knowledge of the ecclesiastical history of Erin, and a vigorous warm sympathy with all her Catholic needs and interests, call the Archbishop of Tuam in a peculiar way to be the historian of St. Patrick. This work is in reality a manual of the "Origines Ecclesiastici" of Ireland. The greater part of it is devoted to a description of the missionary journeys of the Apostle in Ulster, Connaught, Munster, Leinster and "royal Meath." The materials for this restoration of the public life of Patrick are drawn from the oldest "lives," like the Notes of Tírechán, the "Vita" by Muirchu, and the Vita Tripartita, peculiarly rich in topographical details. Archbishop Healy possesses an unequalled hold of the written, topographical, and monumental records of our saint's life, and his work easily resolves itself into a guide over the Ireland of "Brigida, Patritius atque Columba pius." The old lives in Colgan and in Whitley Stokes are illuminated by an extraordinary knowledge of ancient sites, place-names, local traditions and usages that from century to century bear witness to the imposing personality of the son of Calpurnius. This enormous archæological material is dominated by Archbishop Healy with a critical skill, that still leaves to common sense, logic, and "historical possession" some rights on the premises. Moreover, each chapter is replete with apt and moving illustrations from local Irish history, in which the mediæval glories and the fires of modern persecution so shine as to transform perpetually the narrative from a dry enumeration of facts to a kind of "vitascope" of nearly fifteen centuries. Ancient anecdote and curiously learned reminiscence enliven every page. It may be rightly said that we have at last a life of Saint Patrick that is at once sufficiently critical for the average reader, and at the same time so filled to overflowing with all the Patrician lore of Ireland that whoever masters it will be at once edified and "informed" in a high degree. Perhaps a specimen page of this narrative will best illustrate the qualities of method, temper and style that are regularly met with throughout the entire work. The writer arrives with Saint Patrick

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in South Limerick and accompanies him thence eastward through a deep glen east of Seefin Mountain, into the territory of the Deisi, one of the oldest tribal bodies of Ireland (pp. 434–435).

"These Deisi were originally a Meath tribe that dwelt in the barony of 'Deece,' which takes its name from them. But they were expelled from their territory in the third century by Cormac Mac Art, whose life they attempted, and were forced to take refuge for a time in the South of Ireland. O'Donovan says they subdued all the country from the river Suir to the sea, and from Lismore to Waterford Harbor. In the fifth century, not long before the advent of St. Patrick, Engus, King of Cashel, gave them the vast and fertile plain called Femen in the Tripartite, south of Slievenaman, towards the east of the Galty Mountains. It is clear, too, from the Tripartite that a branch of this tribe, called the Deisi Beg, had pushed westward as far as Ardpatrick, and northwards to Knockainy, but being surrounded by the Munster men, they were often pillaged and 'peeled' like an onion, and finally expelled from that part of the country. The Northern Deisi may, therefore, be the men who occupied the Baronies of Iffa and Offa East and Iffa and Offa West, in the south of Tipperary, while the Southern Deisi occupied the whole of the County Waterford. It is clear, therefore, that St. Patrick, crossing the mountains at Seefin, went eastward through the territory of the Deisi, probably by Mitchelstown and Clogheen, towards the Suir at Ardfinnan.

"Somewhere there Patrick was kept awaiting the king of the country, namely Fergair, son of Ross. On his arrival the Saint said to him—'Thou hast come slowly.' 'The country is very stiff,' said the King; sure enough it was a stiff country between the Knockmealdown Mountains and the Galtys, and so Patrick said; but he did not believe the excuse to be genuine, for he added—'a king shall never come from thee.' 'What (really) delayed you to-day?'—said Patrick. 'Rain delayed us,' said the King. 'Your tribal gatherings shall be showery,' said Patrick.

" 'Patrick's Well is in that place, and there is the church of Mac Clarid, one of Patrick's household. Moreover, the Deisi held their gatherings at night, for Patrick left that word upon them, since it was at night they came to him.' In this way, doubtless, they hoped to escape the penalties threatened by Patrick.

"There is a Patrick's Well in the parish of Inislounaght, near Clonmel, which is, probably, the place here referred to. If so, it is likely that Patrick crossed the river Tar at Clogheen, and the Suir at

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Ardfinnan, and so came to Patrick's Well. This view is confirmed by the narrative: 'Patrick cursed the streams of that place because his books had been drowned in them—thrown, perhaps, into the river at the ford—and the fisherman had refused to give him fish.' And, although they were fruitful hitherto, he said that there would be no mills on these streams, but 'the mills of the foreigners would be nigh to them'—perhaps at Clonmel or Waterford. The 'foreigners' were, doubtless, the Danes. But he blessed the Suir and its banks; and that river is fruitful except where the other streams enter it. These streams must be either the river Tar or the Nar, or both, for they enter the Suir from different directions quite close to each other. If Patrick went from Ardfinnan to Clonmel, he would pass by the parish of Tubbrid, famous for all time as the birth-place and parish of Geoffrey Keating, the greatest of our Irish historians."

From Munster, again, he accompanies St. Patrick into ancient Offaley, "one vast plain, interspersed with bogs and fertile cluains, as level as the sea, so that looking north from Portarlington, not a single eminence, except the hill of Croghan, is conspicuous enough to catch the eye. It is one wide expanse of moorland and limestone plain through which the sluggish feeders of the infant Barrow carry off the drainage of the bogs." But Patrick was badly treated in Offaley, where the accursed Failge Berraide killed his faithful charioteer Odran, in mistake for the saint, whose place the former had that day taken in the chariot, foreknowing that this hard old pagan had threatened to kill the "tailcend" in revenge for his overthrow of the god Crom Cruach in the plain of Magh Slecht, in Leitrim.

So Patrick came from Offaley into Killeigh, a territory that was later the apanage of the mediæval O'Carrolls, O'Connors, O'Dunns and O'Dempseys, descended from a Christian brother of our pagan homicide (pp. 442–443).

"Killeigh is called in Irish Cell Achadh Droma-Fada—the Church of the Field of the Long Ridge; and most appropriately, for a long ridge rises up from the great plain just over the church, and it would appear that over this long ridge lay the great highway to the north. So Patrick must have passed there, and Colgan thinks the church was founded by his disciple, St. Sinell of the Hy in Garrchon of Inver Dea—the first man whom Patrick baptised in Erin. 'Sinell, son of Finchad, is the first who believed in God in Ireland through Patrick's preaching. And Patrick bestowed a blessing on him and on his offspring.' We are not told his age at that time, in 432, but his death is marked at 549, so he must have lived to a very great age, perhaps to be one hundred and thirty years old before he died—not

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three hundred and thirty, as some manuscripts have it, doubtless through an error of the scribes. He was of the royal blood of Leinster kings, and migrated from the unbelievers of the Hy Garrchon to his kinsmen in the west of Leinster. It is doubtful if he was there at Killeigh when Patrick passed by. Most probably he was not, for the inhabitants seem to have been still pagans. But his church afterwards became the centre of a great school and monastery, and also a home for many pious pilgrims from foreign lands. The Litany of Aengus commemorates 'thrice fifty holy bishops with twelve pilgrims under Senchill the Elder, a priest, and Senchill the Younger (perhaps his nephew or son), a bishop; and twelve other bishops, who settled in Cell Achadh Droma-Fada in Yy Failgi. The 'Pious Rules and Practices' of this ancient and holy community are still extant in the original Irish, and go to show that it must have been one of the most famous establishments of the kind in Ireland; it certainly was, after Kildare, the most famous in North Leinster. We know, too, from the entries in the Annals that its abbots, scribes, and anchorites continued to flourish down to the time when Lord Leonard Grey plundered the church of Killeigh, and carried off its organs and its stained glass for the use of the young Collegiate Church of Maynooth, which was founded by the Great Earl of Kildare in the opening years of the sixteenth century, whilst Henry VIII. was still a good Catholic, if not in morals at least in doctrine. It was at her castle of Killeigh, too, that Lady Margaret, daughter of O'Carroll of Ely, and wife of O'Connor Faly, gave the famous feast to which all the Bards and Sages of Erin were invited on the festival day of the founder of the church, the 5th of April, 1451. Never since or before was such a feast given to the scholars of Erin, and those who could not attend on the first occasion were invited to a second feast, which was given in the same year by the same noble lady. She died a nun in the convent of Killeigh, and the old chronicler, who, doubtless, shared her bounty, whilst he asks a prayer for her soul and the blessing of all the saints 'from Jerusalem to Inisglora in Erris on her going to heaven' winds up with a hearty 'curse on the sore in her breast that killed Lady Margaret.' She probably died of cancer."

Several chapters at the end of this book are of surpassing interest. They deal with the birth place and the burial place of St. Patrick, his household or officials, his relics, the sites of pilgrimage immemorially connected with his memory and certain contemporaneous persons who bore the name of Patrick, and have therefore occasionally caused confusion in the minds of later writers. The most notable of these is the famous Sen-Patrick, or Senior Patrick, a kind of "double" of the

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Apostle, and to whom some wrong-headed critics have attempted to ascribe the conversion of the Irish (p. 630).

"He was a Welshman by birth, and, if not an uncle, was certainly an older man than his namesake, the great Apostle of Ireland. He spent some time in the monastery of Glastonbury, which then and long afterwards was much frequented by Irish saints and scholars, so that it came to be called Glastonbury of the Gael. It is clear that, if not a near relation of our Apostle, he made his acquaintance most probably during the time that St. Patrick was in Wales with St. Germanus in 429. There grew up a close intimacy between the older and the younger saint, so that the former came to be called 'the beloved tutor of our Elder.' It was only natural, therefore, that when St. Patrick came to Ireland in 432, bringing with him associates for the great task before him in Ireland, the older Patrick should volunteer to be one of the companions of his beloved dalta, now duly authorised to preach the Gospel to the Irish. Of his subsequent career we know little, except that in the familia or ecclesiastical household of St. Patrick he occupied the responsible office of ostiarius or sacristan to the Saint, that he was subsequently made by St. Patrick Bishop of Ros-Dela in the parish of Durrow, in the County Westmeath, and that after the death of Sechnall, who had for many years been assistant bishop to Saint Patrick, the latter appointed the venerable old man to take the place of Sechnall in Armagh as Bishop-Abbot and co-adjutor to himself. But he held the office only a very short time, not more than two years. Shortly after Armagh was founded as the primatial see and there of course he was buried by St. Patrick, and there his relics were for ages held in veneration by the faithful Christians of the Royal City on Macha's Height. How greatly the old man loved his pupil St. Patrick, and how tenderly he was attached to him, is shown by the old story which tells that after death the soul of Old-Patrick did not ascend to heaven, but waited for the death of his beloved dalta, and then both ascended in joy and glory to their thrones in heaven. This is a clear consecutive story, proved to be true by the brief statements in our annals; and it shows also that Old-Patrick had no doubt a very meritorious but, at the same time, only a very subordinate part in the great work of the conversion of Ireland.

"If further proof were needed, that it is to St. Patrick, and to him alone, the great work of the conversion of Ireland must, as a whole, be ascribed, we can find it in the Confession of the Saint, and in the express testimony of all our ancient authorities without exception."

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This life of St. Patrick ought to be in the possession of every Catholic family of Irish origin; in a way it is a kind of breviary of the religious history of Ireland, especially in the first five hundred years of its course. It retains throughout no little of the spirit and purpose of the old hagiographers of Patrick, is warm with local color, rich with historical allusion and reminiscence, and replete with edification and encouragement of a pure spiritual nature. It would make excellent public reading in all colleges and academies and convents, and in general merits a very wide distribution.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Urban VIII, being the Lothian Prize Essay for 1903. By William Welch. London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1905. 8°, pp. 120.

It is so seldom that non-Catholic English students produce an historical dissertation on one of the popes, written directly from the sources, that we welcome this essay. It has been deemed worthy of one of the great Oxford prizes, and merits, indeed, much praise. The author quotes as his main authority a manuscript life of the pope, in eight volumes, by Andrea Nicoletti, Canon of San Lorenzo in Damaso, preserved in the Barberini archives at Rome, and compiled very largely from diplomatic documents. He has also utilized the domestic and official correspondence of the pope, while yet Maffeo Barberini, as well as letters of his near relatives. The relations of the Pope to England have also been studied, to some extent, in the "Roman Transcripts" made from the original correspondence in the Vatican, and accessible in the Record Office at London. The author has also made use of some anti-Roman English pamphlets from 1629 to 1641, and of Ranke's "History of the Popes" and Gregorovius' work on "Urban VIII, Spain, and the Emperor." He confines himself quite closely to the political relations of the pope with the great Catholic powers, notably Spain and the Emperor. The narrative follows so closely the authorities that the diction is extremely compressed, and therefore unpleasant reading, when not unclear for want of horizon and perspective. As a rule, the attitude of the author is quite equitable, as may be seen from the following passage:

"Throughout the twenty-one years of his pontificate Urban steadily pursued two objects—the maintenance of the ecclesiastical power in catholic countries, and the extension of the catholic faith to the lands of the heretic and the infidel. The two were sometimes incompatible. Catholic kings could not expect papal support in their struggle against the heretic, when they endeavored to diminish the papal authority in their territories, old or new. The greater the

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secular power of a monarch, the more important it was to resist his attempts to subject the spiritual to the temporal. It was by his adherence to these fundamental principles of papal policy that Urban was led to look coldly on the advance of the Hapsburg power. To seek for his motives in military ambition or in slavish subserviency to France is a mistake. It is true that he has a warm admiration for the country in which the foundations of his career were laid; but he supported her policy only when it coincided with Rome's interests, spiritual and temporal. He held the forts of the Valtelline against French troops; he opposed Richelieu's gallican pretensions; he supported the royal family in their opposition to the cardinal; he sheltered Orleans and Soissons from his enmity. If Urban failed to win complete control over the church in France and was forced to rest content with small concessions from Richelieu, he was not the only sovereign whom the great minister outwitted. The theory that he was another Julius II in his love of military matters may be traced to the same clique of his Spanish contemporaries, who represented him as the tool of France. His bellicose proclivities may be judged best from the actual facts. During the whole of his reign, the longest in papal annals for ten centuries, he engaged voluntarily in one war: that broke out in his old age, when his hold on the reins of government had been loosened by advancing years. It would have been well for Europe had its other rulers restrained their passion for fighting as well as Urban."

Again, the author says, quite correctly (p. 115), that any estimate of Urban's moral and political character depends on the historian's view of his relations with the Hapsburgs of Vienna. If their local German interests are the criterion, we shall have the harsh criticism of Von Ranke, who paints the pope as an unscrupulous prince masquerading as a priest, to rob that unselfish Crusader, Ferdinand II of Austria. Similarly, Gregorovius accuses him of a willingness to betray into the hands of Gustavus Adolphus the cause of Catholic Germany, rather than see the Emperor dominate all Europe. The Venetians were biased against him for his opposition to their little cæsaropapism, and the French Crown sought to use his spiritual authority for the advancement of its own temporal interests. On all such occasions, his policy was "to secure the best terms for the Church." Nor can he be accused of an unfair jealousy of the imperial power. "That Urban as an Italian prince feared Hapsburg aggression is certainly true: that he acted entirely from secular considerations, or carried his opposition so far as historians generally assert, is not proved" (p. 116). Elsewhere (p. 18) he writes:

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"Probably the Hapsburg monarchs were perfectly sincere in their belief in their own divine mission; but it was impossible for the successor of St. Peter to tolerate their claims to decide the religious as well as the political institutions of their territories, and to dictate the foreign policy of the Quirinal. The papacy claimed absolute freedom from temporal pressure in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, exactly as it claims it to-day. Paul III may have been anxious to carve out a duchy in northern Italy for his kinsmen. Urban VIII may have stinted his subsidies to Ferdinand II, in order to heap riches on his nephews. But these were not the sole or the chief reasons which determined their attitude to the Hapsburg power. Difficult as it is to interpret the motives of the statesmen of the past, when the results of their actions are known, it is safer to attribute the policy of the papacy to an indomitable resolve to maintain at all costs the independence of the Holy See, rather than to an ignoble desire to satisfy the cravings of a vicious nepotism."

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The History of the United States. By James Wilford Garner and Henry Cabot Lodge, with a Historical Review by John Bach McMaster. Philadelphia: John D. Morris & Co., 1906. 8°, I–IV.

The authors of these volumes disclaim in their preface any purpose of superseding the more intensive studies of the various epochs in American history. Upon these special works their compendium is based. It is not designed, therefore, to serve as a guide to the specialist, but to offer to the general reader a concise and impartial narrative of the more important events from the discovery of America to the present time. Some of the difficulties attending the execution of such an undertaking will appear in the course of this examination.

The occasional reader of verse will conceive no high opinion of the anthology which omits a favorite poem—a poem of which the rhythmic effect or, perhaps, some felicitous turn of expression has haunted him from boyhood. Let the selections be made by a judgment the most unerring and by the most cultivated taste, yet great numbers of readers will be disappointed. So in singling out events as important no author of an epitome of history seriously expects all his readers to agree with him. In discussing the controversy with England, is the author to adopt the sentiments of that gallant race who won the War for Independence, or to accept the opinion, now becoming fashionable, that the men of Seventy-six were, after all, seditious and ungrateful subjects and that perhaps the loyalists were more nearly right? In examining questions of constitutional con-

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struction is he to silence every suggestion of personal preference? As administrative policies pass before him, is the historian to stand an indifferent spectator and pen a colorless narrative? What will be his attitude toward the great questions which arose during the Civil War? Is he to take the view that the South stood upon the letter and spirit of the original compact and that the North was beginning to place upon the Constitution an interested interpretation, or is he to maintain that the former section fought to perpetuate and extend a wrong, while the latter, indifferent to economic interests, was influenced chiefly by considerations of humanity? These and similar questions would be sufficiently embarrassing but, fortunately for the historian, in one way or another they have nearly all been set at rest. There are, however, other problems to be solved. In the discovery and exploration as well as in the early settlement of America men of many races and men of many creeds participated, and these facts suggest new difficulties for every writer upon our colonial history.

In discussing the extension of geographical knowledge the volumes of Senator Lodge and Dr. Garner give the place of prominence to the spirit of commercial enterprise. This was an undoubted factor in making known the form and magnitude of the earth. It does not, however, account for the early appearance of Irish missionaries in Iceland; that spirit alone does not explain the origin of the Crusades nor is it sufficient to account for the arrival in Cathay of Franciscan missionaries. They were not attracted thither by the opportunities for trade nor sustained in their heroic work by an expectation of profits. The volumes before us give the traditional and partial view of this interesting subject. That they have given no more appears to be due at least in part to the fact that Catholic authors have published scarcely a good summary of what the Vatican archives reveal concerning missionary activity in China at the close of the thirteenth century. Though even in our own favored land, bureaus of historical research are of very recent origin, it is perhaps, from them that we are to expect the earliest cultivation of so promising a field.

In the interpretation of history the ethnical as well as the religious hypothesis has given us rather grotesque views of many important incidents. Perhaps the cardinal principle of the former theory is its assumption of race superiority. The chief characteristic of the latter is its tendency to discern in the acts of one's co-religionists none but the most praiseworthy motives. In the endeavor consistently to explain the facts of history each hypothesis breaks down. One or the other, sometimes both theories have colored the usual accounts of the ruthless destruction of Laudoniere's Huguenot settlement in Florida.

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The French colonists were Calvinists, heretics in the eyes of the Catholic Menendez; therefore they were to be destroyed, and, with circumstances of great cruelty, destroyed they were. In due time tidings of this outrage upon his co-religionists reached one Dominic de Gourgues, a fiery Gascon—all Gascons are presumed to be fiery; his purpose was soon fixed. Fitting out at his own expense an expedition commensurate with his object this zealous Huguenot was soon on his way to Florida. There he destroyed most of the Spanish posts with their garrisons and returned to France, not to be decreed the honors of a triumph but to learn that his conduct was disavowed by his king. So runs the lofty legend built up partly by the religious and partly by the ethnical hypothesis.

On no enlightened theory can the conduct of Menendez be justified, and this review does not undertake his defence. To this picturesque story, however, the scientific method of interpreting the facts of history makes several material additions. In previous struggles between the American outposts of these powers Spaniards were often captured by Frenchmen. Indeed, it was only nine years before, 1555, that Jacques de Sorie took Havana, and notwithstanding his promise to spare the garrison put all his prisoners to the sword. Two years after the return of de Gourgues the French captured a Portuguese ship with forty Jesuit missionaries on board, and put them all to death. As late as 1649, when the religious standard was believed to be rising, Oliver Cromwell, notwithstanding that Ashton had hurled back from the walls of Drogheda the victors of Marston Moor and Naseby, put more than 2,000 soldiers and civilians to death. In a letter to Speaker Lenthal, Cromwell's own pen records the gallantry of the defenders and the slaughter of the vanquished. He represents his massacres as the righteous judgment of God, the very sentiment of Menendez, *Dios, Nuestro Senor y V. Magd,* except that Cromwell was no longer troubled by his loyalty to "Majesty." The scientific method would require that the deeds of Sorie, Menendez and Cromwell be measured by the same standard. That they are not so appraised is a familiar fact. Impartial history should state that to Florida, Spain had the titles conferred by priority of discovery and by priority of exploration; also that de Gourgues during the Italian wars was captured by the Spaniards and sent to the galleys, and that this experience led him to conceive for that nation an implacable hatred. Though he professed to be serving his king and countrymen, his personal resentment had an undoubted share in his expedition. This opinion receives some support from the circumstance that he was not a Huguenot at all but, according to some authorities, a Catholic. However this may

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be, the racial antipathy and the personal grievance seem sufficiently to explain his daring achievement. By the religious hypothesis the king of France is censured for not honoring his enterprising subject. Was France then prepared for war with Spain? It was in that century that Cordova has seen his soldiers scatter the armies of Europe. Even a generation later, when Spain had grown considerably weaker, King James I revived an old sentence against Raleigh rather than incur the risk of war with Spain. In the treatment of their distinguished subjects both kings appear to have been influenced by considerations of state. While Lodge and Garner's account of this tragedy is not more scientific than are previous narratives, in the revised edition of their work the story is, perhaps, a little more impartial than that commonly given in histories of the United States.

Perhaps the hypotheses mentioned have somewhat misled the authors in their summary of non-English colonization. To assert that the British settlers were influenced by higher aims than were the French and the Spaniards appears unhistorical. So far as history reveals their motives all the powers that sought to gain a foothold in America expected ultimate benefits for the parent states. Where the French and the English settled, there was no accumulation of the precious metals, and that fact alone explains the absence among them of any apparent thirst for gold. Chapter VII of the Wealth of Nations does not support the theory of more disinterested aims. In this connection the section on the motives for establishing new colonies is worth reading. The methods of the Spaniards, it is true, destroyed the native races of the West India Islands. On the continent, however, from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, the aboriginal tribes, though often unjustly and even cruelly treated, are still to be found in every region. By the French the natives were more generously treated. In entire States settled by the English there are no Indians. In these circumstances it is only the religious or the ethnical hypothesis that can perceive any superiority of motive. The Caucasian race has little reason to be proud of its dealings with the red man.

Little mention is made in this history of the activity of the French missionaries. This, however, is a familiar topic, yet that fact scarcely justifies its omission. On the other hand no popular history shows so enlightened an appreciation of the achievements of the Spanish friars. Probably upon the authority of Bourne, one of the most eminent of American historians, it is stated that in number, range of studies and standard of attainments the institutions for higher education in Spanish America surpassed anything to be found in English

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America before the nineteenth century. The entire subject is new in a popular history.

In discussing the establishment of religious toleration in Maryland the text of Dr. Garner and Senator Lodge adopts the theory of the Rev. Mr. Neil and the Rev. Dr. Smith. So far as we are informed no author of any academic standing takes so ungenerous a view of the founders of Maryland as do these theological historians. A footnote cites the Rev. Dr. George P. Fisher, of Yale, and C. C. Hall, Esquire, in support of an opinion very different from that given in the text. On the same side is found William Hand Browne, in our opinion the writer best qualified to pass an opinion upon this subject. Easy as it should be to ascertain the more important facts of early Maryland history, there has been shed upon this question considerable ink. Here one finds local prepossession and religious hypothesis contending for victory. Catholic writers are under no especial obligation to participate in this war of pamphlets. Their contemporaries knew the Calverts thoroughly but even their most relentless enemies were never able to lodge against the first Proprietaries any accusation more damaging than that they were "addicted" to Papistry. The real work for the disciples of the Rev. Mr. Neil appears to lie in the direction of collecting for the reconverted Calverts some shreds of character. Interesting as would be such a specimen of constructive history, it will never be seriously attempted, for the Maryland Archives are now accessible to all who desire to read.

In discussing the exile of the Acadians there appears to be an effort to justify the policy of Great Britain. In our opinion to do this successfully is impossible. When it is shown that the officers of the government transcended their authority, it is incumbent upon the impartial historian to prove that England was under no obligation to make any effort at restitution. This certainly has not yet been attempted. In the last edition of this history the reader anxious to get an exposition of the entire subject is referred to two volumes by the Hon. Edouard Richard, himself a descendant of the exiles.

The causes and the progress of the War for Independence are rather briefly related. The reader will be surprised to find in this section no reference to the brilliant and successful campaign of George Rogers Clark. In interest and instruction the winning of the west is inferior to few of the achievements of the Revolutionary era. The account of the infant navy is exceedingly meagre. The interval from the first victory of the O'Briens to the last engagement of Barry is filled with instances of enterprise and daring which have all the attraction of romance; besides, a knowledge of these deeds is nearly

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essential to a correct appreciation of the splendid successes of the later navy.

The critical period following the Treaty of Paris is well described, and the authors give an admirable account of the conditions which forced the leaders of that era to propose a new constitution of government. The section treating the national era contains as concise and impartial a summary as can be found in any work of equal extent. From its greater importance the treatment of this epoch makes up the principal part of this history. While it would be an agreeable task to examine the sections which discuss the starting of the Federal Government, the political revolution which began with the accession of Jefferson, the Jacksonian epoch, the compromise measures of 1850 and the Civil War, our space will not permit a particular examination of them.

The rapid review of American history by Professor McMaster will be found both interesting and instructive. The bibliography, though making no claim to completeness, will be of great value to the serious student. In the section on the history of England the works of Lingard, Green and Cheyney might have been mentioned. An excellent index completes the work.

In their original form these volumes contained passages which occasioned some doubt as to the impartiality of the work. Of those parts to which exception had been taken the publishers immediately requested a reëxamination by the authors. This further investigation has led, as we know from advance sheets, to making some changes in the first edition. In justice to the publishers and to the authors, it should be stated that neither had not only the slightest objection to receiving, but that they welcomed suggestions which would tend to make more pronounced in their history the character of fairness. It must be remembered that these volumes cover a wide field and that it is practically impossible for a compendium to make an independent investigation of every topic. If, therefore, any reader believes that it still falls short of perfect fairness, he can be assured that by the authors and the publishers his suggestions will be given due consideration and if found valuable, the benefits of such hints will be seen in succeeding editions.

The preceding pages have noticed some of the limitations of these interesting volumes. In doing so, however, they have never overlooked either the scope or the difficulty of satisfactorily preparing a work like the present. It will be found a valuable addition to every library of American history, useful as a work of reference and sug-

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gestive to even the specialist. Take it all in all, it is in its present form one of the best compendiums of United States history with which the writer is acquainted. CHAS. H. MCCARTHY.

A Short History of England. By Edward P. Cheyney. Boston: Ginn and Co., 8°, pp. 695.

It is in tracing the beginnings of English history that most writers upon the subject admit into their narratives an element of vagueness. With this fundamental defect no method of presentation can make clear its later development. Professor Cheyney's knowledge of the industrial, the constitutional and the literary history of the English people has enabled him to impart to much of his account something of the nature of a demonstration in mathematics. Of the text books which have recently appeared this volume, take it all in all, is the most instructive and one of the most readable. Our estimate does not overlook the excellent histories of Ransome, Green and Gardiner, which appeal to the same constituency.

Except that it is a little more accurate the introductory chapter upon the geography of Britain does not differ greatly from the treatment of the same subject by several other authors. The succeeding section, which deals with prehistoric and Celtic Britain, is exceedingly meagre. It must be remembered, however, that this era lies chiefly at the dawn of modern history and that concerning it but little is certainly known.

A volume recently noticed in the BULLETIN asserts that the period of Roman occupation did little for the natives of Britain. With this conclusion, Professor Cheyney by no means agrees, for his brief chapter upon that epoch indicates clearly the debt of the Celtic tribes to their Italian conquerors. Even if these distant subjects of Rome tended after the withdrawal of the legions to relapse into barbarism, the benefits of civilization could not have been entirely lost.

The period from the coming of the Jutes to the establishment under Egbert of a single kingdom deals in an interesting manner with the government, the literature and the religion of the Angles and Saxons in their new home. The last topic comprehends an examination of the mission of Augustine, the conversion of Northumbria, the Scottish missions and the synod of Whitby. It also includes an account of the monasteries and admirably sets forth their influence upon civilization.

In the account of later Anglo-Saxon England the succession of the insignificant rulers known as the boy kings is passed almost with-

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out observation. As their reigns left few enduring memorials, this is a judicious omission. What is really worthy of mention in this period is sufficiently noticed. At this point the reader will miss the patriotic and picturesque figure of Edmund Ironside and the interesting legend which tells how Canute became sole ruler of England. The absence of the traditional account makes it more difficult to understand the accession of a line of Danish kings. Nevertheless the entire epoch from the landing of Cæsar to the coming of the Normans is concisely and ably presented.

In the section upon the Norman kings the narrative though more ample loses nothing in clearness. The reader being already familiar with what the Anglo-Saxons had achieved is better prepared to appreciate the results of the conquest. In this period may be discerned the beginnings of the controversy between the state and the Papacy. The exposition of the feudal system is admirable. It is not a collection of formal definitions but it makes evident to the student how the various incidents of feudal tenure affected the daily life of the people. The architecture, the literature and the beginnings of the judicial system are also noticed.

Before reading half the text the student is brought to the end of the reign of Henry VII. Whether or not the Catholic reader agrees with Professor Cheyney in his narrative of succeeding reigns, it is certain that there is no short study of the period from 1154 to 1509, A. D., which gives concerning the important questions of that fruitful epoch so instructive and impartial an account. Even if the Catholic reader concludes that from the accession of Charles I, the members of the old Church were becoming less and less an intellectual force and in politics continued for generations to be little more than a party of protest, he has been told that the foundations of England's greatness had been laid before she had ceased to be Catholic. It was Henry VII and not his successor who laid the foundations of England's greatness.

This volume will tell the student of the architecture of the Middle Ages, of the system of education, of the beginnings of those great universities of which English speaking peoples are justly so proud. He will see in operation the system which produced Roger Bacon and Bishop Grosseteste; he will learn too, that there were beginning to spring up outside of cloister and cathedral men renowned for their learning. As might be expected from the scholarship of the author the beginnings as well as the development of commerce are properly emphasized.

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The relation of Ireland to England is investigated from the point of view of the economist, and is therefore far more friendly than the traditional method which approached the subject from the religious side, and explained by frequent allusions to priestcraft all of Ireland's ills. For many of these woes Professor Cheyney finds political and economic causes responsible. For the library as well as the school and the college this is an admirable hand-book of English history.

CHAS. H. MCCARTHY.

Colonial Administration. By Paul S. Reinsch, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905. 8°, pp. 422.

At a time like the present when with few exceptions the more progressive of the civilized powers are engaged in establishing their authority over tropical races and in exploiting the resources of tropical countries the appearance of a work upon colonial administration is most opportune. For the intelligent American citizen any essay upon this subject is very desirable. The volume of Dr. Reinsch will be found of the greatest value. While like the other studies in The Citizen's Library this is not offered as a treatise, it examines in a thorough and interesting manner a great variety of topics.

Its principal sections treat of education and social improvement, colonial finance, currency and the cognate subjects of banking and credit, commerce, communication, agricultural development, the land policy of the colonizing states, the conditions of labor in all the principal dependencies and the important matter of colonial defence.

The chapter upon education is highly suggestive and is worthy of the careful consideration of every instructor. From the author's observations one might infer that he would not undertake by the Bible alone to civilize the dusky races of the tropics. He would probably endeavor first to place those tribes upon a new economic basis and to strengthen in them the desire of effective accumulation. When some manual dexterity is attained, when habits of industry are established, in short when character is built up, religious and educational efforts are more likely to succeed. A conviction that in the past there has been much misapplied energy has led students of this subject to view with more favor the methods adopted by the Jesuits with the Indians of Paraguay.

The chapters upon finance, banking, currency and credit occupy a considerable portion of the work and are worthy of the study of our legislators. If more information is desired upon these topics, the reader is referred at the close of the successive chapters to a great

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number of articles, essays and treatises by specialists who have fully investigated the important problems which have arisen in the administration of colonial affairs.

Commerce and the related subject of transportation are discussed in a concise and scholarly chapter. The former is presented graphically by diagrams, and the text is illustrated by valuable statistics, which indicate the growth or the decay of trade. Transportation in India, the railways and the waterways of Africa, projected lines of communication and the methods of railway and highway construction are briefly noticed.

In the section on agriculture and industrial development there is contained an interesting account of the famous botanical garden of Buitenzorg in Java. It also includes some instructive criticism of experiment stations and a brief notice of the Dutch culture system. The subjects of forestry and irrigation are more fully treated.

In presenting the land policy of the colonizing powers the author leaves his reader to contrast the various systems for himself. In the same connection is discussed the important subject of concessions to individuals and corporations. A succeeding chapter notices imported contract labor, forced labor and vagrancy laws. It also examines the industrial character of the native races of Africa and ascribes to the Arab slave raids that dislike of daily labor which has won for all blacks the stigma of entire worthlessness. That all the negro races cannot thus be fairly described, is conclusively shown by the author.

A notice like the present cannot touch the great number of topics treated in this volume. Dr. Reinsch has examined in a scholarly and impartial manner a variety of questions pertaining to the administration of colonial affairs. His book is admirably adapted to the purposes of the class-room and deserves a place in every library, private as well as public.

CHAS. H. MCCARTHY.

Principles of Economics, with special reference to American conditions, by E. R. A. Seligman, LL.D., McVickar Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.

This volume appears in the American Citizen Series edited by A. B. Hart, LL.D. A valuable chapter of suggestions concerning every phase of the literature replaces a preface in the work. All local, state and federal publications which have reference to economic conditions are indicated, with brief comment and a good list of bibliographies added. The Introduction contains explanations of terms. Part II

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discusses the Elements of Economic Life such as Environment, Population, Economic Life and Thought, Property, Competition, Freedom. Part III treats the Structure and Process of Economic Life, particular attention being given to Value and its laws, Production, Capital, Distribution. Part IV contains studies on Government and Business, Poverty and Progress. The author has covered a very broad field admirably in the 600 pages of his work. It contains a good index, many tables and colored charts. The mechanical divisions of the work follow closely the differences in thought and topic in a way that makes the reading easy and agreeable. The work is written close to the facts of every day life, the style is clear and simple. A short bibliography precedes each Chapter.

The author's views on current questions rather than the technical economic aspects of the work as a whole, will undoubtedly be of greatest interest to the readers of the BULLETIN. He holds that private property is a natural right only in a broad sense: "the right of private property is a privilege conferred upon individuals by society" (p. 135). To such a teaching vigorous exception will be taken by those who fix the basis of private property directly in natural law, giving society directive and limiting powers only. But the text of Professor Seligman leads one to believe that the difference is one of terms rather than philosophy. The principle "interference with the existing rights of private property must always depend upon a convincing and irrefragable evidence of its necessity" (p. 135) will commend itself to thoughtful men, though there are signs that we often wait too long for proof and demand too much evidence before action is taken. In harmony with that is the suggestion that Government should do what individuals "can not do, will not do and ought not to do" (p. 562). The need of governmental action on railway rates is recognized by the author, his preference being for the determination of rates by the railway: investigation and determination of facts by an administrative body; the duty of passing in last instance upon the reasonableness of a charge being put in the hands of a judicial body. "Careful public scrutiny and effective social supervision" of life insurance are favored. The author believes that protection has been a wise policy for the country though identified with many serious evils and he foresees no sudden or material change for a considerable time to come. Sympathy is expressed for workingmen's insurance against accident, age, illness though immediate steps toward its establishment would seem premature. Immigration with proper regulation is regarded as desirable; the single tax is

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opposed as a pretended solution of the great question concerned, though the author sees practical value in it as tending to bring about reform in our methods of taxation. He believes that "it is more than likely that the future has in store a complete transference of quasi public enterprises to the public itself"; the argument for city ownership of water and electricity appearing stronger now than for the ownership of gas and street railways.

Professor Seligman believes that economic democracy will be the outcome of the modern industrial system, though throughout his volume he expresses little if any confidence in present day Socialism. He looks to collective bargaining, supervision of monopoly, social control of competition as giving promise of progress, and of the elevation of the laborer.

It will be seen that the volume of Professor Seligman touches on nearly all of the problems which concern industrial society today, and expresses views which indicate sympathy with many of the ethical reactions against actual conditions. The work is analytical as most economic treatises are. It coordinates problems in a manner most satisfactory to those of us who are not economists but recognize the need we have of direction from economists, and wish that they might interpret into ethical terms, much of their science. The concluding page alone is given to the belief that economics may yet apprehend and explain "the real content of existing conditions and the true method of making the actual conform to the ideal." It may be that economists, in confining themselves so generally to analysis and exposition have left a field for Sociology and Ethics from which we may hope to get interpretations of social phenomena and through these, larger laws which may govern statesmen and leaders in the direction of society. We are to-day in a maze of tendencies, the meaning of which we do not understand except in the radical movements to which they give rise. Philosophies in every point antagonistic, contend for supremacy in employer and labor union, in friend and in foe of competition and legal intervention; interpretations of the meaning and rôle of trust, of liberty, of labor union, of monopoly, vary widely, all because partial views suggested by self-interest and protected by the accidents of life, dominate and we fail to rise to the larger interpretations of things. Men travel to broaden their minds. Students go to foreign lands to emancipate themselves from their patriotism. The same need exists in the world of science. The citizen who would be enlightened must make excursions into philosophy, economics, ethics. It may be wished that economists would go farther and give us larger interpretations. Those who look to eco-

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nomics from the outside point of view, will find the treatise of Professor Seligman helpful in the highest degree. There is every reason to believe that his prestige as an economist and name as a writer will be enhanced among economists by this addition to the literature of economics.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

The Saloon Problem and Social Reform. By J. M. Barker, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology in the School of Theology, Boston University. Boston: Everett Press, 1905.

This volume contains a strong plea for united and organized action against the saloon. A "federated movement of moral forces" is advocated which will express itself in a joint agency to be controlled by the churches, one of whose purposes would be to secure national, state, county and municipal legislation to suppress the saloon. The author recognizes that public sentiment is essential to effective reform. Publicity, the secular and the religious press, the practice of total abstinence, the pulpit are factors in the making of public opinion which should be coördinated in the work of exterminating the saloon. Prohibitory legislation is advocated though the author is not unmindful of the practical obstacles in its way. The need of wise leadership is admitted, the qualifications essential to it being conviction, power of organization, and execution, the spirit of service, hopefulness and cheerfulness, reverence and Christian faith. In an interesting chapter on Substitutes for the Saloon, the author calls the attention of his readers to the relation of poor dull homes, badly cooked food to the drink problem, and the social club house function that the saloon is supposed to perform for the laborer, is discussed at some length. It is claimed that clubs, halls, coffee houses supplying reading, amusements and refreshments are successful in replacing the saloon.

The first portion of Dr. Barker's volume contains a review of the political, economic, social and criminal aspects of the saloon problem. The work is full of interest and it is entirely free from traits which so many condemn in temperance literature. It will prove to be a source both of correction and of suggestion to temperance workers. It is to be hoped that the objective manner, and the fair estimates of the author may leave their impress on the movement.

The drink problem is one of the most complex mysteries in social life. The persistent devastation caused by drink, the uniformity of its action and stability of its relation to definite social conditions suggest that its roots are deeper in life than temperance workers at times imagine. It is at once, a question of physiology, of biology, of en-

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vironment, of morals, of example, of social conscience. The weaker classes are its victims, and the stronger classes seem not to have learned from the Gospel or the Church, the spiritual duty of helping toward reform. Poor food and dull homes may impel to drink, but men with good food and cultured homes drink as well. Overworked men may be driven to drink, but men of leisure drink also. Some drink for joy and others because of grief. The mysteries of drink are no greater than are the mysteries of indifference and inaction on the part of those who might aid in solving the question but do not. If we had hundreds writing and thinking where now there is one, we would still fall short. Dr. Barker's volume will be helpful to all in the working minority: it should appeal to the careless majority.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

The City the Hope of Democracy. By F. C. Howe, Ph.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.

The author of this work was at one time a member of the city government of Cleveland, Ohio. His contact with city problems led him to study them in this country and in Europe. The outcome of the studies is a series of convictions concerning reform, which are presented in this volume. Democracy will be best realized through the City Republic "a new sort of sovereignty, a republic like unto those of Athens, Rome, and the mediæval cities, a republic related to the states" as the states are now related to the nation at large. By radical home-rule principles, the city must be freed from nation and state; charters must be reformed in a way to give back to cities their right to self-government in matters of local concern. The new city should have few not many officials, a single house of limited membership to assist the executive, whose powers would be greatly augmented. The author favors the initiative and referendum, the single tax, municipal ownership of "whatever is of necessity, a monopoly."

While he speaks hopefully here and there of the conditions of American cities, the author accepts in the main the impressions of party, machine and boss, of corruption and degradation and exploitation which are presented in current literature and believed by increasingly large numbers of the people. The general causes of failure of city government are claimed to be franchises and privileges.

The preface seems to promise a strong materialism which one is glad to miss in the volume itself. That the city is largely an economic creation is true without necessarily implying that environment creates and controls human action and thought.

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The author proposes many radical reforms and thereby increases the probability of dissent from readers without increasing the force of his appeal. Some years ago, the Single Taxers displayed an unusually practical view of things in undertaking to capture one state—Delaware—and to inaugurate their reform legally and demonstrate the validity of their claims. That they failed and since desisted is not to their discredit. Those who are interested in municipal reform—and they are tens of thousands—might be more pleased if the reform forces could but give us one model city. There are as many problems as there are cities, and in each city there are many problems, not the least of which is the failure of the city to arrive at self consciousness. The author has a fine observation (p. 45). "A lot of cross streets on which houses are built do not constitute a city. Even though paving is laid in these streets, they do not constitute a city. Even though people live in the houses, and move through the Churches and theatres they have not made a city. They have made an urban aggregation. A world's fair might as well pass for a city. But within this human group out of its common interest and common need, conscience is born and responsibility is awakened. When will power and intelligence are civic forces focussing on a united purpose and a definite ideal; when in addition to self-consciousness and family consciousness there arises a city consciousness that instinct which is willingness to struggle for the common weal, and suffer for the common woe, then, and not until then, does the city spring into life.

"In the true sense of the word, the urban aggregations of people in the United States have not yet become cities." Possibly one service that this volume may render is that of contributing toward the development of the city-spirit. With the author, the city is the hope of the future, the problem of the present. Whether or not the reforms advocated may be expected in advance of the formation of a strong active city spirit is doubtful. That many of them will come in the wake of such a spirit, is more probable. That the problems of the city, and their confusion are doing much to hasten that result, is fortunately not to be denied. The intense interest everywhere shown in these questions, the increasing literature on them, with much that is strong, objective and compelling in it, the improvements begun and the definite hopes awakened are parts of a process out of which good things must come. Idealism and hope have their place in such literature: intensity and statistics fit on the same page without suggesting incongruity. Though a book fail to convince, it may stimulate, though it fail to solve problems, it may correlate them and that is half the problem, though it lose its logic in the flood of its feeling, the

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feeling may not seldom conquer where the logic would have failed. Dr. Howe's volume does not give us final certainty as to how the city will be redeemed but it does awaken the hope that redemption may come. When all hope for it, it will come. It is worth while to awaken cities to their self-consciousness: to their fundamental right to home rule, to a sense of their mission in modern democracy and morals; to an understanding of the laws of their growth. It is helpful to show the larger relations of city to civilization as well as the relations of a lighting franchise to a city council. There is much to be done in looking to the establishing of a city ideal and traditions which will weld the city to future and past and thereby exalt its tone and engender civic aspiration; and in seeking the point in city building where the law of diminishing returns in social, ethical and spiritual product, applies. This volume throws the city on the screen: we get it in its large relations. Whatever the average reader thinks of this or that measure proposed, he will see the city as a whole more clearly and if he have any social conscience, it will be stimulated in many directions. The volume will earn its place in municipal reform literature even though we do not attain to the ideal proposed or all of the measures advocated.

WILLIAM J. KERBY.

Souvenirs Politiques (1871–1877). By the Vicomte de Meaux. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1905. 8°, pp. 419.

In the light of recent politico-religious events in France this account of the great nation's internal political vicissitudes during the decade that followed its overwhelming military defeat in 1870 takes on a certain solemnity. M. de Meaux has set forth with all the accuracy and fulness of a "rapport" the chief problems that lay before France on the morrow of her defeat by Germany, and the manner in which they were approached by those representatives whom the nation had selected in an hour of bitter anguish and quasi-despair. The majority of them were persuaded that Henri V (the Comte de Chambord) should be called to the throne, but not without a previous understanding as to constitutional guarantees and the likelihood of a permanent régime. When the representative of monarchical legitimacy had definitely refused to reign under the shadow of the national tricolor and insisted on the previous unconditional acceptance of the "drapeau blanc," nothing was left but to establish some desirable form of government that would not exclude all hope of the restoration of the monarchy. In this manner the Septennat was voted, with Marshal MacMahon as President (1873–1879). It was hoped

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that under him the ancient social and national institutions of France would find time and occasion to manifest themselves and again to attract the adhesion of the popular majority. If the republican form of government, temporarily adopted, were finally to prevail in the national mind, it was hoped that it would be conservative in tendencies, and surrounded with safeguards capable of withstanding the radical and irreligious propaganda, led by Gambetta, and growing daily more powerful. For a while therefore the government of France was a "republic without republicans," its official administration being admittedly monarchical in purpose and antecedents. M. de Meaux exhibits with grave eloquence the various phases of the MacMahon régime in its effort to round out its appointed term, and in the meantime to secure within its own party that unity of spirit, clearness of view, vigor of initiative which, together with moderation and self-sacrifice, are needed for the success of any large policy. It is not necessary to recall to our readers the events that led to the defeat of conservative France and the resignation of Marshal MacMahon. The reasons for it are very frankly stated by the author of these "Mémoires," himself a member of the government on more than one occasion. They were the political mysticism and irresolution of the Comte de Chambord, the irremediable notorious disunion of the conservative elements, the imprudence and narrowness of influential Catholic parties whose zeal surpassed their wisdom, the irreligious propaganda of the opposition-press, the connivance of the extreme republicans with Germany and Italy, and the spread of false rumors of war as sure to follow the triumph of the conservatives. In a closing paragraph M. de Meaux describes with authority the political apathy inherent in the masses of conservative France. Long accustomed to be governed from above, they seek their relief in the hope of a political Messiah. Politics, the hard stern duty of self-government, is therefore left to those who make it a profession. Unfortunately, their number, for sufficient reason, is always greater among the unworthy and inferior elements of French life, and so in that land universal suffrage seems destined for a long time to bring to the front those men and measures which least truly represent the spirit and the heart of the nation. In several pages of this fascinating story, we catch echoes of the domestic conflicts of the French Church during the fifties and the sixties. When we reflect that it is the son-in-law of Montalembert who addresses us, it is impossible not to see the noble figure of the great Catholic tribune and to hear again, as though he yet lived, those admirable and irresistible formulas in which he was wont to make known to the French

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Catholics of his day the true nature of political liberty, the means of acquiring and retaining it, and the duty of administering it in keeping with its own intimate spirit. Together with his admirable work on "Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis" this account of the first decade of modern republican life in France exhibits in a measure the political testament of M. de Meaux. Throughout the work are scattered charming pen-portraits of his political contemporaries, M. Thiers, M. de Broglie, Mgr. Dupanloup, Marshal MacMahon and others.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Lex Levitarum, or Preparation for the Cure of Souls. By the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B.; with the Regula Pastoralis of St. Gregory the Great. New York: Benziger Bros., 1905. 8°, pp. lvi + 349.

Who has not heard of the "Regula Pastoralis" of St. Gregory the Great? Yet the number of priests acquainted with its contents is all too small. It is the earliest Latin treatise of importance on the spiritual life of the priest. And what is more, it is a classic of its kind, a great work by one of the greatest of the remarkable men that have sat on the throne of Peter. Written primarily for bishops,—for at that time the heads of important parishes were almost exclusively bishops,—this admirable treatise on pastoral duties and responsibilities stands out a monumental proof of the holiness of life, of the singleness of purpose, that the Church of Rome, in the very days of her undisputed primacy, expected of those who were anointed to carry on the blessed work of Christ.

The warmth with which the book was first received shows that it answered a long-felt need. For ages it held its place of honor as an indispensable guide for all who exercised the pastoral office. It was one of the books brought by St. Augustine into Britain. The great King Alfred, with the help of his bishops, made a Saxon version of it, and sent copies to the chief bishops of his kingdom. In many synods of the ninth and following centuries, it was one of the authoritative books for consultation, and was recommended to bishops for guidance in the discharge of their spiritual duties. We learn from Hincmar of Rheims that at episcopal consecrations, the persons to be made bishop had to kneel before the altar, and holding the book of the sacred Canons and that of the "Regula Pastoralis," had to swear so to live, teach, and judge, as was therein prescribed.

An excellent English version of the "Pastoral Rule," the painstaking work of the Reverend Dr. James Barmby, may be found in

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volume XII of the "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers" (Second Series), published by Scribners. Bishop Hedley, in the volume under review, presents the work in the original, sonorous Latin. And, moreover, he has put this precious gem of patristic literature in a fine golden setting. For by way of introduction, he has given an excellent series of studies suggested and inspired by the "Pastoral Rule." Of these, the first two are scholarly sermons, the one on the life of St. Gregory, the other on his monasticism. The remaining eleven studies are the finished product of a series of lectures delivered to the ecclesiastical students of the Seminary of Ushaw; hence the title, "Lex Levitarum." These addresses are models of their kind, admirable alike for their literary finish, for their high spirituality, for their fine delineation of character, for their solid, practical advice. He has shown a nice discrimination in his choice of subjects, among which are Vocation, Purity of Soul, Sympathy with Souls, the Study of Literature, the Study of Holy Scripture, Science and the Priestly Office.

As an example of his skill in presentation, take the following passage, to be found in his address on Vocation:

"What, then, must be the danger of the priesthood to the shallow and half-trained youth, who has never looked seriously into the failings and weaknesses of his own heart? There is perhaps little fault to find with him during the years of his studies. He obeys, he works fairly well, he is not outwardly greedy or selfish; he keeps his place in the ranks, in the routine, neither very conspicuous for zeal, nor very notable for remissness. All this is perfectly compatible with very feeble virtue. His life does not call upon his virtue. . . . His position, in a seminary, is perhaps an easier one than he would have had in the world. To put off the "ignominy of the secular habit" has been to him not a sacrifice, but a relief. He has not felt as yet any keen trouble, or had to face any heavy cross. Whilst he obeys, therefore, it is rather through easiness of temper than on any supernatural principle; whilst he works, it is because it would never do to imperil his ordination by failing in his studies; whilst he leads a regular life, it is rather out of custom than holy mortification . . . When a youth like this is ordained—and he cannot be refused ordination—the trouble begins. He was all right in the harbor—behind the breakwater. But the waves of the great world, and even those disturbances that find their way into a little congregation, a small cure of souls, will try him and search him. First comes the tendency to take things easy now that he is more or less his own master. . . . He has never really got down to what true humility is; and therefore success elates him, the miserable flattery of the ignorant pleases him,

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a rebuke or even a piece of advice hurts him, and any little failure makes him wretched. . . . Probably he has not learnt true patience, or gentleness, or refinement; he has restrained himself, it is true, but rather because temper or grossness of conduct would have been laughed at or summarily put down in the society of the Seminary. When he goes out, therefore, and there is no one to take him up for his language or his actions, nature has her way. He cannot bear pain or trouble; he has never learned how to turn bodily or mental suffering into love, and so by it to draw nearer to God. He shows his impatience quite openly, like a child; he commiserates himself; he forgets every one else. . . . He develops bad temper, and the habit of scolding. Priests' bad temper has driven innumerable souls back into the bonds of sin. Scolding is the resonance of the empty intelligence, and of the hollow heart, of a man who has nothing to give, nothing to propose, nothing to impart. As he grows older, he naturally does not improve; he grows more querulous, more exacting, more inconsiderate, and more childish. And thus he spoils the work of the Holy Spirit and neutralizes himself as one of the spiritual forces of the world."

If space permitted, many other passages equally fine might be cited. The whole work must be read to be appreciated as it deserves. And to make the reading doubly pleasant, the publishers have had it printed in a very attractive form. A better gift-book for priest or seminarian would be hard to find.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

A Modern Martyr, Théophane Vénard; Translated from the French by Lady Herbert; Revised and Annotated by Rev. James Anthony Walsh. Boston: Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1905. 8°, pp. 235.

One cannot have too wide an acquaintance with noble Christian characters. In this age of ease, and of endless scientific discussion, of church-building, and of money-collecting, we need at times for our souls' sake to look to the example of the saints and heroes of God who are on the sterner side of life. Now, few biographies are better suited to remind us sweetly and forcibly of higher things than the volume presented to the public under the title, "A Modern Martyr." Modern, indeed, for it is within the lifetime of many of us that Théophane Vénard, a young priest of only thirty-two years, went smiling and singing to a martyr's death.

His story is one of great beauty and pathos. It is the story of a rare, highly gifted personality, that from very boyhood bore the promise of a life of priestly devotion, and that fulfilled the promise

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to the highest degree of heroism. As we learn from one of his letters, he was not yet ten years old when reading the account of the martyrdom of Fr. Cornay, he cherished the hope of one day becoming a missionary priest, to labor in a foreign land, and if need be to die for Christ. Yet Théophane was not a strange or morose character. He was conspicuous among his fellows for his warm, sympathetic nature, and his gaiety of spirits. Grown to man's estate, he had the many lovable qualities that betoken true Christian manhood, and nobility of soul. As his seminary studies brought him nearer to the realization of his pious ambition, the missionary spirit of his boyhood grew stronger within him. Most men in his place would have turned from such a proposition; for there were not lacking strong motives to keep him at home. Being gifted with more than ordinary talents, he could easily have won a legitimate position of honor in the pastoral work of a diocesan priest. His naturally frail constitution did not seem fitted for the endurance of the severe privations to which the missionary is exposed in heathen lands. And more serious still, he was attached to his little family circle by the closest ties of affection. He had a father, kind and true; brothers that he tenderly loved; and above all, a sister who was dearer to him than life. To give up all this for the hard and perilous work of a foreign missionary was a sacrifice fit to shake the stoutest heart. Yet, though it cost him the most poignant grief, this heroic youth of but twenty-one years resolved to devote himself to the spread of the Gospel in distant lands. His letter breaking the terrible news to his father, and the noble reply of the poor old man, giving in tears his full consent and blessing, are passages that few will read without emotion.

He was ordained in his twenty-third year, and sent to the perilous mission of Tonquin, already notorious for its bloody persecution of native and foreign Catholics. After six years of devoted service, interrupted at times by ill health, more frequently by ruthless persecution, he was captured, condemned, and beheaded. Nothing is more sublime than the heroism with which he went to his execution.

Such in brief outline is the substance of the volume. The story gains in interest by the fact it is very largely made up of Théophane's own letters, in which he tells his thrilling experiences in vivid style, and gives expression to the sentiments and aspirations of his truly noble soul. Many thanks are due the reverend editor for reviving Lady Herbert's translation long since out of print. This translation he has carefully revised and enriched not only with interesting notes, the fruit of a personal visit to the surviving brothers of Théophane Vénard, but also with several pages of valuable information on the

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present state of the French foreign missions. Priest and layman, old and young, will find in this book much to delight the mind and to lift up the heart.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Heroic Romances of Ireland. Translated into English Prose and Verse, with Preface, Special Introduction and Notes, by A. H. Leahy. In two volumes. London, 1906.

The Courtship of Ferb, a daintily printed little book in green and black with a cover of blue, from the publishing house of Mr. David Nutt, had prepared us for Professor Leahy's larger work which we have before us.

This is the first collection of translations into English of ten of the best known of the Heroic Romances of Ireland. Students of literature are familiar with the French versions of some of these tales in the "Cours de littérature celtique" of M. d'Arbois de Jubainville and with the more accurate translation in Professor Thurneysen's "Sagen aus dem alten Irland" and with the translations by various scholars in Miss Hull's "The Cuchullin Saga." Professor Leahy has availed himself of the works of these scholars and of Windisch and Stokes and corrects or questions their translations when they depart from the original.

Vol. I contains a translation in prose of five of the most famous tales and a presentation in verse that has been made as near as may be to the form and matter of the Irish. Several of the prose translations have been controlled by Professor Strachan which is the best guarantee of their faithfulness. Vol. II contains the five edited lesser Tains which were among the preludes to the great Cattle-Raid of Cuailnge. They are rendered literally, and on the opposite page they are reproduced in ballads. This volume contains also the publication, for the first time, of the Irish text and an interlinear word for word translation of part of the Wooing of Etain from the Book of the Dun Cow.

This alone would be a sufficient reason for calling especial attention to the Heroic Romances of Ireland. But it contains, besides, notes and parallels drawn from other literatures and a table of suggested pronunciations of proper names. In the Preface, the influence of Irish literature upon the development of the literatures of other nations is discussed. The original form of the romances, their sources, transmission, versions and manuscripts are touched upon briefly in the Preface, and, in more detail, in the introduction to the several romances. The Editor concludes that the versions as we have them

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are not old patchworks from pagan times added to by Christian men but the original composition of these. Each volume has an introduction in verse giving an excellent survey of the subjects and forms of the Irish original and are remarkably well executed. Professor Leahy is particularly fortunate in this part of his work, and it is hardly possible that his translations can be much improved upon. Probably no literature loses more in translation than the Old-Irish Sagas. When divested of their original dress they take on a quite different character. A bold, word for word translation of them is hardly readable and sometimes even unintelligible, and a paraphrase in verse, especially when hampered by the meters of the Irish, even though it be from the pen of Mr. Leahy, will fail to impress those who are acquainted with the Sagas in the original.

JOSEPH DUNN.

Abhráin Diadha Chúige Connacht, or Religious Songs of Connacht. By Douglas Hyde, LL.D. Dublin and London, 1906.

This is a collection of poems, stories, prayers, satires *'ranns* and charms, and forms the seventh chapter of the Songs of Connacht. The arrangement of the original and the translation on opposite pages which we had known in the Doctor's essay on "Irish Poetry" and Connacht "Love Songs," is observed in this collection, though we cannot perceive just what was the need of giving the running prose commentary in both languages. All the poems are Englished, and some of them in two forms, a literal, word for word translation, and verse renderings in which *An Craoibhín* is very skilful; in some of these he has imitated the original meters. It is worthy of notice that many of these religious songs exist in more than one version and are found in widely separated parts of Ireland. They, or rather their prototypes, must be of considerable antiquity, upwards of ten centuries, perhaps, and must have been widely distributed, even among the Gaels of Scotland, by missionaries of the Early Church in Ireland who composed them to instruct the people and to teach them Christianity. Variants of different songs are given from the counties Clare, Cork, Armagh, Donegal, Kerry and even from the Highlands. Consequently, we are not to conclude from the title that the songs are confined to Connacht.

The songs are all popular, simple and from the heart, full of fervor and piety, and it could be wished that songs like these, in the native language and set to simple chorals, were introduced for congregational singing at divine service. The effect could not fail to be beneficial in several ways. The book contains, besides the religious

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songs, strictly so called, morning and evening prayers in verse, songs for occasional use. Some of these resemble closely the Old-Irish hymns of the ninth century. There are also charms which may be compared with the Old-Irish incantations in the St. Gall manuscript: some are to be recited when going on a journey, others, after taking tobacco and, still others, as preventatives against the toothache or the headache. There are prayers to be said when raking the fire at night. In Brittany, as in Ireland, the fire is left to smoulder under the ashes to warm the poor souls that may come to the kitchen during the night.

The little volume of some hundred pages contains, besides, notes on dialectic peculiarities and material for many interesting studies in popular superstition and folk-lore. Much has been done by the competitors at the *feiseanna* in recording local traditions and practices. Would that the students, schoolmasters and priests who have at their door the whole psychology of the people were to show some of Douglas Hyde's enthusiasm and activity in saving the legends and beliefs of Ireland from disappearing without leaving a record.

JOSEPH DUNN.

Gill's Irish Reciter, A Selection of Gems from Ireland's Modern Literature. Dublin, 1905.

A happier title might have been chosen for this excellent collection of Irish and English prose and verse. There are so many "reciters" —Anglo-Irish "reciters" especially—on the market; however, the name *Gill's* Reciter may be sufficient to denote the superiority of this one over the others.

Mr. J. J. O'Kelly, who is one of the most active Gaelic Leaguers in Ireland, is the editor of this anthology and he has selected judiciously from the riches of Modern-Irish literature. The hackneyed pieces that are easily accessible elsewhere are excluded from this volume and the standard for admission seems to have been that the poem should be spirited, patriotic and should give a national tone. "One of the aims of this work is to present a fairly consecutive summary of the events that have illumined our chequered story." Hence we are not to be surprised to find that the dominant note is one of sadness, of resignation mingled with hope. Nor are we to wonder that the pieces are highly dramatic. The elocutionists of Irish schools and societies will find many fine selections to add to their repertories which will give their audiences in a pleasing form some acquaintance with the great events of Ireland's history.

JOSEPH DUNN.

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A Handbook of Modern Irish. By John P. Henry. Dublin, 1905.

The fourth and last of the series of Dr. Henry's Handbooks of Modern Irish is appearing in weekly installments in the *Claidheamh Soluis*. The third part, which has just come to hand, is uniform with the others of the set, and with its vocabularies and exercises from English into Irish and vice versa, it is admirably suited for class use or for private study.

It seems to us that in preparing a new edition of the Handbook the material might well be recast into one volume so as to treat each subject fully in a chapter of its own. This would make the grammar serviceable also as a book of reference. As it is, it is not always easy to find the notes on local usages, idioms, syntax and pronunciation which it contains and which one would look for in vain in other grammars of Modern-Irish.

JOSEPH DUNN.

Outlines of the History of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to 1905. By P. W. Joyce, LL.D. New York, 1905.

This is the seventh edition of this primer by Dr. Joyce, who has written so many popular and valuable works relating to Ireland. It is in even smaller compass than his well known "Child's History" and "Concise History," and is written in very simple language. A map showing the places mentioned in the text would have added to its usefulness as a school-book. The last chapter, "Industrial Progress," is particularly interesting. We cannot but regret, however, that, although the account of Ireland's history has been brought down to 1905, we find no mention of the Gaelic League and the movement for the revival of the native language.

JOSEPH DUNN.

La Morale Chrétienne et la Moralité en France. Par Clodius Piat. Paris, Lecoffre, 1905. 8°, pp. 52.

The learned professor of the Institut Catholique at Paris reprints in these pages an article from the Correspondent (May 10, 1905) in which he describes with power and precision the attempt, now universal in France, to uproot from the soul of the nation its immemorial Christian moral sentiment and principles. One by one he takes up the current objections of anti-Christian writers and statesmen, and exhibits the utility, force, and timeliness of all the great ethical truths and criteria as preserved and developed in the Christian mind and Christian practice. These are splendid apologetic pages, and they deserve frequent and attentive reading. Dr. Piat suggests a more thorough formation of the Catholic clergy, a coördination with the

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Catholic universities (Instituts) of all the secondary schools and of all diocesan institutions of education, otherwise there is a grave danger that French Catholicism will be relegated to purely liturgical forms. "Que l'on songe d'abord à l'éducation de l'éducateur; et le reste viendra par surcroît."

The Eternal Sacrifice. By Charles de Condren. Translated from the French by A. J. Monteith. London: Thomas Baker, 1906. 12°, pp. 203.

This is a version of parts 1, 2, and 3 of the well-known treatise entitled L'Idée du Sacerdoce et du Sacrifice de Jésus Christ found among the Oeuvres Complètes du P. Charles de Condren published under the editorship of his biographer the Abbe Pin (Paris: Guyot et Roidot, 1858). As a matter of fact none of the three is by Père de Condren. The first is the substance of a series of conferences delivered by him at the Oratory of Saumur, but committed to writing by the Père de St. Pé; the second is the work of Desmarés, and the third is from the pen of the famous Quesnel. But as the first certainly and the second and third supposedly, represent the spirit of the great Oratorian, they are included in the comparatively short list of his works.

We have not seen a copy of the translation privately circulated in England in 1899, of which the present is announced as "essentially a reprint," but judging the book by itself, we can say that the translator has done his work both faithfully and well, having produced a good idiomatic English rendering of idiomatic French. However, he has thought fit to alter the arrangement of the original, transposing passages, and sometimes whole chapters, so that the result is an adaptation as well as a translation.

Der Selbstmord im XIX Jahrhundert, nach seiner Verteilung auf staaten und Verwaltungsbezirke. Von K. A. Krose, S.J. Freiburg: Herder, 1906. 8°, pp. 111.

Fr. Krose undertakes in these pages to exhibit the development of suicide in Europe during the nineteenth century on the basis of the vital statistics of the different states, and in each state within its principal administrative divisions. His work is a great improvement, from a statistical point of view, on the earlier works of Wagner and Morselli, and will soon be completed by another study on the "Causes of Suicide" based on the figures of the present work. He says (p. 110) that the officially certified suicides in the nineteenth century in Europe amount to 1,300,000. Many states, however, offer statistics

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for only a short portion of the century. Thus Russia presents suicide statistics for only the last three decades, yet in that time there were 70,000 suicides in Russia. There are no suicide statistics for France in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, for Denmark in the first third, for England in the first half, and for nearly all states in the earlier decades of the century. Fr. Krose thinks, therefore, that the real number of suicides in Europe during the nineteenth century is somewhere from one and a half to two millions. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, there were yearly in Europe some 40,000 suicides. At this rate the twentieth century would have to credit, in Europe alone, something like four million suicides! But will this awful rate remain at a standstill? Fr. Krose remarks that of this annual list of 40,000 suicides, about 20,000 fall to the share of Germany and France. Will not the states of southern and eastern Europe soon raise these figures? In Italy and Hungary an increase is already noticeable.

Wilhelm Lindemanns Geschichte der Deutschen Litteratur. Achte Auflage. Von Dr. Max Ettlinger. Freiburg: Herder, 1906. 8°, pp. 1082.

The appearance of an eighth edition of Wilhelm Lindemann's history of German literature, first published in 1866, is an encouraging symptom of the growth of Catholic interest in the noble literature of the "Fatherland." The work is so well known to all admirers of the tongue of Goethe and Schiller that it is unnecessary to more than chronicle the fact of a new edition. Its spirit remains always that of a Catholic Christian observer and student, free to admire whatever is in keeping with the canons of good taste and good sense, without a narrow regard to the "confessional" character of the writer, but free also to blame whatever offends the criteria of genuine Christian morality. In this edition the work appears considerably enlarged, and attention is paid to the latest modern writings. More than ever the book deserves a place in the libraries of our academies and colleges, on the teacher's desk, and in those homes where all good literature is appreciated as a divine gift, a revelation of the eternal beauty, a spiritual and uplifting force of the highest order.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

For The White Rose. By Katharine Tynan Hinkson. New York: Benziger, 1905. 16°, pp. 132.

The Children of Cupa. By Mary E. Mannix. New York: Benziger, 1905. 16°, pp. 169.

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The Violin Maker. By Sara Trainer Smith. New York: Benziger, 1905. 16°, pp. 156.

The Dollar Hunt. From the French. By E. G. Martin. New York: Benziger, 1905. 16°, pp. 131.

One Afternoon and Other Stories. By Marion Ames Taggart. New York: Benziger, 1905. 8°, pp. 182.

Out of Bondage. By Martin Holt. New York: Benziger, 1905. 8°, pp. 188.

Where the Road Led and Other Stories. New York: Benziger, 1905. 8°, pp. 209.

Wayward Winifred. By Anna T. Sadlier. New York: Benziger, 1905. 8°, pp. 220.

A Double Knot and Other Stories. New York: Benziger, 1905. 8°, pp. 212.

Juvenile Round Table, Third Series. New York: Benziger, 1905. 8°, pp. 184.

Her Blind Folly. By H. M. Ross. New York: Benzinger, 1906. 8°, pp. 200.

An Introduction to the Catechism. For Infant Classes and for some Converts. By Rev. Thomas O'Keeffe. New York: Young & Co., 1906. 12°, pp. 25.

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UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

The University acknowledges with gratitude the receipt of $100 from Mr. Hugh Flynn of New Orleans.

Board of Trustees.—The Board of Trustees will hold a meeting on April 25th.

Mr. Michael J. Ryan of the Philadelphia Bar has presented to the Department of American History a collection of the Archives of the State of Pennsylvania.

Feast of St. Thomas.—The Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, Patron of the School of Philosophy, was celebrated on March 7th. A solemn pontifical high-mass was sung by his Grace the Archbishop of Cincinnati Right Rev. Henry Moeller, D.D. The sermon was preached by Very Rev. David Kennedy, O.P., Superior of the Dominican House of Studies.

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ALUMNI MEETING (1906) AT ALBANY.

The twelfth annual meeting of the Alumni of the University took place at the Ten Eyck Hotel, Albany, February 17. At the business meeting in the afternoon the following officers were elected for 1906–1907: President, Rev. Dr. John Maguire, professor of Latin at the University; first vice-president, Lawrence O. Murray, Washington, D. C.; second vice-president, Rev. George V. Leahy, Boston, Mass.; secretary and treasurer, Rev. Dr. John W. Melody, professor of moral theology in the University; historian, Rev. F. P. Duffy, Ph.D., professor of philosophy at Dunwoodie; executive committee, Rev. Dr. William Fletcher, pastor of the Cathedral at Baltimore, Md.; Rev. William F. Russell, S.T.L., secretary to Cardinal Gibbons; Rev. John Crane, Boston, Mass.; Rev. George Hickey, Cincinnati, Ohio; Rev. Thomas McGuigan, S.T.L., Washington, D. C.; membership committee, Rev. Joseph McSorley, S.T.L., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Stephen Wiest, Harrisburg, Pa.; Rev. William Martin, S.T.L., New York; Rev. William J. Kerby, Ph.D., Washington, D. C.; Rev. Dr. William Fitzgerald, Melville, N. J.; Rev. John O'Neil, Philadelphia, Pa.

One of the matters discussed was the perfection of the constitution of the association. The establishment of an undergraduate department in the University was cordially indorsed and the Alumni as a body pledged themselves to coöperate with the governing body of the University in making the new department a success. It was determined that the next meeting shall be held in Washington.

The Banquet.

Rev. Edmund A. O'Connor, S.T.L., of Troy, the retiring president of the association, acted as toastmaster and seated at the head of the table were the following guests of honor: Most Rev. John J. Keane, D.D., Archbishop of Dubuque; Right Rev. Thomas M. A. Burke, D.D.; Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy; John F. O'Brien, Secretary of

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State; Denis O'Brien, Associate Justice of the Court of Appeals; Right Rev. John J. Swift, vicar-general of the diocese Albany; Right Rev. Cornelius J. Shea, chancellor of the diocese of Albany; Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, of the University; Andrew S. Draper, Commissioner of Education; Mayor Charles H. Gaus; Rev. James P. O'Connor, rector of the Cathedral, Albany.

The banquet hall presented a very beautiful sight, the tables being artistically decorated with yellow tulips and white hyacinths and narcissus. On the wall over the table occupied by the honorary guests was a great cluster of flags composed of the ensign of the navy of the United States, the national colors and the papal colors of gold and white. The menu card was handsomely gotten up, being tied with the American colors and embossed on the cover with the motto of the association, "Deo et Patriæ."

At the close of the banquet Rev. Fr. O'Connor welcomed the Alumni and their guests in a very appropriate speech, and then read the following letter of welcome from Governor Higgins of New York, who had hoped to be present, but was prevented by domestic bereavement.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR HIGGINS.

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Albany, February 14, 1905.

REV. E. A. O'CONNOR, President Alumni Association Catholic University of America, Albany, N. Y.

My Dear Sir.—I regret I cannot accept your invitation to be present at the banquet of your association on the nineteenth of this month; but owing to a recent family bereavement I am declining all social engagements for the present.

The Catholic University of America, although among the younger of our educational institutions, has already won a reputation for sound learning, righteousness and good works of which scholarship and the church are justly proud, which is destined to become more widespread and lasting as its alumni increase in number with the coming years.

The traditions of your historic priesthood will not suffer when entrusted to the keeping of men of erudition, faith and zeal who honor as their alma mater the institution whose graduates you are.

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Will you kindly extend to the members of the association my cordial good wishes? Yours very truly,

FRANK W. HIGGINS.

Fr. O'Connor then introduced Bishop Burke, in response to the toast "Our Holy Father, Pope Pius the Tenth."

SPEECH OF BISHOP BURKE.

Mr. President and Gentlemen: I regret exceedingly that the illustrious prelate, who was to have responded to the toast "Our Holy Father" is unavoidably absent. Archbishop Farley having been acquainted with Cardinal Sarto before his elevation to the Papacy could do justice to the theme. I shall however in his absence endeavor to respond. Our American novelist Marion Crawford several months before the death of the great Leo, speaking of the cardinals, who in the event of the death of the reigning pontiff, might be considered "papabiles," divided the members of the Sacred College into three classes; the diplomatic, the scientific and the charitable cardinals. By the diplomatic cardinals he indicated those cardinals, who had been especially educated for a diplomatic career, and who were destined for the nunciatures and for the other positions, that must necessarily exist by reason of the relations of the Church with secular powers. By the scientific cardinals he designated those who have been engaged either as professors in colleges or as presidents of universities. By the charitable cardinals, Mr. Crawford meant those who having spent their lives in the exercise of the ministry, by reason of their duties as pastors of churches or as bishops of dioceses, have been brought in constant contact with the people and especially with the poor, the needy and the suffering. Among these later cardinals, he especially mentioned Cardinal Sarto, the Patriarch of Venice and he expressed the opinion that Cardinal Sarto, was destined to be the probable choice for a future tiara.

Upon the death of Leo XIII, the cardinals went into conclave and after a number of ballots had been taken, to his great astonishment, Cardinal Sarto was elected Pope. He was so overwhelmed at the thought of the awful responsibility which was to be placed upon his shoulders that it nearly cost him his life. In fact for several days, there were great fears entertained that the newly elected pontiff would not survive the shock. We need not wonder at this. Cardinal Sarto never desired nor sought the papacy, which is without doubt the greatest honor and dignity upon earth. He loved his Archdiocese of Venice and he found no greater happiness than laboring among his

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beloved people. It is said that he had bought his return ticket when setting out for the conclave. I can not speak for the truth of this fact, but he certainly left Venice with the intention of returning immediately after the conclave. Cardinal Sarto had been an assistant priest, he had been a pastor of a parish and he found his greatest delight in visiting the members of his parish, in instructing the children, in administering the last sacraments to the dying, in visiting the poor and in bringing consolation to those in sorrow and suffering. He had been made Archbishop and Patriarch of Venice, and he had been raised to the dignity of a Prince of the Church. All these honors and dignities had not in the least changed the amiable Cardinal Sarto and they did not interfere with his zealous and loving labors among his dear Venetians. The thought of having to sever his relations forever with the Archdiocese of Venice and of parting with his dear children filled his heart with sorrow.

Leo XIII was without exception one of the greatest pontiffs that ever sat upon the chair of St. Peter. He was a great pontiff, he was a great statesman, and he was a great scholar. The humble Sarto realized the difficulty of succeeding so great a light. When the choice of the conclave was announced to him, the cardinals gathered around him and begged of him to make the sacrifice for the good of the Church, and they reminded him that the Holy Sprit of God guides and directs the visible head of the Church and that Our Blessed Lord Himself is ever present to assist the successor of His vicar in the government of the faithful. Relying, therefore, upon the divine assistance, Cardinal Sarto accepted the great dignity to which he had been called by the votes of the Sacred College and he assumed the name of Pius X. Pius X has more than realized the hopes that were centered in him. Immediately after his elevation, he sent an encyclical letter to the world in which he reminded mankind that all things are to be restored in Christ; that in the teachings of the Gospel and the imitation of Christ, the evils that beset the world can alone be remedied. In another encyclical, the Holy Father emphasizes the necessity of preaching the gospel and he commanded all prelates having charge of souls not only to preach to the people on all Sundays and holy-day of obligation but to employ every possible means for the religious instruction of the young and for the imparting of Christian science to those of more advanced years. We also know the zeal which he has manifested for the correction of abuses in the music employed in the sacred liturgy. As example is stronger than precept, every Sunday afternoon, large numbers of Catholics of Rome assemble

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in the Court of St. Damascus, where the Pope in person preaches to them in the most pious and simple manner.

A visit to the Vicar of Christ is quite an event in the life of any man. One can not approach the Sovereign pontiff without a certain feeling of awe. When we consider that more than two hundred and fifty millions of people acknowledge the spiritual authority of the visible head of the Catholic Church, and that amongst his spiritual subjects are emperors, kings and sovereigns, and that he is the immediate vice-gerent of Christ, we need not wonder, that the visitor is deeply affected, when he is ushered into his august presence. When, however, one is ushered into the presence of Pius X, every feeling of trepidation and fear vanishes. Pius is so gentle, amiable and approachable that you feel at once at your ease and as a child in the presence of a beloved father. You can never leave his presence without realizing that you have conversed with the Vicar of Christ, who embodies in his person to a remarkable degree those virtues that shone forth in Our Blessed Lord during His sojourn among men.

The Alumni of the Catholic University of America should entertain the highest love and respect for Our Holy Father, Pius X. His very first communication to the bishops and Catholics of America impressed upon their minds the importance of the University at Washington, and exhorted them to spare no pains to sustain that admirable institution so as to enable it to promote more effectually the great work for which the University was established. Leo XIII was the founder of the University. Pius X may in some degree be justly regarded as its saviour.

We all pray that Almight God may spare our present Holy Father Pius X, "Ad multos annos," and that the Church under his fatherly care may continue to prosper and to carry on successfully the great work for which Our Blessed Lord came upon earth and for which He laid down His life on the cross.

The next speaker was the Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy, who was received with great applause, and in response to the toast "Our President," spoke on good government and the Catholic University.

Speech of Secretary Bonaparte.

To my mind this gathering shows more than aught else what the Catholic University of America has already done and, yet more, what its friends believe it can and hope it will do in the future to promote the welfare, by assuring the good government, of our country. I say

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this because no truth is more evident for me than that, to have a good popular government, we must, first of all, and before all else, have good citizens. Burke's well known words have been often quoted; they have been even quoted more than once by me; but we cannot too steadily remember that, as he said, "There never was long a corrupt government of a virtuous people." When we find any self-governing community afflicted with misgovernment, we can safely and fairly believe that it does not deserve a better fate. It may indeed wish to be well-governed, just as many a drunkard, in his seasons of repentance and headache, wishes he were temperate, just as many a defaulter, as yet undetected, in saner moments wishes he could repay what he has taken and feel himself once more an honest man. But, as such men do not wish hard enough to keep away, the first, from the bar, the second, from the faro table or Wall street, so such a nation, state or city does not wish hard enough for good government to make bad government impossible.

I remember the story of a man who had been run over in the street: A sympathizing crowd gathered around him, and many expressions of compassion were heard. A preoccupied man, hurrying to his business, stopped, took in the situation with a rapid glance, and said, "Well, friends, I pity him one dollar's worth for a hack to take him home; how much do you pity him?" Of course, we are all patriots, but what is the value in dollars and cents, in sacrifices of money, time or personal inclination, of our patriotism? We long to see good and wise men in public office, the people's burdens light, the people's work well done; but if we put this longing in the scales, what will overbalance it? Will blind and paltry prejudices of party or race or class or creed outweigh it? Will some mean and trivial gratification to self-interest or vanity outweigh it? Will sheer indolence and cowardice outweigh it? The dread of unaccustomed, distasteful work; the fear of abuse and personal enmity. Will it be found wanting when matched against the mere squeamishness which runs away from coarse and ugly surroundings, however vital the task to be done in their midst? If such be the measure of our patriotism, if such be the moral avoirdupois of our citizenship, we need not wonder, we ought not to complain, if, while we are finding excuses for not doing the work of our government in our interest, some one else does it for us in his own. You have all heard the well-known fable of the man who sells his soul to the devil: Satan is to give him wealth and high station and worldly prosperity in return, and does it; the other party to the contract, after getting the agreed price, always tries to cheat him out of the goods sold, but the devil is too bright for him and forces

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specific performance, according to the letter of the bond. We should like to thus deal with those who rule us, to have them spare us all the burdens of our freedom, and yet give us all its benefits; but they don't do it.

The question of good government in America is essentially a moral and only incidentally a political one, this is indeed true of all governments, but more clearly and emphatically of a popular government than of any other. I mean by this that what the friends of good government in America (and especially in America to-day) have to do is less to devise methods for the efficient and economical administration of public affairs than to clearly and frequently set forth and constantly and forcibly impress on the attention of their fellow citizens the true and admitted ends and principles of government and the daily manifest and grievous derelictions of duty on the part of public officers and of the voters.

I must not be understood to mean that constitutional provisions and laws and ordinances, or systems and rules of administration are not material factors in the problem; what I wish to make clear is that they are not vital factors; the one thing indispensable, the one thing without which good government of any kind or degree is impossible, and which, under reasonable limitations, takes the place and supplies the want of all others, is good men. If you have as public officers men thoroughly honorable and conscientious and also sufficiently intelligent and sufficiently educated to understand and discharge their duties, you will have, whatever the defects of your statutes or customs, a good government; if your places of public trust are filled by ignorant, incompetent, self-seeking or unscrupulous men, you may multiply checks and balances, you may devise all sorts of ingenious and complicated safeguards, but, whatever its scientific merits in theory, your machine of government will in practice work ill. Institutions are in politics what fortifications are in war; each, if well planned, may aid good and brave men to do their duty; neither can take the place of such men. It was not breast-works or rifle-pits that stopped Pickett at Gettysburg, and in administration, no less than in warfare, it is, after all, the human element that counts.

How shall we get this element and get it of the quality we wish and need? In other words, how shall we make sure that the American people is and will remain truly free? I say this because, as "no man is free who is not master of himself," no voter is free who is not, in truth and not in mere semblance, master of his vote; no people, whatever the name or form of its government, is free unless its rulers are those, and those only, it would have as rulers. If its action be

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hampered, its wishes be overridden, in their choice, whether this constraint be the work of a foreign conqueror, a legal autocrat or oligarchy, or an extra legal ruler or ruling body, a "boss" or a "ring," a "leader," a "machine" or an "organization," then, in all these cases alike, the result is the same, the people is not free. In dealing with this problem, however, we are at once confronted by this question: Who are the people? For, since the time of the Three Tailors of Tooley street, and, indeed, much longer, this has been a matter of dispute in politics.

In a little paper discussing some results of the last presidential election which I contributed to the *Outlook* about a year ago, I pointed out that what every one described unhesitatingly and with evident accuracy as "the will of the people," was shown by an intelligent analysis of the election returns to be in fact the will of but a few among the individuals composing the people. To understand this, we must remember that in the human body politic, as in the human body physical, development or will power is a specialized function. The former has always its hewers of wood and drawers of water, to do as they are bid like the hands and feet, the arms and legs; locomotor ataxia is no less a malady in politics than in physiology. Other classes are its vital automata, working, as do the heart and lungs, at their several tread mills, with no thought beyond their daily tasks and daily needs, yet on whose continued labor depends its continued life. The hunger for gain of still others among its members makes them, like the stomach, seemingly blindly selfish and greedy, but, under proper control, none the less indispensable to its health; like a man, a community languishes when it loses its appetite. Finally it has the equivalent of a brain, the seat of its political consciousness and the source of its political will, an organ which, in politics, thinks and decides for its whole mass.

The brain is always a small portion of the organism, even in man only two or three per cent., but its proportionate size grows steadily as we ascend the scale of physical being. If one man may say truthfully, or with any approach to truth, "L'Etat c'est Moi," the state of which he speaks has, politically, but the rudimentary brain of a fish or a reptile. Now this language, or its equivalent in colloquial American, may be used with quite as much justification by one of our "bosses" as by the Grand Roi: when "the old man" is "the whole thing" in our public life; when what he says "goes" in legislation and in administration; when his smile makes and his frown unmakes our legal rulers; it is a matter of detail whether he wear a crown or a plug hat, drinks champagne or bad whisky, receive the homage of his

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courtiers in a palace or "jolly" the "boys" in a corner groggery; in the one case no less than in the other, he is the people's political brain, for political purposes, he is "the people." To dethrone him permanently we must adequately fill his place, in other words, we must develop, not merely intellectually but morally as well, the political brain of the people. This necessity has not been always recognized. The English statesman who said: "We must teach our masters to read," was right as to the purpose, although hardly as to the limits, of primary education. A democracy demands of every citizen a measure of information as to his duties and consequent rights; it would be well if he knew much more, but unless he shall know thus much he will be surely an element of weakness and of danger to the government of which he forms a part. Moreover, since a modern democracy must rule a civilized people, those among its members whose intellectual training has been but that of a barbarian are as clearly disqualified for their task as an Ashantee or a Zulu chief is unfit to be king of Great Britain or president of the United States. But it is no less needful to educate a few to be wise leaders than to educate many to be intelligent followers, and this is the business of our universities. If this be less generally admitted, we must remember that our ideas as to what is a university have only gradually and recently clarified.

During an acrimonious controversy occasioned some twenty-five years since by the refusal of the Johns Hopkins trustees to remove the university to "Clifton," the country residence of its late founder, a newspaper writer, who strenuously advocated the change, exclaimed indignantly: "Johns Hopkins intended to found a university, not a little day school!" Apparently this person's lucid and adequate conception of a university identified it with a big boarding school; and it must be admitted that this view was seemingly shared by others. Indeed, at that time the average American was but beginning to outgrow the notion that an institution of higher education meant essentially a large building; this being provided, whether it should be called a "college" or a "university," or an "academy," or a "seminary," or an "institute," depended, in the words of Sam Weller, "on the taste and fancy of the speller," or rather of the founder. Acquaintance during a generation's space with a few real universities and wider knowledge of the somewhat more numerous real colleges which already existed among us, have convinced the American people of the truth, in educational matters as in others, of the adage that "a dog won't have five legs even if we do call his tail one," or, in other words, that if we dub a high school or even a grammar school a "college," or a college a "university," the facts will be unchanged;

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as certainly as if the Athenians had taken seriously Socrates' sarcastic advice, and resolved that their asses should thereafter be horses, the ears of the beasts would have grown no shorter. And with this conviction has come a recognition of the fact, which some have at times affected to ignore, that those who can, in the nature of things, receive the really higher education must be, in our time and country, as they have been always and everywhere, the leaven hidden in three measures of meal, a ferment vital to civilization, but numerically a very small minority of the community.

An American university must have two qualities to live and deserve its name—it must be a university and it must be American. Simple and almost self-evident as this proposition may appear at first sight, neither of its branches has escaped practical contradiction. I have already spoken of the first; with respect to the second I listened some years since to an interesting address by a very eminent man, at the time chief officer of a well known seat of learning, on the best kind of university for our country. He pointed out that in England, in France and in Germany the name was given to entirely different institutions, and after more or less discussion of their respective merits and shortcomings decided that of the three types the last was best suited to our needs, and advised us to reconstruct our present universities and construct those of the future on a German pattern. German universities, when good of their kind, are good things for Germans, as are English, under like conditions, for Englishmen; if we intend our sons to be subjects of Kaiser Wilhelm or King Edward and their respective successors by all means let us send them to be trained as such subjects where training to that end is most thorough and effective. If, however, we mean them to be genuine Americans, and I think this is what we mean if we are ourselves genuine Americans and not shabby counterfeits of foreigners, we must either give them university education in a genuine American university or give them no university education at all.

The Catholic University of America proposes to give university education to American Catholics. This is a work of profound moment to the American people.

A man of my age in our country must have witnessed many far-reaching changes, many momentous events, but, in my own belief, he can have seen nothing of more profound significance to humanity than the rapid spread, the strong and healthy growth of the Catholic Church in the United States. It is almost startling to glance for an instant at the mere outward show, the purely material features of this growth. At the close of the Revolution American

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Catholics constituted, according to the most trustworthy estimates, about four-fith of one per centum of the entire population—of 1,000 Americans barely eight were Catholics. To-day they number about sixteen per centum; while our nation has grown twenty-fivefold, our communion has grown more than 500 fold. In so saying I think only of Americans in continental America. If we include in the number Porto Ricans and Filippinos, it follows that at least one-fourth of those who owe allegiance to our government own themselves spiritual children of the see of Rome.

Of themselves these facts must claim the attention of churchmen and statesmen, of reflecting men of every profession and every opinion, be they Catholic or Protestants or neither, in our day and country. But they are, as I have suggested, outward, material facts only. The true lesson taught by the rapid and vigorous growth of the Catholic Church in America, if slightly less obvious than the growth itself, is vastly more significant. Fifty years ago most Protestants, and even many Catholics, believed that American institutions and Catholic doctrines were essentially antagonistic, and the church could exist in our republic as an exotic only; that if she ever became a factor of moment in our polity, either her teaching or our principles of government must and would be radically changed. "Know-Nothings" in the days of my childhood and A. P. A.'s in recent years were enemies of the church who professed to fear lest she should abuse and finally destroy American liberty. Most of our separated brethren have complacently hoped, some among ourselves may have secretly feared, lest American liberty should infect and finally poison the spiritual loyalty of American Catholics. The past half century has shown these hopes and fears and theories to be all alike groundless. The Catholic Church is at home in the American republic; she is here to stay, and, while staying, not to languish but to live with a buoyant, healthy life. And, to my mind, at least, it is no less certain that she is here, not to undermine but to strengthen our political liberties; not to pervert and thus control, but to sustain and purify our popular government.

And it is of yet greater moment to the church to have her children truly believe, and show forth by their lives how truly they do believe, that no man can be a good Catholic who is not also a good citizen; that the obligations of loyal obedience to constituted civil authority, of the faithful and zealous fulfillment of the several duties imposed on each member of society by the law of the land, obligations which have been ever and everywhere unequivocally recognized and emphatically proclaimed by the church, rest sacredly upon every freeman in a self-governing republic and forbid any surrender to selfishness or

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cowardice or sloth, any compromise with iniquity or dishonor, in the work which his country demands of him. It is not enough that this doctrine be affirmed in our catechism or declared by our preachers—it must be recognized in our lives; when there shall be no unworthy citizen who is also in name a Catholic, the Catholic Church in America will have no enemy whom any good man would wish to be her friend.

Speech of Archbishop Keane.

Archbishop Keane received a hearty reception when he was called to his feet. Among other things he said:

Every conversation I had with the great Leo regarding this university showed me that he was a man of marvelous illumination, to whom God seemed to have given a sort of prophetic vision of what was to come. He saw what the world was coming to. He saw that America was inevitably coming to the foreground and that it was bound to build up a race of men the like of which the world had never seen. He thought, "What is to be the light that is to guide this race?" We were wonderstruck when we went to talk with him about the proposed university and found that he anticipated our very thoughts and that he understood conditions in America even better than we. And it was on account of the great luminous insight of Leo that we chose for the motto of the university, "Deus Lux Mea."

Leo also knew that if there ever was a race that might be tempted to think it could be without God, surely it is this. Leo asked himself, "Will America realize that nature itself cannot do without a God? Will America with all its strenuosity realize that God must be the guide if it would fulfill all its high purposes?" I meditated whether I should go back to my work as a missionary bishop, the only work that I seemed fitted for, and Leo said, "Go back and found the university." I replied that all I could do was to obey. I asked where the university should be located and he decided. He said this to me, "It is to be a great leaven and should be located in your national capital."

The Archbishop reviewed the twenty years of the institution's history and ended with a powerful appeal to all these now connected with it to see that the ideals of Pope Leo were realized.

Speech of Justice O'Brien.

In reply to the toast, "The State of New York," Justice Denis O'Brien of the Court of Appeals began by humorously

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alluding to the honors thrust upon him in being called to exercise the functions of the chief executive of the State.

The subject, "The State of New York" is a pretty large one. It would at first seem impossible to say anything about this State without alluding to its position in reference to sister states, to dwell upon its being first in wealth, commerce, etc., but I shall pass over that to-night. New York owes much of its enterprise and intelligence to its citizens, but more to the Providence which fashioned its boundaries. The mountains, cataracts and water courses with which it is outlined were not the work of the hand of man. Take them away and New York State would be shorn of much of its splendor."

He alluded to primeval days, showing that even the Indians of this state had superior advantages over neighboring tribes.

New York, great as it is, and with all its history, is in danger of becoming so cosmopolitan that it is liable to lose its identity. There was a time when the Irishman and the German became thoroughly Americanized in the second generation, but not so now. The tide of immigration is overwhelming us. They come to us speaking strange tongues and with strange manners and set out to earn their bread. Now what is to be done for this great multitude that come to our shores? Your predecessors in the church converted the primitive peoples of this continent, and who can doubt now but that it is the province of the graduates of the Catholic university of America to continue this same work among those foreign peoples and by spreading among them the softening influence of religion to mould them into good American citizens.

Speech of Dr. Shahan.

In reply to the toast "The Catholic University," Dr. Shahan spoke of the "Purposes of the University."

All education, he said, is essentially a means for the attainment of some good. Therefore, as we rise in the scale of education, there should always be a correspondence between the system and the good aimed at. In other words, the highest kind of education should aim at the highest attainable good.

Now what is that good thing for which a university should strive, which justifies its existence and ought to make it successful? History and daily personal experience show that it cannot be a material good. However useful and desirable in their way, temporal sufficiency, security, comfort and enjoyment have never failed to leave

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the spirit discontented and aching, still desirous, still planning. Long ago St. Augustine enshrined this fact in immortal pages, and after him St. Thomas reduced it to a quasi-mathematical formula that we can now read in the noble translation of Father Rickaby. But a greater than Augustine and Thomas, whose voice they only echo, had, first among men, made evident the insufficiency of material welfare, and exhibited to men the proper scope of mankind and the only way to execute it. Amid the thousand cries of philosophers, Oriental, Greek and Roman, from the preacher to Marcus Aurelius, one suave and certain voice dominates the welter of contradiction, as once on Genesareth He dominated the winds and the waves. In His life and in His teachings Jesus Christ not only made known to mankind with certainty its origin and its end, the nature and uses of existence, the ideal of the individual and the community, but He gathered up, corrected and unified all the broken lights of the past, made intelligible and continuous the dim prophetic voices of the Old Law, and set up on high a great torch whose warm light could never more be ignored or excluded among men. He was Himself the Word of God, infallible and omniscient, and He assured all mankind of the bases of the new philosophy. There was another world, a responsible soul in every human being, a personal God, the source of all things, provident and loving, just and powerful, holy and pitiful. The best things in life belonged not to a few, on whatever principle of the past, but to all alike. For all there were to be henceforth a simple and consistent code of human duties, a manual of primitive and universal truths, a set of working principles. He lived out perfectly what He had taught with absolute accuracy.

Since then there has been a correct philosophy of human life, the Christian philosophy, that of the man who looks out on duty, office, calling, responsibility, all the higher problems and difficulties of life from the view point of our Divine Master. It recognizes the fact of a revealed divine will, and of an unbroken interpretation of that will by the Holy Spirit through the agency of the church. It recognizes in Jesus Christ the sole way or method of finding useful truth and the sole worthy aim of all human life. It recognizes as a fact that unaided human reason cannot suffice for the conduct of human life along the highest levels, and it does not admit that human reason has been left morally free to approach all the problems of life without an eye to the divine will, the teachings of Jesus Christ, and the office of the Blessed Trinity in the scheme of creation.

Philosophy, after all, is only a firm grasp of wisdom—i. e., intelligence plus experience. Its criterion is and must be practical utility.

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If it fails to square with the needs and demands of mankind, it soon vanishes, or finds a place in some museum of intellectual antiquities. Outside of our sanely spiritual and idealistic Christian philosophy none other has ever permanently grasped, appreciated and correlated the true goods of life. I need not speak of the pagan Orient nor of Islam. Their manifold moral obliquity, weakness and imperfection are reflected in the well-known and visible conditions of human life that obtain in those regions. But in our Western society what a wreckage of false philosophy in the last two or three centuries! Its many systems reflect the weakness of their source, the proud and self-reliant mind of man. Contradiction and conflict are written across them all. They have borne little or no fruit of a permanent kind, and have proved themselves barren of results, as far as the moral betterment of mankind is concerned. A kind of apathy and even despair has seized on the popular mind. The average man seems daily more and more to act according to personal impulse or emotion, seems more and more the creature of external circumstances. He seems to dominate less and less in his mind the pressure of the material world and the body. The human mind itself is profoundly affected, as the progress of insanity shows; the social life is seriously threatened as can be gathered from the increase of divorce and the decrease of the birth rate. The old-time Christian sense of the dignity, sacredness and solemn uses of life is profoundly weakened by the scandal of increasing suicide. It would take me too far away were I to more than refer to the political order in which, too often, no principle, but the sheerest opportunism dominates, and wherein we can assist daily at notable violations of all justice and equity.

The Catholic university is called upon now, and in the future, to do good work in the cause of Christian philosophy, to justify and spread proper views of the nature, uses and destiny of human life, in the light of the teaching of the Gospel and the Spirit of Jesus Christ. Keen intellectual critics of primitive Christianity, like Longinus, were wont to dismiss it as an undemonstrable thing, a doctrine outside the pale of human reason, and therefore unconnected with any kind of philosophy. Since then, however, it has given magnificent evidence of its power by the transformation of old societies, the creation of new and permanent social institutions, the uplifting of whole sections of humanity once despised or oppressed, the inpouring of a new spirit of hope and ardor into all humanity and the revelation of a vast and glorious horizon of social endeavor and attainment. In other words, by living so splendidly, Christianity has proved itself to be the only true philosophy of human life. Its opponents have perished, or will

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perish, or can only hope to live by the elements of Christian truth that they purloin, or by the superabundant Christian atmosphere that surrounds them. It is our duty to keep up and transmit the inheritance of the past, and to make known in the future all the social helpfulness and power, all the spiritual uplift there is in that philosophy which has come down to us hand in hand with the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the theology of the Fathers.

Speech of Father Lynch.

In reply to the toast "The Professor of the Catholic University," Rev. John T. Lynch, S.T.L., of the Cathedral, Albany, spoke as follows:

The pleasant duty assigned me of talking about our professors, accompanied by the suggestion to be brief but strong in my remarks, reminds me of the story of the priest once called upon to attend a man who hadn't been to confession for some years but was now sick unto death. "Father," said he, "I am very sick and my time is short, so be brief but strong in your prayers." I will promise to be brief but I cannot say that I will be very strong in my remarks.

Were I to tell the professors here to-night all the good things that are being said about them, or even to condense the sentiments of the Alumni into a little bouquet for each one, there would hardly be time enough left for any other speaker. Then, you know, it is very hard to tell a man what you think of him to his face. But this I will say, categorically, as one of our beloved teachers used to say, the professors whom it was my pleasure to know whilst I was a student at the University were as whole-souled, hard-working, self-sacrificing a set of men as could be found anywhere. I must confess, however, that I haven't seen much of them for the past ten years, but judging from the books, brochures and periodical literature coming from their pens, they are doing a mighty work, and filling up a great fissure in the Church of America. Dr. Shahan's books I have read with pleasure, but I trust that they are only harbingers of what is to come from his pen later on. No doubt his time will be taken up to a great extent with the compilation of the Catholic Encyclopedia of which, with Dr. Pace, is associate editor; but I shall await patiently his long-looked for chef d'œuvre, the History of the Church from the beginning of Christianity to the present time. I should like to see, also, in the near future Dr. Kerby's book on the social problems of the day, and Dr. Melody's on "Matrimony" which, I am told, is now being written by that able professor of moral theology.

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I take the liberty, however, of mentioning one name in particular without thereby intending to reflect upon any other able member of the faculty, because he was the teacher of many of the present professors, of very many of the Alumni, and because it was my never to be forgotten privilege to sit at his feet and drink deep of the pyrean well. I refer to the humble, the learned, the Saintly Dr. Bouquillon. To-night as my mind goes back to the years '94 and '95, I can see in spirit our beloved professor of fundamental moral, his bent form coming from his library weighed down with many tomes carried on outstretched arms, a veritable pyramid of books, the base of which was always his cherished St. Thomas. Then I can picture him going into the Chapel to ask the light of the Holy Spirit; his peculiar mannerisms in class, then his lecture from which whole volumes could be written so compressed and boiled down was each instruction. I will not speak of his academy or seminar, as he used to call it, although that was the place we met him in most intimate relationship. It would take too long, nor of his patience in preparing his students for their degree. Suffice it to say that we all owe him a deep debt of gratitude. Scripture tells us that "they who are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that instruct many unto justice shall shine as stars for all eternity." His sacred learning has compelled the admiration of the Catholic world, and his name already is written high among the first theologians of our age. He was indeed an instructor unto justice, the teacher of hundreds of instructors unto justice, of hundreds of God's priests. May his soul to-night be filled with the eternal sunlight of God's loving smile.

But I must not forget that I am to be merely categorical in my remarks. There is no body of men in any of our Universities more competent for their appointed work, more disinterested in the discharge of duty, or more honorable in their views as to the relation of their efforts towards the church and country than are the professors of the Catholic University of America. I wish we had a few more like them amongst our clergy and laity, men of originating power who reach forward and in all fields of activity push beyond the beaten paths of habit, tradition and custom; men of strong minds, great hearts and true faith, men who have an opinion and a will to work. The age demands such men, the Church needs them. "Intoxicated by the conquests of science, the mind of humanity is now more than ever in a ferment of unrest and the spirit of enquiry treating religious subjects like any other human facts and phenomena, and applying to them modern methods of investigation, is busy formulat-

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ing theories that only too many are willing to consider and which are supported by arguments specious enough to demand an answer." It devolves, then, on the priest not merely to teach what is true, but to refute what is false. The simple faithful are content to accept Catholic teaching on the authority of their pastors, but educated Catholics, who are familiar with current literature and can not escape coming in contact with infidel tenets of the new school, require to be supplied with reasons for the faith that is in them and with antidotes against infection. Hence the need of men like those who are teaching in our University; men abreast of the time who, like Dr. Creagh, for instance, will take up the specious writings of a man with some pretensions to learning, who, a short time ago in an article in one of our chief magazines, absolutely misrepresented Catholic doctrine and practice in relation to the marriage bond. Gentlemen, if the Catholic Church is to succeed here in America, it will be through the agency of an enlightened, pious and zealous clergy. If those who are entrusted with the spiritual guidance of the people of the country where the struggle between the Church and her enemies is mostly intellectual have that broad education which will give them the right to speak and teach with authority. If they are truly zealous and take an active and intelligent interest in all movements for the social as well as the spiritual advancement of the people, the future of the Catholic Church in the United States will be a glorious one.

Therefore, I say, let us have a staff of professors, the most eminent, the most earnest, the most free in their work that the Catholic University can bring together to impart the higher knowledge to our clergy, for it is only the eagle, you know, that can teach the eaglet to fly. Let the Alumni especially go out and proclaim to the Catholic world the necessity of holding up the hands of the present professors in their great work. Let us give them greater encouragement than heretofore. In a word, let us add our little mite of energy in striving to make the University the institution our late lamented Leo XIII wished to to be, and indeed, our present reigning Holy Father desires it—the center of religious erudition and Catholic culture in this magnificent temple of religious freedom, the United States of America.

Speech of Rev. Dr. Hayes.

In reply to the toast "The Alumni of the Catholic University of America," Rev. Dr. Hayes, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of New York, spoke as follows:

As I have been closely identified with the alumni association from its inception, twelve years ago, and have had its interests as deeply

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at heart as any other member, I may be permitted to observe that t modest and unassuming simplicity which hitherto marked our annu meetings, has, in a large measure, departed. Albany, be it said her credit, has excelled all other cities in the magnificent dignity and beauteous splendor with which she has surrounded this gatheri Never before has our circle been honored, as it is to-night, by so many distinguished prelates and eminent statesmen, representing Church, Nation, State, and City. The Rev. President of the Alumni deserves unstinted commendation for this brilliant presence. He has made it a difficult proposition for the future to surpass the meeting of 1906. He, however, has been trained in a good school; he is but another expression of the traditional fame associated with the fair name of the diocese of Albany, as honored in her priests as she is illustrious in her bishops.

The Alumni of the Catholic University of America—Salve! It is not my intention to indulge in speech eulogistic and laudatory of the alumni either collectively or individually. My remarks concern the future especially; and my views, I trust, may contain a grain of prophetic truth. The future of the university is as much in the keeping of the alumni as it is in the hands of wise administrators and scholarly professors. The imperative need of students, worthy of the opportunities the university affords, is the pressing problem, and will continue so until the sources of supply are established for a certainty and beyond the peradventure of failure. The law of supply and demand applies in the educational world as well as in that of commerce and trade. But time will solve the difficulty, for the demand on the part of the clergy and laity for university education, under the auspices of the Catholic Church, is as inevitable as destiny itself.

It is deeply gratifying to learn from Rev. Dr. Shahan of the noteworthy increase in the number of students as well as of their excellent spirit, superior even to that of our own day. May their future years in the world be as fruitful in noble endeavor for the Church as their present student days are full of promise!

The most extensive department of the university, the largest of its schools, is not in Washington, but in the alumni scattered across our land from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The public at large have but little immediate interest in the students now following the courses in the university, any more than our minds advert, at the present moment, to the power-house, where is generated the light that so beautifully illumines this room. It is the function of the alumni to shed in undimmed lustre the mirrored flame of the lamp of knowledge burning so brightly and clearly in alma mater; for the world measures

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the university by the judgment it is daily passing on the men, of the clergy and the laity, who are recognized as her distinguished graduates.

Upon the alumni devolves the mission to carry from alma mater to our country the thought, the philosophy, and the culture she is so well fitted to impart. Of interest to us is the story, told by Cardinal Newman, of two wandering Irish scholars brought by British traders to the coast of France, in the age of Charlemagne; impressed with the methods employed by the merchants to attract attention to their wares, the lovers of learning made known to all, by shouting in the market place—"Who wants wisdom!", that they had for sale goods of a higher order than merchandise.

The alumni must form between the university and the American people that bond of intercommunication as essential to educational life as transportation is to the commercial world. The golden grain of the west, the snowy cotton of the south, the spices of the far east, and the fruits of the tropics, would perish on their native soil in over-abundance, if our common carriers by land and sea failed in that primary function of bringing these gifts of Providence to our very doors. The university has just such need of the alumni who must be the heralds of the message she alone can bear, in the name of the Church, to every educational circle and intellectual center in our country. An inspiration to us is Joseph of old, who, sold by his brothers to the merchants going to Egypt, brought upon the court of Pharaoh the favor of the Lord, and provided against the seven years' famine which befell the land. Daniel also, exiled by the waters of Babylon, spake the wisdom of the true God of Judah in the royal palace of the king, with much profit unto the Jewish people in bondage.

The trend of university activity is moving beyond the province of education, as this term has generally been understood. The great universities of our time have developed into mentors of the country at large. Whenever, from time to time, the heads of these schools express their views upon the vital problems of the hour, so representative are their alumni in every community, that their alma mater is assured of a hearing throughout the length and breadth of the land. Thus will it be with the Catholic University, who can draw on the learning of the ages and the wisdom of revelation with regard to questions of the day, if only her alumni will coöperate by rising to the fullness of their influence and opportunity.

Again, if the claims of Holy Church to divine institution by Christ; if the historic fulfillment of her divine mission; if her mighty labors, her profound learning and her lofty culture, are to be understood by a large portion of the American people who know her not,

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it can best be accomplished, if at all, by the Catholic University and a representative alumni. A distinguished educator has said that religion, now discredited in certain high intellectual circles, will agr. be reverently enshrined among many who now reject it, when the u ni- versities, appreciating the abiding need of the human soul for religion, will plead the cause of religion from the high view-point of university teaching.

Brightly looms up before us the mission of the Catholic University, and the important part the alumni must play. The horizon of promise stretches clear and broad before us; the seas of dangerous tempests and stormy days have been traversed; the harbor of safety has been reached; the land of conquest is at our feet. Of alma mater may we say, in the words of St. Hilary, "Dum oppugnatur, floret: dum opprimitur, crescit: dum contemnitur, proficit; dum læditur, vincit."

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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COLERIDGE.

Methought I saw a face whose every line
Wore the pale cast of thought, a good old man,
Most eloquent, who spake of things divine.
Around him youths were gathered, who did scan
His countenance so grand and mild, and drank
The sweet sad tears of wisdom.

—Arthur Hallam, in "Timbuctoo."

"The British Plato" is a title which Coleridge used to give Bacon, as an emphatic protest against the mistake, committed as often by admirers as by critics, of thinking the prophet of useful knowledge to be a mere empiricist, whereas in fact, he knew quite as well as any Platonist or Scholastic that the natures of things are the expression of divine ideas, even while he emphasized the irrelevancy of this principle to the investigation of the properties and powers of nature. The name of "The British Plato," however, is applicable with more propriety to Coleridge himself; for he, emphatically, after a century[1] of rationalistic and empirical temper, recalled British philosophy to express consciousness and assertion of the ideal and the necessary elements in knowledge, and gave the victory to spiritual philosophy. And though the domi-

[1] Of course Burke in politics represents Christian philosophy. Mill in 1861 wrote to Taine: "Throughout the whole of our reaction of seventy years, the philosophy of experience has been regarded as French. . . . When I wrote my book (1843) I stood nearly alone in my opinion. . . . There were to be found in England twenty *a priori* and spiritualist philosophers for one partisan of the doctrine of experience."

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nance of political liberalism throughout the middle of the nineteenth century was unfortunately accompanied by theological liberalism and by philosophical rationalism and materialism, yet it is to Coleridge again that Christian metaphysicians in Great Britain look for inspiration and guidance. Coleridge was accustomed to say that all human intellects might be reduced to two types, that of Aristotle, and that of Plato; and he, assuredly, himself belonged to the Platonic type. Lamb's memory of the Blue-coat Boy in Christ's Hospital School really gives the key to Coleridge's intellectual life—' the inspired charity-boy' in 'the cloisters of the Grey Friars' 'unfolding in his deep, sweet intonations the mysteries of Jamblichus or Plotinus, or reciting Homer in his Greek, or Pindar, while the walls re-echoed to the accents'—'how often have I seen the casual passer-by through the cloisters stand still, entranced with admiration while he weighed the disproportion between the speech and the garb of the young Mirandola.' Coleridge himself has recorded that in his school days he translated the hymns of Synesius from the Greek into English verse; and, as the mysticism of Synesius and the Platonic philosophy were his first love, so to these sources, after years of intellectual wandering, he at last returned.

Though Coleridge, like all prophets, had to suffer much criticism in his own country, and though he had to endure the savage hostility of unprincipled critics because he loved truth and right more than faction, yet in the end men of the most various and most opposite systems of poetry and of philosophy, and of the most contrary politics, joined in acknowledging the force and grace of his genius. Wordsworth said that he had seen many men who did wonderful things, but that Coleridge was the only *wonderful man* he had ever met. Southey, though much provoked by his inertia, wrote to a friend: "I am grieved that you never knew Coleridge. All other men whom I have ever known are mere children to him." These were friends. Scott, then, says, while blaming Coleridge's lack of industry: "No man has all the resources of poetry in such profusion. . . . His fancy and diction would long ago have placed him above all his contemporaries, had they been under the direction of a sound judgment and a

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strong will." Both Scott and Byron acknowledged that they learned from Coleridge in matters of metre and methods of narration. Principal Shairp said (in 1868): "Wordsworth and Coleridge were the two men of most original genius who have been born into England for a century or more . . . Their's was not only original, it was beneficent genius." Hazlitt, who knew him and admired him, when both were young men, who quarrelled with him and savagely calumniated him for political and personal reasons, and who finally repented, says: "He is the only person I ever knew who answered to the idea of a man of genius; he is the only person from whom I ever learned anything." Sir W. Rowan Hamilton, trained in the severest habits of mathematical thought, wrote to a friend: "Coleridge is rather to be considered as a faculty than as a mind, and I did so consider him. I seemed rather to listen to an oracular voice . . . than (as in the presence of Wordsworth) to hold commune with an exalted man." Julius Hare, who belonged to Coleridge's school of religious philosophy, spoke of him as "the great religious philosopher to whom the mind of our generation in England owes more than to any other man." And in dedicating a book to his memory, he says that Coleridge was "through dark and winding paths of speculation led to the light, in order that others, by his guidance, might reach that light without passing through the darkness." Principal Shairp, who represents Scottish and Presbyterian thought, said: "Those who remember what Coleridge was to their youth . . . if they were to call him the greatest thinker whom Britain has during this century produced, would be but stating the simple truth . . . What one man would you name, who has (1860) thrown upon the world so great a mass of original thinking, has awakened so much new thought on the most important subjects? . . . For one generation he turned the tide against the Sensationalists. . . . (Any new opponent of Sensationism) will have to take up the work which Coleridge left incomplete. . . . But the best thing that can be said of him is that he was a great religious philosopher . . . not a religious man and a philosopher merely, but a man in whom these two powers met and interpenetrated. . . . How rare have been the examples,

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at least in modern times, in which the most original powers of intellect and imagination, the most ardent search for truth, and the largest erudition, have united with reverence and simple Christian faith—the heart of the child with the wisdom of the sage. He who has left behind him a philosophy, however incomplete, in which these sentiments combine, has done for his fellow-men the highest service that a human thinker can, has helped to lighten the burden of the mystery." Mill, a man of diametrically opposite opinions, wrote to a friend: "I consider him the most systematic thinker of our time (in the thirties) without excepting even Bentham, whose edifice is as well bound together, but is constructed on so much simpler a plan, and covers so much less ground. On the whole, there is more food for thought—and the best kind of thought—in Coleridge than in all other contemporary writers. Few persons have exercised more influence over my thought and character than Coleridge has." "None," he said elsewhere, "has contributed more to shape the opinions among younger men, who can be said to have any opinions at all." Arnold, a religious man, but not a disciple of Coleridge, admired him as "the greatest intellect that England has produced in my memory." Newman admired him with discrimination, as one of the precursors of the Catholicizing movement which had its centre in Oxford. "During this spring," he noted in 1834, "I for the first time read parts of Coleridge's works, and I am surprised how much, which I thought mine, is to be found there." He wrote to a friend that Coleridge was a remarkable instance of "a man searching for and striking out the truth by himself;—with all his defects of doctrine, he seems capable of rendering us important service. At present, he is the oracle of young Cambridge men, and will prepare them (please God) for something higher." In 1839, he recognized him, along with Scott, Wordsworth, and Southey, as a great formative influence: "A philosophical basis for Church feelings and opinions was formed by a very original thinker, who, while he indulged a liberty of speculation which no Christian can tolerate,[2] and advocated conclusions which were often

[2] This appears chiefly to refer to Coleridge's views on the Scripture and its Inspiration. Nothing did so much to discredit the Oxford movement as their adherence to the Reformation theory of Inspiration, which they strangely supposed to be Patristic and to be a part of the Creed.

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heathen rather than Christian, yet after all instilled a higher philosophy into inquiring minds, than they had hitherto been accustomed to accept. In this way he succeeded in interesting the genius of his age in the cause of Catholic truth." De Quincey, who knew him well, and who was by no means a blind admirer, after having pointed out some cases of plagiarism, says: "I will assert finally, that after having read for thirty years in the same track as Coleridge,—such as the German metaphysicians, Latin Schoolmen, thaumaturgic Platonists, religious Mystics,—and having thus discovered a large variety of trivial thefts,[3] I do nevertheless most heartily believe him to have been as entirely original in all his capital pretensions as any one man that has ever existed, as Archimedes in ancient days, or as Shakespeare in modern." Landor, an austere judge, while pretesting against the placing of Coleridge's mind on a level with Shakespeare's or Milton's, says: "I give up all the rest, even Bacon. Certainly, since their day we have had nothing comparable with him. Byron and Scott were but as gun-flints to a granite mountain; Wordsworth has one angle of resemblance." De Quincey again illustrates his view of Coleridge's qualities, when to give English readers an idea of Herder, he explains that he was like Coleridge, "having the same all-grasping erudition, the same spirit of universal research, the same occasional superficiality and inaccuracy, the same indeterminateness of object, the same obscure and fanciful mysticism (Schwärmerei), the same plethoric fulness of thought, the same fine sense of the beautiful, with the same incapacity for dealing with simple, austere grandeur. I must add, however, that in fineness and compass of understanding Coleridge has greatly the advantage." He tells us that "Goethe was more and more widely celebrated than Coleridge but far his inferior in power and compass of intellect." Contrasting Kant with Coleridge, he observes: "Within his own circle none durst tread but he (Kant). But that circle was limited. He was called by one who weighed him well, the *alles-zermalmender,* the world-shattering Kant. He could destroy—his intellect was essentially

[3] De Quincey's charges of plagiarism have been contested with much show of reason, but there is no need to express any opinion on the subject here.

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destructive. . . . But he had no instincts of creation or restoration within his Apollyon mind; for he has no love, no faith, no self-distrust, no humility, no child-like docility; all which qualities belonged essentially to Coleridge's mind, and waited only for manhood and for sorrow to bring them forward."

If it be asked why a man of such transcendent genius accomplished comparatively so little, why he did not give the world a complete system of thought, or at least bring some one branch of his philosophy or of his theology to completeness, the answer must be, first, that he did by no means so little as is generally supposed. There exists in manuscript as yet unpublished a vast amount of work, some of it critical, and some of it constructive, upon philosophical and theological subjects. There is, for instance, a commentary upon the Gospels and some of the Epistles. This commentary, especially the commentary upon the Fourth Gospel could not but be interesting to us if it were published. In the next place, we must remember the circumstances of Coleridge's life and character. A life of Coleridge, properly so-called, has not yet been published. The "Life" in the 'English Men of Letters' is the worst of the series and far below the general level. One does not know whether to wonder more at the acceptance of the task by an author who confesses himself unable to understand Coleridge's system of philosophy, or at the assignment of the task to any member of Trinity College (Dublin) which has always been the home of that Lockian and Aristotelian logic and epistemology against which Coleridge made such a vigorous onslaught. The life by Alois Brandl[1] can only be praised in comparison with the badness of others, which made the critics easily pleased. A promise has been given of a life by his grandson, Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge, and we may hope that within a few years we shall have the means of understanding the intellectual history of this extraordinary

[1] In the industrious search for facts, Professor Brandl realizes Carlyle's ideal of a "Prussian Dryasdust." His capacity for sympathy with his subject, however, may be inferred from his assertion that German metaphysics and English poetry are equally forms of "mistiness." Anyone who wishes merely for a simple and accurate outline of Coleridge's life will find it in the notice by J. Dykes Campbell prefixed to Macmillan's latest edition of the poems.

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soul. Meantime, however, we know enough about the external facts to explain the incompleteness of his work. In the first place, Coleridge did not receive from nature an energetic or steadfast disposition; and his education was not such as to remedy the defect of nature. When he was only ten years old, he was deprived of all the influences of home life, and thrown into a great public school. The youngest child of a very large family, he lost at the age of nine his father, who was Vicar of Ottery St. Mary, in Devonshire. In the following year, a friend of his father obtained for him a presentation to the school of Christ's Hospital in London, where he remained for eight years, not being brought home during the vacations. The life of a public school, which is very good for boys hardy in body and temper, is of all things the worst for the delicate, the sensitive and the simple; and the head-master, though an excellent teacher, was a severe disciplinarian with a violent temper, whose sole instrument for the formation of character was the birch. Elia's essay on "Christ's Hospital Thirty-five Years Ago" was written by Lamb from the standpoint in which it would, as he conceived, be viewed by Coleridge. He went up to the University of Cambridge with a character completely unformed, and a head full of romantic notions of life. Regular conduct, he says, was considered by him and the young men of his standing as "the easy virtue of cold and selfish prudence." Even long after this, when he had the responsibilities of a husband, "I was so completely hag-ridden by the fear of being influenced by selfish motives, that to know a mode of conduct to be the dictate of prudence was a sort of presumptive proof to my feelings, that the contrary was the dictate of duty." Becoming involved in debt through the cunning of a tradesman and his own simplicity, he ran away from his college, and in desperation entered the army, where he never rose out of "the awkward squad" of his regiment, and from which, after a few months, his friends managed to obtain his discharge. In a revulsion of feeling caused by a disappointment in love, he made an engagement with a woman, estimable indeed, but not suited to him, and by the urgency of a friend, against his own judgment, he married her. Reading the lives of poets, one is tempted to say that poetic genius

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ought to be placed among the diriment impediments, unless in the case where the other party brings to the union a very extraordinary degree of good sense, good temper, sympathy, and good humor. It is no disparagement to Mrs. Coleridge to say that she had not the qualities necessary to keep Samuel Taylor Coleridge from being dissatisfied. Afflicted with a wayward disposition, he successively employed himself as an author, an editor of a newspaper, an Unitarian preacher, a writer for newspapers, a civil servant, a lecturer and author again; he was constantly obliged to spend on ephemeral work the time which he would have preferred to devote to poetry and metaphysics. A pension which the Wedgewoods assigned to enable him to study and write with independence, was handed over by him to his wife and children. There was, however, another and deeper cause for his neglect of higher thinking,—bodily disease, and remedies worse than the disease. When he was a child of six years, he once ran away, from the fear of a whipping, and remained out all night. A terrible storm of rain came on, during the night, and at dawn, the child was discovered by the searchers, lying on the bleak hillside, helplessly benumbed. This exposure left him subject to ague. At Christ's Hospital, he was at first "depressed and moping," a "playless day-dreamer, an helluo librorum"; and then, "when I had burst forth from my misery and moping, in the exuberance of my animal spirits, and from the indiscretions resulting from these spirits (ex. gr. swimming over the New River in my clothes, and remaining in them) full half of the time from seventeen to eighteen was passed in the sick-ward afflicted with jaundice and rheumatic fever." As a man, he was cruelly tortured by rheumatism and neuralgia. He tried "patent medicines"; these contained opium, and led to the use of the drug itself; there is reason to suspect that the "anodyne" that induced the sleep in which he dreamed "Kubla Khan," was no other than opium. The treacherous servant at length became a master. It was in these years that Sir Humphrey Davey, without being aware of the secret cause of Coleridge's feebleness of will, said: "With the most exalted genius, enlarged views, sensitive heart, and enlightened mind,

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he will be the victim of want of order, precision and regularity."

After years of misery, and shame, and remorse, and brokenness of heart,

> "Sense of past youth and manhood come in vain,
> And genius given, and knowledge won, in vain,"

he thought of placing himself in a lunatic asylum. By the good Providence of God, he was introduced to Dr. James Gillman of Highgate, London; and in his house, at the age of forty-four, he began the process of recovery; with the Gillmans he lived for eighteen years; and with them he died. Their goodness to him was parental, and such as keeps up human faith in human worth. "They thought themselves honored by his presence," says his grandson; "and he repaid their devotion with unbounded love and gratitude. Doubtless there were chords in his nature which were struck for the first time by these good people; and in their presence and by their help he was a new man. But, for all that, their patience must have been inexhaustible, their loyalty unimpeachable, their love indestructible." By writing and lecturing (often interrupted by serious illness) he was enabled to make them an annual payment with something like regularity, to do something for the education of his children, and to insure his life for the benefit of his wife. His most serious thought was now given to the philosophy of religion. In youth, in the excitement of the French Revolution, he had fallen into revolutionary politics and Unitarian theology. He soon returned in politics to the enlightened and gracious conservatism expounded by Burke, and after some years more (1807) to the Christian Faith. For this change he incurred the malignant hatred of the factious and unprincipled Whigs of the time, especially of the Unitarian and infidel portion of them. In the eyes of Hazlitt, for instance, he was an apostate. When his "Christabel" was published, the *Edinburgh Review* (in an article believed to be written by Hazlitt) professed to find sensuality in that inimitably beautiful poem. It may be said that the critic who could think of pretending to see sensuality in "Christabel" must have abundance of that quality

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in his own bad heart. In spite of all, Coleridge's reputation steadily grew, and the young men of intellect learned to revere him. Many such as Arthur Hallam, the most brilliant youth of his day, came to listen and to learn. Among those who were brought, perhaps the most celebrated in after years was Thomas Carlyle; and the picture that he drew of Coleridge in his Life of John Sterling has often enough been quoted. The portrait is the work of a masterhand, and has every merit except fidelity. The dictatorial and prophetic airs of Carlyle no longer impose upon us; nor can he now obtain our respect by teaching us to sneer at everybody else. When we are thinking of his judgment upon Coleridge, it is well to remember two things, first that Coleridge was a Christian, and that Carlyle was not, there being apparently in Carlyle's nature some deep-seated contrariety to the belief, which was the very life of Coleridge's soul, that God is love and so loved the world as to give His Son for its redemption; and second, that Carlyle, having read Hume first, and then Kant for an antidote to Hume, says: "and the result was that I resolved for my part on having nothing more to do with metaphysics." For such a man, in such humor, Coleridge, or anyone else, could do little. We are not likely to estimate Coleridge's philosophy by the impression which the old man's gait or his pronounciation (due to a congenital stoppage of the nostrils) made upon Carlyle. "To sit as a passive bucket and be pumped into, whether you consent or not, cannot in the long run be exhilarating" to a man like Carlyle, who preferred to be the "pump" and make others the " bucket." The great humorist longed for "one right peal of concrete laughter," or "one burst of noble indignation," as if mockery, sarcasm and invective were the criteria of truth in the sphere of morals and religion. As for Carlyle's assertion that Coleridge's conversation was "not flowing any whither like a river but spreading everywhither like a sea or lake, without definite aim or goal," it is interesting to note that Wordsworth employing the same image, compares it to "a majestic river sometimes hidden in forests, and sometimes lost in sands," but says that even when you could not see the connection of the parts you felt sure of the identity of the river. De Quincey, the most competent of

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judges, pronounces a verdict directly contrary to Carlyle's: "I can assert upon my long and intimate knowledge of Coleridge's mind, that logic the most severe was as inalienable from his modes of thinking as grammar from his language." "Coleridge to many people, and often I have heard the complaint, seemed to wander. . . . Long before his coming round commenced, most people had lost him, and naturally supposed that he had lost himself. They continued to admire the separate beauty of the thoughts but did not see their relations to the dominant theme. Had the conversation been thrown upon paper, it might have been easy to trace the continuity of the links." De Quincey, at least, had no doubt that he was "the largest and most spacious intellect, the subtlest and the most comprehensive, that has yet existed among men." To say who was the greatest of human intellects, was perhaps rash for any critic. To obtain agreement in favor of any philosopher, whoever he might be, is impossible. Let us take this as a tribute to the powers which excited such admiration in a critical observer. I content myself with expressing the opinion that the three greatest minds that the British Islands have produced are Roger Bacon, Joannes Duns "the Irishman," and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and that of these three the last is not the least.

M. J. Ryan.

St. Bernard Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.

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THE MODEL OF MISSIONARIES.[1]

I.

Perhaps the first of the apostolic qualities of Saint Paul to command our admiration is a peculiar combination of *endurance, courage and persistence.* Physically, this trinity of characteristics stands out on every page of his writings. He fears neither the face of nature nor the face of man; he is calm and firm before the gusty anger of the mob and the more reserved but equally pitiless wrath of the magistrate; he moves on from journey to journey, from city to city, undismayed by tumult and abuse, unshaken by countless violations of equity and justice. Antiquity had known, indeed, and admired similar qualities in a Socrates and a Musonius Rufus; Plato had sketched for a wondering world his just man hung upon a cross, and Horace had sung of the ideal Stoic whom no reverse of fortune could move from the pedestal of his self-reliance. But at what a distance, and in how many ways, do these rare examples of antique perfection, too often ideals or highly idealized, stand from the man of Tarsus! And how utterly inferior is all the highest virility of the antique world when we compare it with the moral courage and endurance of our Apostle! He confronted forever his own past and overcame it daily in his contentions with the Synagogue; he withstood everywhere the sharp reproach of disloyalty to the ideals and hopes of Israel; he toiled without ceasing to make clear to a contented secularism new ideals and new hopes never to be realized but in a world that it had never heard of, or that seemed a very misty Utopia; he bore daily the infinitely painful stigma of folly and stupidity; he entered daily on a seemingly hopeless warfare with a general irreligion made tangible in the inordinate passion of earthly gain, the

[1] Discourse preached before the University, January 25, 1906, Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, patronal feast of the Faculty of Theology, from II. Cor. IV, 5–6: For we preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ our Lord: and ourselves your servants through Jesus: For God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, himself hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Christ Jesus.

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persiflage of poets and philosophers, the frivolity of rulers and judges, the debasement of womankind, the secularization of all the organized forces of divine worship. And all this conflict, physical and moral, raged, not on one fixed site, nor amid his own countrymen and racial surroundings, but over the entire Roman world, from Jerusalem to Antioch, from Antioch to Alexandria, from Alexandria to Rome, throughout the vast quadrilateral that then enclosed all civilization and progress. The Christian religion was destined to produce an endless series of missionaries in whom physical and moral courage should shine like stars in the darkness, but never with such effulgence as in the great leader of that holy band which has ever and everywhere taken up the divine invitation to go forth and teach the nations the truths and principles of Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ.

In not a few men the habit of conflict tends to encrust the fountain of courage, the heart, to dry up or sear the flow of the affections, and to concentrate on one's own personal status and aims all thought and energy. It was not so with Saint Paul. In this great missionary *unselfish affection* is predominant. His converts are his children, born of his spiritual agony to Jesus Christ, infinitely cherished therefore, and all equally dear to him. How pale and inefficient does the Stoic cosmopolitanism seem beside this mighty love that a Jewish man pours out upon the rude Macedonian boor and the volatile Athenian, the hard-headed Latin man-at-arms and the luxurious Corinthian! This stern and inflexible bearer of new and seemingly impossible orders from a world unseen and intangible, from a Master dead and quasi-forgotten, reveals at the same time an oceanic fulness of love for all who accept his call and join themselves to him. For them he is all solicitude—their welfare, spiritual, moral, physical, is his constant care. All the little churches are at once in that great heart, and every member of that hardly-earned brood is the object of his personal concern. His letters to the churches abound in the names of his converts; it is their questions that lead him to expound the mysteries of the new revelation; his letters often end with the announcement of visits and the promise of others; he is heart-broken when he cannot include

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all on one of his swinging journeys across the Roman world; for them he does a divine violence to the vocabulary and syntax of the most elegant speech the world has yet seen—he will somehow pour into it the spirit of his Master, will force upon its sensitive and resisting framework a new but holy and saving barbarism. In Saint Paul human affection has been drenched with the sweet dew of Christian mysticism, has suffered an exaltation to serene heights whence he no longer sees in man the corruptible elements of flesh and time, but rather and only the spiritual and eternal element, the soul. In his eyes it becomes disengaged from the *elementa mundi*, the dross and the excrescences that have gathered upon this diamond, and that only need to be cleansed and purged away in order that it may be fitted into the crown of glory that encircles the brow of his Divine Master. Paul had been a persecutor, cruel and persistent beyond all others, the hawk that the little brood of Jesus feared most from Jerusalem to the sea, for he was young, learned, ardent, and influential. But he was overcome by a greater than he, overcome in the new love, and he rose its victim from that swoon on the way to Damascus. Henceforth it truly seems as if the entire love of Jesus, mighty and irresistible, had fallen into the heart of Saint Paul: *Charitas Christi urget nos,* I am borne away, as on a torrent, by the love of Christ. He has the word forever on his lips, and more than once he breaks out into quasi-dithyrambic effusions concerning its necessity and its excellence. He is at once its poet, philosopher, historian and theologian. We have only to take up the writings of his disciples, men like Ignatius of Antioch, to see how consuming were the fires of this love of Christ. In Ignatius and in Polycarp, as in Clement, these fires yet shine, not with the volcanic splendor of the Pauline Epistles, but yet with a warmth, a brightness, and a sweet persuasiveness that have never since been caught by a Christian heart in the same degree.

The affection of Saint Paul was tempered by wisdom, the fruit at once of his learning and his experience. And so we may note that this great missionary of Christ was *very ingenious and provident.* If the *opus Dei in medio annorum* was to live, it must be made firm after the manner of human

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things, so that it may withstand shocks from without and dissension from within. It must have a law of its being, whence shall come peace and order and progress in both. So we find him at all times deeply concerned about the matter of authority, its seat and its use. Saint Clement of Rome surely had him in mind in that famous chapter of his Letter to the Corinthians, written within thirty years of the death of Saint Paul, and in which he says that the Apostles established everywhere wise men, *i. e.*, bishops, over the churches they had founded, with the commission to keep up everywhere their succession. What is more instructive than Paul's own act at Miletus? There, by the seashore, he holds the first of Asiatic synods, and provides for the government of the churches, a model at once of authority and charity. His experience tells him that the Christian faithful are prone to suffer from small-heartedness or moral timidity, and their rulers from envy and arrogance. And so throughout his correspondence there is always a double note—one of uplifting and encouragement, the other of warning and rebuke. Indeed, it was no marvel that the little déclassé Greek of Corinth or the poor slave of Athens, or the excitable Galatian, should often lose all heart in face of the superb and brilliant idolatry and naturalism of the day. The Word of God was such a little grain of mustard seed! And it seemed to fly so in the face of all experience, all philosophy, all literature, all human wisdom! It really seemed as if these poor misguided people, as yet almost nameless, had not even the crudest concept of the state, but staked all things on a fantastic and hopeless internal betterment of a supposed secret self, a soul, a crude Jewish Psyche, without grace or form or proportion! And then, from within, not a few pretended to be wiser than Paul himself, and to dispute with him on the meaning of the Law and the Prophets, on the person and nature of Jesus Christ, on the Holy Spirit. Even his own faithful men, on whom he counted for the future, were at times the victims of ambition. Perilous as were these poor outposts of a nascent religion, they were fought for, it seems, with no little tenacity and some bitterness. One brother envied another the right to preside at the weekly assemblies, and to administer the offer-

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ings of the faithful. And those to whom were entrusted the offices of the society did not always bear themselves with that modesty and diffidence that became the vicars of a crucified Master. In other words our Apostle was made aware that the human nature of his own, and indeed of all time, was to be counted as a factor in the future development of the divine kingdom among men.

Were it all a mere human work, these original weaknesses would have soon brought it to naught. But it had for it the divine promises, *quasi lucerna lucens in caliginoso loco,* and so Saint Paul bade his Christians lift up their hearts and set them on the Lord. For their timidity he found a divine remedy. He fixed in the heart of Christian society an antidote to the evils I have described—Christian Hope. Before it disappeared the natural timidity of the convert heathen. Yet a little and the Lord Jesus would come and overthrow the *figura hujus mundi!* The heads of the little flock remained, but they remained as its ministers. Their accounting would come, even soon, and it would be sharp and exacting. Above all, this common hope filled all hearts with a suave gladness, the outcome of an inner certainty. The *princeps hujus mundi,* the *iniquitas in excelsis,* the *potestates tenebrarum harum,* were yet indeed to hurt, but only for a time. Already the little flock stood in the vestibule of eternity, and heard the sound of a divine psaltery, saw dimly but really the eternal banquet, and assisted at the Espousals of the Lamb. And though without they went poor and hated, few and persecuted, despised and hunted, yet were they surely of the elect. And so this weak human nature of the first Christians, the converts of Saint Paul, was mightily spiritualized by joy, by that interior gladness of the spirit that the great Apostle inculcates, especially in the public assemblies, and that very early left its impress on the Christian liturgy in those archaic chants that continue to offer to us some echoes of the transports of exaltation, the holy yearnings, and the super-worldly conversation of the men and women who owed to Saint Paul their first knowledge of the New Law.

Saint Paul was preëminently *a man of faith.* The other Apostles preached mostly, or largely, to the Jewries of the

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world, Roman and extra-Roman. In them, of course, lived on no little of the spirit, temper, and principles of the Old Testament, *i. e.*, they had some foundation for the apostolic preaching. But Saint Paul moved from the beginning in a vast heathen world, not only devoid of faith, but in many ways antagonistic to that state of mind and heart relative to the unseen and the supernatural which is connoted by the term faith. The Greco-Roman man of this time was either a creature of crass and vain superstition or an agnostic. Learning and travel, power and wealth and intellectual progress, had combined to shake the earlier simpler trust in the beneficent interest and even in the reality of the ancient gods. The man of Tarsus stood, at the beginning of his apostolic career, amid a spiritual wreckage that can be only faintly described, even by a Doellinger or a Boissier. Yet he dominated eventually this Gentile society, made himself trusted and beloved from the wretched Suburra to the House of Caesar, from the confines of the Black Sea to the Pillars of Hercules. Multitudes were first awed and then attracted by that wonderful personality, whose sole power was an absorbing faith in the Risen Jesus, the veracity of His teaching and the certainty of His promises. Three centuries after his death the golden-mouthed John of Antioch caught from the correspondence of Paul something of that irresistible eloquence of faith, and through it alone profoundly christianized the Greek world yet fresh from the baptismal waters. But long before his time the intense faith of Paul had made a conquest of countless Greek hearts and minds, first in the intellectual classes, as seen in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists, and then throughout the immense undistinguished world of the Greco-Roman proletariat, as may now be seen with extraordinary clearness in the wonderfully significant romantic history of Saint Paul that was current throughout the Mediterranean world, perhaps ere the Evangelist John had passed away, and that Karl Schmidt has but lately rescued in practical entirety from the torn and mouldering shreds of Coptic manuscripts.

Need we wonder at the power of faith? Who has ever come in contact with a man of whole and sincere faith and

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not suffered some change in his spiritual being? Even in purely human affairs it is admitted that the man who believes with intensity in his cause or his purpose, will always carry many with him, in proportion at once to the sincerity of his faith and the elevation of his object. Long experience has shown that no quality is so necessary to the Christian missionary as faith. Does he possess it? Then there is something in his thought and diction akin to flame, something moving, uplifting, warming, urging; something spreading and communicative like the divine goodness, that *bonitas Dei diffusiva sui.* By this quality chiefly is he an agent of God, a representative of the world that eye hath not yet seen nor hath ear heard of. The measure of his faith is for most men the evidence of these unseen things; his faith is that swift cry to the logic of the heart, that vaulting call which flies above all low-lying earthly and natural considerations and justifies itself by a direct appeal to the original and fundamental relations of the creature and the Creator. Is not this the reason why we usually speak of faith as a *sublime* thing? Truly it overtops, like a mountain-peak, the ordinary levels of the world of reason. It is not, indeed, apart from or opposed to them, but its head dwells in a higher and purer atmosphere; it beholds with transfigured eyes an order of things that has never lost its original perfection, unlike the ruinous order of mundane things. Some spark of this mighty faith is necessary to every Christian who would differentiate himself satisfactorily from the moral and intellectual disorder in which he lives. How much more so to those Christians who have specially consecrated themselves to the work of God, to priests who are in a particular way called to keep up the work of the apostolate of Jesus Christ, to be His missionaries, if not with the ardor and grace and success of Saint Paul, at least with the same purpose and with identical means!

It is possible that in an entirely Christian society and time there may have been a place—if not a use, for the priest of faint or little faith. To-day there is neither place nor use for such a being. *Ad tabernacula vestra, O Israel!* With incredible rapidity there is going on in modern society an elimination, a segregation of the spiri-

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tual from the temporal, an alignment of purposes and ideals that are content to rest within the rim of the natural and the temporal, from those purposes and ideals that are based on the existence of another order, unseen and in a sense uncertain, independent of us, at once the model, the touchstone, and the complement of the order in which we now are. The half-hearted and half-worldly priest, the Laodicean of our day, can only be looked on in one camp with contempt, in the other with pity and sorrow. There is so much to do in this immense re-ordering of the old lines of human society that the selfish or apathetic, the ignorant, cynical or traitorous workman is very much in the way, if only because of the scandal that he gives to the good and willing. His life is the best argument of our adversaries, even as the life of the man of faith has always been the invincible reply to the enemies of the Christian body. There are not many objections to add to those which Celsus and Longinus, Plotinus and Porphyry made to the nature and functions of Christian faith; yet even then Tertullian and Origen and Cyprian could point again and again to the lives of Christians as the practical evidence of the sanctity and even the human utility of their religion. Finally, it is chiefly in the life of the priest that the world has at all times sought the practical reconciliation of the natural and the supernatural, of science and religion, of faith and patriotism, of human and divine duties. It is not too much to say that there would have been no revolt of Martin Luther, if there had been in every Northern land a proper proportion of educated and zealous priests and bishops; that there would have been no French Revolution, if there had been in France more men like St. Vincent of Paul, and the Curé of Ars; that the actual status of the conflict between the natural and the supernatural order would be far different and more favorable to the claims and the merits of Christianity, if its ministers had always been trained to live in the spirit, and on the principles of the faith that they officially represent.

To return to our Apostle, another quality that characterizes him as the model of all true missionaries is his *humility*. Saint Paul never wearies of describing himself as an instrument, a very humble and imperfect one, through which divine

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love operates. His epistles abound in references to his own defects and frailty. He sounds all the depths of self-abasement, and if his eye be even then fixed in faith on the heavenly kingdom, it is not without doubt and hesitancy as to his hope of citizenship therein. He left to his Christian converts as a distinctive mark this sense of lowliness of life lived out beneath the chastening hand of God, in an atmosphere of tribulation; this very word was coined by some primitive Latin to give a picturesque view of the ordinary Christian life as not unlike the operation by which the flail separates the chaff from the wheat. It was precisely this *humilitas,* this *tenuitas Christianorum* which disgusted the leaders and thinkers of the heathen world. They had no public spirit, it was said; they were anti-social; they abstained from the forum and the law-courts, the baths and the theatres; they were a *lucifuga natio,* the enemies of all political virtue. And yet the same Christians felt and declared that they were a divine instrument for the moral and social transformation of the unhappy society in which they found themselves. They inherited from Saint Paul an intimate sense of coöperation with God, but at an infinite distance. Yet by faith they knew that their coöperation was real, pleasing to Jesus Christ, worthy of reward, and destined to accomplish, not any end that they foresaw, but that which was established in the Will of God.

It is precisely this humility which befits the true missionary, not a dull apathetic sense of his own native inefficiency, but a lively sense of the same, fed at once on faith and hope, and made active by charity. Nor does it kill off confidence in himself; on the contrary, he walks and acts with certainty, for his conversation is in the abundant light of the Lord which surrounds and sustains and reveals and comforts. It is also compatible with a proper pride in the results of his labors. Saint Paul himself more than once recounts the *magnalia Dei* done by him, the perils he underwent, the journeys he made, the fruits of his preaching, the works of his disciples. But always it is the created and humble instrument which speaks; always it is the divine glory that is his aim and his justification; always it is the pupil whose honor is preëminently the honor of the Master from whom he has received whatever he is.

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II.

What was the message of this great missionary? It is quickly told, now as it was then: the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It is noticeable that from the beginning of that message to the end all is positive, historical, brief, pithy, consistent, intelligible, universal. It is a message essentially joyous—'a great joy,' said the angels who first made it known on the hillsides of Judaea. And when it had all been unrolled in the Life and Death of the God-Man, the pity and the tragedy of it could not hide the fact that it remained yet essentially a message of Joy. It was entitled simply, so that all might at once grasp the fulness of its meaning, the *Evangelion,* the "Good News." News it certainly was to the masses of mankind who then learned for the first time of their true and divine origin, of one personal God, who was as loving as He was powerful, of His interest in mankind and in every man, of the power and use of prayer and worship, of the unity of the human race and its true destiny, of the personal value and status of every human being, of an unsuspected equality of origin, equipment and calling, and of many other things that in their poor dim and broken philosophy they had wondered over but never understood. Good news it also was, for it brought into the average human mind certain goods long since lost, but of which a vague torturing sense remained. It brought within the pale of the human intellect certainty, consistency, elevation and consolation in all that pertained to the nature and functions of religion.

To-day, through the efforts of modern scholarship, we know almost the very dust of the lives of the ancients. Out of it all one fact seems established on a sure basis—the utter hopelessness and helplessness of the religious conditions of mankind at the moment of the birth of Jesus Christ. A kind of exhaustion had fallen upon the religious sense owing to the extravagance and vanity of its manifestations; owing, too, perhaps, to the incredible Fortune of Rome before which all the once proud and popular deities of the world had collapsed. It is no mere coincidence when the historians of the time note the cessation of the immemorial oracles of Greece. There seems to have been everywhere a spiritual weariness,

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the harbinger of that "fulness of time" in which the Messiah should come. The masters of the world had abandoned all faith and taken refuge in a philosophy of conduct that squared with their doubts and their pessimism. Even there they found no safe resting-place: O Cæsar, in thy peace what woes I suffer! cries Epictetus, the theologian of Stoicism. There had been much diagnosis of these religious conditions of mankind from the days of Plato and Aristotle. But none of the physicians looked within man himself for the causes of his unrest and melancholy. Some proposed an ideal state and some a careful study of facts and things; some the pursuit of pleasure, gross or delicate; some a temper of haughty defiance of the present order. The patient turned often upon his couch of pain, hoping against hope that his remedy would come from without, and ignorant of the deep intimate source of his ills. In the Gospel of Jesus Christ he learned for the first time the nature, cause and seat of his ailment; the meaning of sin, its function and consequences; the existence and qualities of the soul and its actual condition. That *pax et felicitas* which he sought over land and sea was within his reach, even here and now. It was now clear that the abiding melancholy and the painful sense of life's emptiness were no essential part of the highest realism, but phantoms of the heart, false lights of the intellect. Evil is not physical but moral, not an overflow of divine jealousy that makes sport of humanity—*ludibria humanarum rerum cunctis in negotiis*—but rebellion, and treason to a Supreme Intelligence at once creative and directive, holy and good, provident and loving.

It was a new *leaven* that was thus implanted in ancient society, and it worked leaven-like, slowly and silently, but regularly and irresistibly. It was a new *spirit* and it worked after a spiritual way, appealing first to those most disposed to admit it, to those in whom the hunger and thirst of heavenly things were strong, to that little world that even before the Coming of Christ was affected by the moral elevation of the Old Testament, and was glad to dwell within its shadow, if not within its sacred precinct. Many such recognized the call of a missionary like Paul of Tarsus. Every Greek city, apart from its little spiritual Israel, its Priscillas and Aquilas, had a

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nucleus of men and women to whom the frank sane light of the Gospel, its sweet and loving intimacy, and its accurate diagnosis of their moral sufferings, were a personal revelation, a flood of pure white light that made clear their hitherto devious way and the abyss that lay at their feet. In every Greek city there was a body of men and women, uprooted from their former conditions by the conquests of Rome, devoid henceforth of faith and fatherland, tossing about in a cosmopolitanism that satisfied none of their hereditary instincts and demanded of them intolerable sacrifices. To all such the Gospel of Jesus, as preached by this Jew who knew well his Rome and his Athens, was particularly a Message of Joy, for it revealed an impregnable fatherland, old and yet new, an invincible head of their *gens* or tribe, holy and helpful, almost visible, approachable and powerful. It solved the mystery of a hundred years of political cataclysms whose echoes were yet resounding around the Mediterranean. There was yet on earth a refuge from the oppression of Rome and the anarchy of Hellas, a dimly apprehended but real and permanent realm of equity and equality, of infinite peace and moral harmony.

And then the multitude of slaves and the world of toilers, held to be outside the pale of citizenship, a mere dust of humanity, for whom philosophy in any degree was an idle and unintelligible thing, to whom all life appeared beneath the symbols of force and sanction, the strong right hand, the lissome spear, the poised eagle! To them the message of the Gospel must have been like the breath of spring after the long and cruel winter, like the first ray of light that falls aslant the dungeon floor. To them it was truly hope and love proffered by the hand of faith. Its message of original and natural equality, of obligatory sympathy and pity, of habitual justice enshrined in the heart of each one and made simple and intelligible in a charter from the hand of a just and powerful God, was surely both a novel and a delightful thing to men bereft of all right and standing in the state. In an incredibly short time the thousand cities of the great world-state held each their own little flock of believers, who knew at the same time by what subtle ties of common faith and mutual love they were bound in a new and irresistible unity.

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III.

So much for the message of our missionary. Now to what kind of a world was he sent? Its brilliancy and majesty no one will deny. For the first time civilized mankind was dwelling in a perfect political unity. It is true that the heart shudders as it recalls the two centuries of violence of which was born that *Pax Romana.* It had come, however, through the extension of one city's authority, constitution, and laws to the vast Mediterranean world. Travel, commerce and industry, all the activities of mankind were now free. The correspondence of Saint Paul and the brief notes of a portion of his labors are themselves unique and valuable documents for the ease and freedom of human movement at that time. The benefits of political unity became at once apparent—an identical public order over a vast territory, the growth of private fortunes until they vied with the resources of the public power, the development of the human mind along the lines of literature, good taste, scientific research, and philosophical discussion. Beneath this external unity, however, and its symbols in language and government, there reigned an internal disorder that no outward progress could heal. The religions of all conquered kingdoms, peoples, and cities had indeed found a common refuge and acceptance in the new capital of civilization, but they had not thereby gained in purity or influence, nor had the City herself succeeded in uplifting her own religion by contact with the foreign creeds, or infusing into them anything of her own native simplicity and sobriety. The words of Saint Leo the Great, himself a genuine Roman, are only too true: *magnam sibi videbatur (Roma) assumpsisse religionem quia nullam respuebat falsitatem.* What confronted the Apostle was therefore a congeries of errors and superstitions, a permanent congress of all the weak and insufficient religious forces of antiquity, in none of which was there any longer a promise of spiritual renovation. Already the moral order in the Empire exhibited plain symptoms of the decay that was soon to result from this violent displacement and commingling of a hundred ancient forms of error, their compulsory cohabitation in one society, and the mutual corruption that they thus engendered. The Orontes, says the satirist,

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has overflowed into the Tiber, and the City has become the meeting place, not of the virtues of mankind but of its vices, —*sentina vitiorum, ubi omnia pudenda confluunt.*

Naturally, the social order reflected, as always, the conditions of religion and morality. A thousand evidences remain—they can be seen in the terrible pages of Friedlaender —to show that the world was divided into the strong and the weak, the few powerful and the many oppressed, a small percentage of mankind which detained all earthly goods and an enormous multitude to which were left only apathy and despair, envy and hatred, and an attitude of blasphemy and pessimism. On the whole, life was no longer good but evil, and the only choice of the weak and poor man lay between the animal acquiescence of epicureanism and an impious unnatural atheism.

It is true that there was dawning on men's minds a kind of common natural religion, an uncertain sense of something universal in the moral and social order. Zeno and Panaetius had not lived in vain, once the De Officiis of Cicero was published. The hard legislation of primitive Rome was already tempered by certain concessions, in the interest of business, to the experience and convictions of Greek society. Stoicism, and then Neoplatonism, had yet a course to run that was far from useless or ignoble. Over a few chosen minds, at least, the term *Humanitas* had come to exercise an indescribable charm. The polished atheism of Lucretius and the gentle refined egotism of Horace were less powerful over the Latin mind than that sixth book of Vergil in which all that is best in Greece and Rome seems gathered within a narrow space that it may suffer a mighty indoctrination from the representative of Him who is Light and Truth itself. Yet a hundred years and there will be circulating throughout Greek and Latin society such pages of new and wonderful philosophy as we may yet read in the Letter to Diognetus and the Octavius of Minucius Felix, the writings of Justin Martyr and Irenaeus of Lyons, not to speak of the still more irresistible eloquence that flowed from the living lips of such men as Melito of Sardes and Tertullian of Carthage.

Dearly beloved brethren! it seems to many that our own

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time and our own society offer a striking parallel to the general conditions that the Apostle had to face. In human government all ancient forms have given way, or are rapidly giving way, to democracy, that for the first time seems able to provide permanently and successfully for the public welfare. Inventions, discoveries, and the new physical sciences, are its devoted slaves, and promise to buttress its throne against any return of feudalism or absolutism. Demos himself knows practically and administers all the secrets of production and distribution, and is rapidly applying to his own order of things and his own epoch of power all that intellectual force and that general sympathy which were once consumed in theories of government, metaphysical abstractions, recondite theology, the refinement of speech and taste. Such things were and must ever be for the few. But a universal political equality, universal instruction that keeps pace with the increasing volume of knowledge, the uses and advantages of all the physical sciences, furnish a margin of common and elevated mental development so broad that all humanity may expect to one day find place thereon. It is something new as the imperial unity was in its day, something very powerful and attractive, for it is shared by all, flatters all, and extends to all those promises *de futuro* which are a kind of rough idealism for the general run of mankind.

On the other hand, there is a certain similarity of religious conditions. I would not deny the existence of a permanent fund of Christian spirit and principle that can not easily be eliminated from our society, and that manifests itself in many ways, if only in that power of occasional self-humiliation and self-reformation that is inherent in Christian peoples, and was not in the heathen world. Nevertheless, the once universal religious sense seems to be suffering profoundly. A universal pride has followed sharply on a universal temporal advancement, and pride and religion combine very poorly with one another—*illum oportet crescere, me autem minui.* As human pride is at all times the root of human misery, so to it are finally traceable all the defects of humanity, religious, moral and social. We may repeat of our own society what Leo the Great said of pagan Rome—it is an *oceanus turbulent-*

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issimae profunditatis, a perfect welter of disorderly currents, driven hither and thither by conflicting winds of doctrine. There are so many evidences of this, heaped up daily in the life of our humanity, in the religious and the irreligious press, in the popular literature and the tables of statistics, that I scarcely need to insist on it. The masses of mankind are penetrated with a philosophy of gain or of pleasure, or of both combined. They are without leaders, or rather they have a regiment of leaders, unspiritual, selfish, ignorant, and presumptuous. The life to come is an odious thing in their eyes, and they hate, persecute, contemn whatever is organized in view of it. The essence of all persecutions for conscience' sake may yet be suffered by any Christian bold enough to live fully up to the letter of his religious convictions. There is going on a rapid and universal demolition of the Christian life from every point of view, an emptying of the human mind of all respect and affection for the doctrines that created the modern world and filled life with a new and sane and viable spirit. The public evils of pagan antiquity are once more granted *droit de cité* in our Christian life; and in ways too many to mention, in legislation, in education, in the *vita et mores* of the present order, the principles of Christianity meet daily more and more with coldness, suspicion, even opposition and defeat. A new religion is in process of construction, whose deity is self, whose paradise is this earth, whose doctrine is success, whose sanction is injustice, and whose saints are all such as have prospered materially.

IV.

Now, if it be true, *mutatis mutandis,* that we find ourselves before conditions, political, religious, and social that recall vividly at least some aspects of the world in which our great missionary moved and labored, it will not appear unnatural if we ask ourselves what are the duties incumbent on us as heirs and successors of those who, in the past, have handed down intact the apostolic spirit and zeal. I need not speak of those who by their special vocation are devoted to the diffusion and defence of the Christian religion. Nor need I do more than recall their rules and their glorious past, their

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saints and their historical *monumenta et documenta,* to the orders and congregations that are represented here to-day? The priest, the friar, the member of a religious community, who does not burn in some degree for the growth and the glory of Christ's kingdom, who does not feel an earnest call to follow in the footsteps of the Apostle of the Gentiles, even if it must be afar off, can scarcely be secure in his conscience that he has done the best thing with his life yet overflowing with vigorous promise. What I refer to is the missionary or apostolic calling of the University itself.

This great school—for it was great on the day of its foundation by reason of its hopes and its future—was created by the Catholic Church in the United States for the welfare, primarily, of Catholic Christianity. It is therefore an apostolic work, formally and in the intentions of all its founders. In this it does not differ from any of the universities founded by the Catholic Church in the last seven hundred years. Indeed, as the University in general is of purely ecclesiastical origin, there is inherent in it a priori a temper of devotion to the interests of Jesus Christ in the world of knowledge and progress. The professors and students of this school are therefore, above and before all other considerations, a group of men organized for the maintenance and perfection of the highest human and divine learning in the service of Catholicism in general, but more particularly in our own country. The University is of course an impersonal entity, a corporation, and its collective character can operate only through its members, even as a diocese or a religious organism with both of which it has, historically and canonically, not a few points of contact. Yet when all its members are penetrated with a certain spirit and constitute themselves its representatives, the profit of public success, if success there be, remains with the imperishable corporation, and not with the transient person. This organic entity, grown fixed and certain in its specific attributes, reflects a special honor in turn on all who are at a later date assimilated to it. And so there comes a time when its influence is no longer that of a mere corporation, or of mere individuals, but takes on a peculiar character in which past and present and future blend, in which the im-

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personal school and the personal elements of it appear to the world as blended and interwoven, somewhat as the lordly trunk and its varied crown of mingled foliage and fruitage. Now the influence of an official academic organism, strong, experienced equipped, cannot be overrated. The mere fact that all such organisms grow with increasing vigor and rapidity in the newest, freest, greatest and most hopeful of world-states, is a sufficient index at once of their own sympathetic attitude, their utility, and the instinctive affection of the commonwealth for them. It is our hope, crowned already perhaps with some slight measure of fulfilment, that the Catholic University of America shall unceasingly move on to the creation of this academic influence or authority; that it shall place the same, as it grows, in the service of the Catholic Church in our country for the more speedy triumph of the spirit and the teaching of Our Saviour Jesus Christ; that all the aims of the University shall be spiritual and broad, universal as learning itself, and like all true and useful learning, both popular and beneficial. We are, after all, only one of the institutions which the Church has created and sustains in the hope of reaping therefrom certain future benefits. We have our peculiar calling and direction, our field and our limitations. What they may be rounded out to in the future is not in our hands but in those of Providence. In this incipient and embryonic period, however, we have one clear and urgent duty, to make all possible provision for the giving of a genuine superior Christian education to the youth of our country, and for an universal direct or indirect influence over the same, an education that shall enable them not only to hold fast by their Christian inheritance, but to defend it by conduct, voice and pen; to manifest easily a joy and a pride in it, and to go forth in every direction and throughout our whole society, as ardent apostles earning their bread not otherwise than did the tent-maker of Tarsus, yet like him single-minded preachers of the God-Man, themselves examples and exponents of His Spirit and His teachings, everywhere and at all times earnest and loyal missionaries in the service of Catholicism.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

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THE "ASSERTIO VII SACRAMENTORUM" OF HENRY VIII.

The defence and illustration of the teaching of the Roman Church in the matter of indulgences, ecclesiastical primacy and the sacraments, undertaken at the opening of the Reformation by a powerful monarch of England, will always interest the student of historical theology and the observer of human events. As is well-known the theological treatise of Henry VIII was drawn up with the view of refuting Luther's calumnious pamphlet "On The Babylonian Captivity" (1520). It betrays a good knowledge of the Scriptures, and is of itself sufficient to refute the assertion that the laity were then forbidden to read the Bible.[1] The King quotes also from the Canon of the Mass, and from a number of the Fathers—human reason is represented by Horace and Vergil and by his own elucubrations. The Latin style is simple and direct, though the sentences are somewhat long drawn out. Nevertheless, the intrinsic value of the reasoning, the clever marshalling of texts and arguments, holds the reader's interest to the end, as he peruses this " opusculum " of that theologian among kings who was soon to uproot by his acts the good seed that his words had planted. It is the writer's purpose to deal at some length with this " cimelium " of English Catholic theology. In its day the "Assertio" had considerable vogue and, as we shall see, its literary history is not without interest. It was reprinted at least a dozen times, and was translated into more than one European language. And while it is now little more than a "curiosity of literature" for the average reader, it cannot fail to awaken fresh interest at a moment when the prejudices of four hundred years seem battered down, to no small extent at least, and the insane

[1] He quotes the Old Testament forty-two times: Genesis 5, Exodus 3, Leviticus 1, Numbers 1, Deuteronomy 3, I Kings 2, Psalms 9, Proverbs 3, Wisdom 1, Ecclesiasticus 2, Ecclesiastes 1, Ezechiel 4, Isaias 3, and Zachary 1. The New Testament is quoted one hundred and one times: Matthew 11, Mark 3, Luke 10, John 18, Acts 4, Romans 7, I Cor. 12, Galatians 1, I Thessal. 1, Colossians 1, Ephesians 3, I Tim. 10, II Tim. 2, Titus 2, Hebrews 4, James 8, I Peter 2, I John 1, Apocalypse 1.

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terror of Rome and Catholicism is fairly well obliterated from the English mind. In the following pages I shall try to set forth the occasion, origin, and motive of the royal tractate, in the words of reputable chroniclers and historians. It is hoped that the reader will not be repelled by the series of quotations—their excuse is the not unreasonable one that it has cost time and labor to bring them together, some from rare and at times inaccessible books; in a (very) few cases the writer has been obliged to take them at second-hand.

I. *The Occasion of the "Assertio."*—Apropos of Henry's book, Audin, the French historian of Luther, tells us[2] that across the sea "Germany now, for the first time, beheld her ancient faith attacked not by arguments, but by ridicule, for that was the weapon used by Luther . . . this apostate monk . . . would recognize the existence of no law for his own personal acts, either moral or physical . . . (he) asserted that a single individual might be right, though opposed to popes, councils, doctors, the past and the present." The "Babylonian Captivity" was sent by Luther to the Pope . . . "with expressions of personal respect, and the request to set about a work of reformation in his corrupt court."[3]

James Gairdner[4] says that "Luther in his Babylonian Captivity repudiated the Pope's authority entirely, attacked the whole scholastic system . . . and declared four of the reputed seven sacraments to be of only human origin." As to England, the situation is briefly but clearly stated[5] by Paton, who says: "The long reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1547, falls practically into two periods of nineteen years each: in the former of which he was the champion of Popery against all comers, against Luther among the rest, under the title still worn by our sovereigns, Defender of the Faith."

It was in the former half of his reign that the composition of the King's treatise took place; a few quotations from the best sources will give a reliable outline of the situation which

[2] Henry VIII, Ch. IX, 88–89.
[3] Becket's English Reformation, Ch. XVII.
[4] English Church in the Sixteenth Century, p. 78.
[5] James Paton: British History and Papal Claims, I, 40.
[6] Polydori Vergilii Urbinatis Anglicæ Historiæ Libri Vigintiseptem. lib. XXVII, fol. 664. As to his reliability, Mr. H. Ellis, in the preface to the Camden Society's edition, says "that Polydore Vergil's History is entirely without mistakes cannot be asserted, but they are very few."

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occasioned the "Assertio." Polydore Vergil, a contemporary Italian historian of England says[6] of Henry's book and its title:

"Quocirca Henricus rex, qui habebat regnum suum maxime omnium religiosum, veritus ne uspiam labes aliqua religionis fieret, primum libros Lutheranos, quorum magnus jam numerus pervenerat in manus suorum Anglorum, comburendos curavit, deinde libellum contra eam doctrinam luculenter composuit misitque ad Leonem pontificem, . . . tum Henricum defensorum fidei appellavit, quo ille deinceps titulo usus est."

This statement of the large quantity of Luther's books found at that early date in England is confirmed by the prohibition to read or circulate them sent by Pope Leo X to Cardinal Wolsey:[7]

"Et quia dicti errores et plures alii in diversis libellis per Martinum Lutherum haeresiarcham compositis, continebantur, libellos ipsos in quocumque idiomate reperiebantur, damnavimus, ne libellos, hujusmodi errores ipsos continentes legere, imprimere, publicare, seu defendere, aut in domibus suis, sive aliis publicis vel privatis locis tenere quomodo praesumerent; quinimmo illos, statim post literarum nostrarum, super his editarum publicationem ubicumque forent per ordinarios et alios in dictis literis expressos diligenter quaesitos, publice et solemniter in praesentia cleri et populi, sub poenis in iisdem literis expressis, comburentur, ipsique Martino, ut ab omni praedicatione desisteret jussimus."

The following extract describes the condemnation and burning of Luther's books at St. Paul's Church, London, and complements the foregoing quotation; it shows also that the Pope's mandate was promptly and solemnly executed. It is from the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Vitell. b. 4, p. 111) and is entitled: Pope's Sentence against Martin Luther, published at London."

"The xij daye of Maye in the yeare of our Lord 1521, and in the thirteenth yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord Kinge Henry the eighte of that Name, the Lord Thomas Wolsey, by the grace of God Legate de Latere, Cardinal of Sainct Cecely and Archbishop of Yorke, came unto Saint Paules Churche of London, with the most

[7] Rymer's Foedera, XIII, 742. "Bulla Leonis X. Cardinali Eboracensi de potestatibus super lectione librorum Martini Lutheri."

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parte of the Byshops of Realme, where he was received with procession, and sensid (incensed) by Mr. Richard Pace, then beinge Deane of the said Church. After which ceremonies done, there were four Doctors that bare a canope of cloth of gold over him goinge to the Highe Altar, where he made his oblacion; which done, hee proceeded forth as above said to the Crosse in Paules Church Yeard, where was ordeined a scaffold for the same cause, and he, sittinge under his cloth of estate which was ordeined for him, his two crosses on everie side of him; on his right hand sittinge on the place where hee set his feete, the Pope's embassador, and nexte him the Archbishop of Canterbury: on his left hand the Emperor's Embassador, and nexte him the Byshop of Duresme, and all the other Byshops with other noble prelates sate on twoe formes outeright forthe, and ther the Byshop of Rochester made a sermon, by the consentinge of the whole clergie of England, by the commandment of the Pope, against one Martinus Eleuthereus, and all his workes, because hee erred sore, and spake against the holle faithe; and denounced them accursed which kept anie of his bookes, and there were manie burned in the said church yeard of his said bookes duringe the sermon, which ended, my Lord Cardinall went home to dinner with all the other prelates."

Not only was London infected with Luther's errors, but they had reached Hereford at least, for in Wilkin's Concilia[8] we read of Woolsey's order to the Bishop of Hereford about Luther's books and a catalogue of forty-two errors contained in them: it is entitled as follows: "Mandatum cardinalis Wolseii episcopo Herefordensi, de exquirendis libris M. Lutheri prohibitis; cum catalogo XLII errorum in iis contentorum ex. reg. Episc. Heref, fol. 66." Lord Herbert of Cherbury, a seventeenth century historian of Henry VIII. says:[9]

"Our king, being at leisure now from wars, and for the rest delighting much in learning, thought he could not give better proof either of his zeal or education, than to write against Luther. In this also he was exasperated, for that Luther had often times spoken contemptuously of the learned Thomas of Acquine, who yet was so much in request with the King, . . . that, as Polydore hath it, he was called Thomisticus." Roscoe, in his Life of Leo X[10] adds to this and says

[8] III, 690.
[9] Life and Reign of Henry VIII (in vol. II of Kennet's Complete History of England, 3 v. fol. London, 1706), p. 85.
[10] Bohn edit., II, 231.

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"such was the reception they (the new opinions of the Reformation) met with in this country (England), that Henry VIII who had in his youth devoted some portion of his time to ecclesiastical and scholastic studies, not only attempted to counteract their effects by severe restrictions, but condescended to enter the lists of controversy with Luther, in his well-known work, written in Latin and entitled 'A Vindication of the Seven Sacraments.'"

Henry then, loved theological learning in general and St. Thomas in particular, as its most gifted exponent; for this reason alone Luther must have been odious to the royal English theologian. Audin says:[11]

"Luther again republished his insulting tirade against the Angel of the Schools in his 'Captivity of the Church at Babylon.' . . . All Henry's knowledge of theology, and he was no bad theologian, he was indebted for to St. Thomas Aquinas, his inseparable companion, who, beautifully bound, occupied the most prominent place in his library, and which he read over and over again, and each time with fresh ardour; and his chief advisers, Fisher, Wolsey and More, were as enamoured with St. Thomas as himself. . . . Happily for Henry, the monk, in his 'Captivity of the Church at Babylon,' had created a new dogma, whence he had excluded the sacraments of order, extreme unction and penance, indulgences, purgatory and the papacy. . . . His (Henry's) address 'Ad Lectores,' which he placed at the commencement, might have been taken as the production of a theologian of the twelfth century. His aged mother had been insulted, and therefore, as an affectionate son, he had hastened to her defence."

II. *The Origin of the "Assertio."*—On this subject Bishop Creighton writes as follows:[12]

"But besides ecclesiastical ceremonies (in London), and bonfires of Luther's books, Wolsey discussed with his master (Henry VIII) the theological aspect of Luther's teaching. Henry showed such knowledge of the subject that Wolsey suggested he should express his views in writing. The result was that the English King entered the lists of theological controversy. . . . In August (1521) the book was printed though it was not published till it had been formally presented to the Pope. Aleander received an early copy. . . . He

[11] Loc. cit.

[12] History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation, V, pp. 163–4.

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found the work to be a collection of precious gems. 'If kings,' he writes, 'are of this strength, farewell to us philosophers': . . . Henry felt aggrieved that the English King had no title to set by the side of 'Catholic' and 'Most Christian,' which were enjoyed by the Kings of Spain and France. Wolsey represented to the Pope that the English King deserved some recognition of his piety and the claim engaged the serious attention of a consistory on June 10. There was no lack of suggestions: 'Faithful,' 'Orthodox,' 'Apostolic,' 'Ecclesiastical,' 'Proctor,' are some out of the number. . . . The King's book arrived at Rome, and on Sept. 14 was presented to the Pope, who read it with avidity and extolled it to the skies. But this was not enough to mark the importance of the occasion, and it was formally presented in a consistory. After this the Pope proposed 'Defender of the Faith' as a suitable title; some demurred on the ground that a title ought not to exceed a single word, and still hankered after the 'Orthodox' or 'Most Faithful'; but the Pope decided in favor of 'Defender of the Faith,' and all agreed. . . . In a letter written by Pace to Wolsey, November 19 (Brewer, Calendar, 1772) the King's thanks are conveyed to Wolsey for having suggested this work. Doubtless the King consulted with others, chiefly with Fisher, but there is no reason to doubt that the work was substantially his own." Pallavicini[13] also declares that Cardinal Wolsey asked the Pope for some extraordinary title for Henry.

An interesting and rare account of the origin of the "Assertio" is given in a quaint old Latin book[14] entitled "The Annals of England."

"The King having written a booke against Martin Luther, sent it as a present to Pope Leo the Tenth. . . . Henry being offended with Luther's new (as the world then deemed them) Tenets, thought it would prove to his honor, by writing against Luther, to manifest his learning and piety to the world. Hereupon under his name a book was set forth, better beseeming some antient and deep divine, than a youthful prince (whom although he earnestly endeavoured it, yet his affairs would not permit to bury himselfe among his books), which many thought to have been compiled by Sir Tho. More, some by the Bishop of Rochester, and others (not without cause) suspected to be the worke of some other great scholer. . . . This booke was so acceptable to the Pope, that according to the example of Alexander the Six

[13] Hist. du Concile de Trente, I, 676.

[14] The work of Francis Lord Bishop of Hereford, englished by Morgan Godwyn, p. 47.

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who entitled the King of Spain 'Catholic'; and of that Pope, whosoever he were, that gave the French King the title of 'Most Christian': he decreed to grace King Henry and his successors with that honourable one of 'Defender of the Faith,' which severall titles are by these princes to this day."

The historian Speed[15] seems to belittle the worth of the title and the king's personal merit:

> "Carolus, Henricus, vivant, defensor uterque,
> Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesiae.

"Why the titles 'Defender of the Church and Faith' were attributed unto these two Princes is no marvell; for Charles chosen Emperour was scarcely confirmed, but, to purchase the Pope's favour, he directed forth a solemne Writ of outlawry against Martin Luther, who then had given a great blow to the Papal Crowne. And King Henry likewise was renowned in Rome, for writing a Booke against the said Luther; uppropping the tottering or downe-cast countenance of the Pope's pardons; which Luther shrewdly had shaken; the Pope therefore, to show himselfe a kinde father unto those his sonnes, gave them these titles, which in truth were none other, than the same which they swore unto, when the Crownes of their empires were first set upon their heads."

Luther had said in his "Babylonian Captivity": "I must now deny that there are seven sacraments, and bind them to three—baptism, the Lord's Supper, and penance." Apropos of this denial, Canon Flanagan gives the following account[16] of the occasion of the king's treatise:

"Henry VIII himself, assisted, it is thought by Wolsey, and Fisher the bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, wrote a treatise upon the seven sacraments against Luther. The latter speedily answered, never being at a loss, if not for arguments at least for fitting words. His answer was replied to by Sir Thomas More. Again he (Luther) took up the pen. . . . It was in acknowledgment of this defence of the Church's doctrine that Henry received from the Pope what his successors have tenaciously retained, the title of "Defender of the Faith." It appears that sometime before writing the treatise, he had sued for the title of "Most Christian" which Julius

[15] History of Great Britain, p. 991.
[16] History of the Church in England, II, 24–25.

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II had threatened to withdraw from the schismatical Louis XII. Disappointed in this, he presented his treatise to Leo X, for his examination and approval, and petitioned for the other title, promising to be equally zealous against Luther's followers in England as against Luther himself. It was granted after 'mature deliberation' by Leo in 1521, and again by Clement in 1524."

III. *The Motive of the "Assertio."*—As to the motive for which the "Assertio" was composed, Ellis says: "Henry's book was not written to get the title but was seized upon as a clinching argument for obtaining the title which had been asked—the book being all the while in preparation, but not formally for that purpose." Fr. Bridgett thinks that Henry acted from a high and pure intention—*i. e.*, the defence of the Church. He says:[17]

"In 1520 Luther published his treatise called the 'Babylonian Captivity' in which he finally broke with the Church, railed at the Pope, and called on the world to embrace an entirely new religion, under the name of genuine Christianity.

"In 1521 Henry printed his book called 'Defence of the Seven Sacraments'; Luther replied in a treatise so scurrilous that it probably has no parallel in literature. Certainly such language had never before been addressed to a King or prince. It cannot be said that Henry had drawn this upon his own head. He had not attacked Luther, but stepped in as the Church's champion to ward off the blows Luther was aiming at her. On the whole, his defence is dignified, and he uses language no stronger than had been used in all ages, by saints and doctors, against inventors of novelties and disturbers of unity. In this book of Henry's More has no other share than that, after it was written, he had arranged the index."

Seebohm discards the motive given by Gairdner.[18] According to the latter Henry "declared to More a secret reason for maintaining it (the Pope's Supremacy) so strongly; of which reason Sir Thomas had never heard before, and which must remain to us a matter of speculation." In the following paragraph he undertakes to fathom this secret motive of the King:

[17] Life of Thomas More, pp. 210–212.
[18] Op. cit., p. 79.

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"I propose in this paper[19] to inquire what was the motive which induced Henry VIII to write his celebrated book against Luther. The motive hitherto assigned—that of earning the title of Defender of the Faith,—does not, upon consideration, seem to me a sufficiently strong one. . . . Henry, knowing that the validity of his own marriage (with Catharine of Aragon) and Mary's legitimacy, depended upon the validity of the Papal power of dispensation, would be likely to regard the attack of Luther upon the Papal power, when in 1521 it assumed so dangerous an attitude, as a question of personal importance to himself. He had, indeed, abundant reason to insert in his book against Luther passages which appeared unwisely strong to the mind of Sir Thomas More, as yet uninitiated into royal secrecy, and at the same time skeptical of the divine authority of the Papal jurisdiction. What, then, was this 'secret cause' of which More 'had never heard before,' and which, when divulged, proved the turning-point in his views on this subject? The conjecture may at least be hazarded that it also related to the King's marriage. It is not only possible, but also most probable, that More, relying upon Catharine's assertion previous to her marriage, shared in the popular view that the impediment to the marriage was one merely of ecclesiastical law, and not an impediment jure divino. And it is obvious that in this popular view of the nature of the impediment it was one which the Pope could well be considered as able to dispense with by virtue of the power vested in him by the common consent of Christendom, whether the Papal supremacy were of divine institution or not. The secret which Henry divulged to More may therefore have been, what afterwards became the ground for the divorce, viz., that the previous marriage with Prince Arthur having been consummated was an impediment jure divino, and consequently, could not be dispensed with by the Pope unless the Papal power of dispensation were held to be jure divino."[20]

[19] "Sir Thomas More and Henry VIII's Book against Luther," *Fortnightly Review*, January–June, 1868.

[20] Era of the Protestant Revolution, New York, 1874, p. 172 sqq. The execution of the Duke of Buckingham at this time by Henry, is attributed by Seebohm to Buckingham's having spoken of the validity of Henry's marriage with Katharine.

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Mr. Brown[21] seems inspired by the same idea when he writes that Henry was not sincere in his book, especially about the authority of the Pope, but that he had an "ulterior aim."

What truth is in this alleged motive it is surely difficult, not to say impossible, to decide, for while Henry's after life would incline one to believe him capable of a deep ulterior purpose, his earlier life would lead one to believe him sincere and earnest. Was his motive in writing the "Assertio" to save his own English people and Europe from the new religious movement? Was it to check Luther, or at least to be avenged on him? Was it to obtain a papal title? Was it to strengthen the foundation of the Papal authority? The latter may have been the predominant motive in the King's mind, without exclusion of the others; the relative force of each it would be difficult now to estimate with any degree of accuracy.

LOUIS O'DONOVAN.

THE CATHEDRAL, BALTIMORE.

[21] Transactions Roy. Hist. Society, VIII, 257.

(To be continued.)

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BOOK REVIEWS.

Dr Philipp Hergenroether's Lehrbuch des katholischen Kirchenrechts, zweite neu bearbeitete Auflage. Von Dr. Joseph Hollweck. Freiburg: Herder, 1905. 8°, pp. xx + 949.

Not the least significant of the phases of modern German Catholic literary activity is the great number of excellent manuals of Canon Law that have appeared since the Kulturkampf. There occur to us at once the names of Vering, Laemmer, Aichner, von Scherer, Heiner, Gerlach, Sägmüller, not to speak of others who have distinguished themselves by special works of much importance, especially from the historico-canonical point of view. It seems only another confirmation of the intense thirst for positive knowledge that, during the last three decades, has been exhibiting itself in the cultivation of ecclesiastical archæology, philology, church-history, liturgy, and other sciences. Among these German manuals of Canon Law that of Dr. Philipp Hergenroether, who died in 1890 as professor of this science in the Bavarian Seminary of Eichstätt, has held a high place since its first publication in 1880. It now appears in a second edition due to the affection and the learning of his successor at Eichstätt, Dr. Hollweck, or rather, to be just, it is in one sense an entirely new work that lies before us since it is double in size, and is, to the extent of nearly three quarters, the product of Dr. Hollweck's pen. He has, however, retained intact the first and fundamental part—the general doctrine concerning the nature of the Church as a perfect and independent society, the principles that govern the relations of Church and State, the historical development (to the present day) of those relations, and the relations of the Church to other religious associations. We have here the theological basis of the vast system of ecclesiastical discipline as it has come down through many centuries, the deposit as it were of absolute principle, inalienable conviction and intangible "Grundrecht," that has been saved from a hundred great historical conflicts, and at last made evident to all the children of the Church, if not to all her opponents. Dr. Hollweck takes pride in proclaiming his fidelity at all times to the spirit and method of his famous teacher, even in the special section of the work, where the constant changes in positive ecclesiastical law called most strongly for a corresponding modification of the text of this manual.

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In the first or general section of Dr. Hergenroether's work he treats the nature of the Church as a society, and deals in turn with its divine formation, purpose and scope, its properties and "notes" or means of recognition, its divine origin, the primacy of Peter, the apostolate, the necessity of an apostolic succession, the bishop of Rome as the successor of Peter, the episcopate as successors to the Apostolic College, episcopate and priesthood, the monarchical constitution of the Church, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In the second section, a first chapter deals with the origin, distinction, independence and coordination, respectively, of the ecclesiastical and civil power; of law and state, and obedience to law in both orders; of ecclesiastical authority in temporal matters; of civil magistrates, their relations to the Church, the necessity of a mutually helpful harmony, and the limits of each power; of concordats, and errors concerning the relations of Church and State. The second chapter discusses the historical relations of Christianity and the civil power, under heathen and Christian emperors of Rome, during the Germanic-Christian mediæval period, first as allies and then as gradually more and more inimical to one another; after the Reformation, in Catholic and Protestant states. Then come considerations on Gallicanism, Febronianism, Josephism, and their modern equivalent, the theory of the state's *jura majestatica* over the Church. At the end he treats of the modern concordats and the actual relations of both orders, principally in Europe. The third chapter deals with the relations of the Church to other religious associations, under the following rubrics: the Church and the unbaptized, non-Catholic Christians, communicatio in sacris, views of civil legislators and statesmen, the historical development of these relations before and since the Reformation, the modern state and its theory of absolute religious equality before the law.

In the second book of the general introduction, the author treats of the sources of the Canon Law. A first section deals with the broadest theory of the science, i. e., with the fundamental notions of law, privilege, dispensation, and the most general forms in which legislation is clothed (canons, constitutions, rescripts, etc.). A second section deals with what the author calls *material* sources of canon-law (fontes essendi), i. e., papal, conciliar and synodal legislation; custom, "vigens ecclesiæ disciplina," scientific interpretation, civil legislation. In a third section he treats of the *formal* sources of Canon Law (fontes cognoscendi), i. e., of the long historical process by which its provisions passed gradually into their present conditions. Every

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theological student, and every civil law student for that matter, should know something about the origins of ecclesiastical legislation in the earliest period of the Church, in the centuries from the Council of Nice (325) to Charlemagne (d. 814), from Pseudo-Isidore to Gratian (850–1150), and finally the wonderful codification of it all in the Corpus Juris Canonici during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In a last paragraph of this section the author deals with the historical developments of Canon Law since the Council of Constance (1418), conciliar and papal legislation, decrees of Roman Congregations, and civil legislation.

In the second part of the work, the doctrine is expounded under three general headings, Constitution, Government, and Administration. Under the first are treated the ecclesiastical hierarchy in all its degrees, the religious orders, ecclesiastical associations, and ecclesiastical offices (benefices). Under the second heading is given the ecclesiastical teaching concerning the judicial power in general, the canonical tribunals and procedure, the punishment of crimes and delicts, censuræ, poenæ, and the various kinds of possible clerical offences against the law. Under the third heading the manual deals with the administration of the teaching office of the Church, of public divine service, and of liturgical actions. Then follows the treatment of the ecclesiastical legislation on "sacred things," notably the sacraments. Many pages (684–829) are devoted to the sacrament of Marriage—the other sacraments are sufficiently treated in a relatively small space (672–684). A final and important section deals with the subject of ecclesiastical property (834–913), and is worthy of close and attentive perusal, though its matter is of less practical value in our American conditions.

This manual is something more than a mere reminder of the teacher's instruction in the class-hour; it is a kind of "Summa" of the Canon Law, serviceable at all times and in all places by reason of its calm scientific objectivity, its peculiar fulness, its combination of correct statement with perspicuous diction, its constant attention to three things: the law and its evidences, the history of the law, and modern scientific discussion of both text and history. Its doctrine is that of the Catholic Church, nor is its temper other than hers. The work is throughout remarkable for equitable poise of judgment, moderation of expression, reserve in very delicate or dubious matters, and a pacific spirit that is by no means the equivalent of timidity or weakness. The Seminary of Eichstätt and the clergy of that venerable diocese are to be congratulated that their ancient reputation for good doctrine concerning the "forma cleri" is justified by this

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fine work that will for many years bear, to the Old World and the New, the evidences of their attachment to that ideal which the legislation of the Church never ceases to assert and promote.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Gregory the Great, His Place in History and Thought, By F. Homes Dudden, B.D., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. New York: Longmans, 1905. 2 vols. 8°, pp. xvi + 476, 473.

In these two stately volumes that number nearly one thousand pages Mr. Dudden has executed a task of more than ordinary importance. He has placed himself on a commanding height along the line of demarcation between the Graeco-Roman world and mediæval Christendom, and from this coign of vantage has described for his contemporaries one phase of the general movement of religious life and thought in a century that yields to none in human history for the number and importance of historical events, situations, personalities and problems. This dominating height is the career of Pope Gregory the Great (540–604). With very great skill the entire life of this extraordinary man is reproduced, but in such a manner that the reader seems less to be reading a dry printed narrative written thirteen centuries after Gregory's death than to look through an accurate mirror at the man as he moved and worked amid the ideas, institutions, men and currents of his time. The author, indeed, admits that he has been concerned to produce, along with the life of Gregory "in some degree a work of reference on the Gregorian Age." It will be admitted by competent critics that he has made good his hope, and that we have henceforth in English a work that need not fear comparison with such permanent compositions as Dr. Hodgkin's "Italy and her Invaders" and Professor Bury's "History of the Lower Roman Empire." Taken as a whole, it combines what is best in two great masters of historical research and narrative, Gibbon and Taine. From the former it borrows large and picturesque treatment and philosophic attitude, from the latter the cult of detail, accurate observation and erudite juxtaposition of the multitudinous odd fragments that are too frequently all that remains to us of any given epoch. It may also be added that this work is another worthy specimen of the best English historical style, a creation doubtless of the great liberal reviews of the nineteenth century in its first half, and of the peculiar society to whose tastes and interests they long appealed. It unites judicial dignity and measure with color and feeling, and never loses sight of the general and common in its treatment of details.

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If we turn to Jaffé's "Regesta Romanorum Pontificum" we shall see that no pope of Christian antiquity has left us so much peculiarly authoritative material, from which to reconstruct his life, as Gregory the Great. His valuable Registrum or Letter-Book, "Epistolarum Libri XIV," has reached us, containing some 848 letters that cover the entire period of his reign and leave untouched few of the large temporal questions of the day, while they are a true mirror of contemporary ecclesiastical conditions as seen from the Chair of Peter. The Maurist edition in Migne is now made antiquated by the scholarly and final edition begun by P. Ewald and finished by L. Hartmann (Mon. Germ. Hist: Greg. Papæ I. Registrum Epist. I–II. Berlin, 1891–1899). His genuine writings, pastoral, homiletic, exegetical, are also extant, and in them the personal note is quite prominent; luckily the doubtful or spurious works current under his name are of little importance for his life. That became soon an object of interest to ecclesiastics. His contemporary, Gregory of Tours, incorporated in his "Historia Francorum" some information about his illustrious namesake at Rome. The compiler of the "Liber Pontificalis," a quasi-contemporary, inserted in that curious work a short life of Gregory and shortly after Spanish writers, Isidore of Seville and Ildephonsus of Toledo, added him to the literary portraits with which they supplemented the "De viris illustribus" of St. Jerome. A hundred years later the Lombard historian, Paul the Deacon, wrote a short but quite accurate "life" of the great pope. The Roman Church itself was moved to produce an account of its distinguished son. In the latter part of the ninth century Pope John VIII (872–882) requested John, a Roman deacon, to write that "Vita Gregorii" (Migne PL. LXXV) which has since been the principal source of our knowledge. Within the last few decades the historical world has been mildly stirred by an ancient life of Gregory written in England about 713 and by some anonymous monk of Whitby. It was discovered by Ewald in an ancient manuscript collection of saints' lives belonging to the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, and was first published in 1886. Since then Dom Gasquet has given us an English edition of this little tribute whose importance, he tells us, lies chiefly in the fact that it is "a record of essentially English tradition in regard to the saint . . . the source and first authority for the most notable miraculous occurrences reported of St. Gregory." Finally, no modern historian could omit such chronicles and biographies, Western and Byzantine, as contain material pertinent to the pontificate of Gregory.

These are the materials that Mr. Dudden disposed of, not to speak of the "literature" or previous attempts in modern times to depict

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from the same sources the life of Gregory, or certain phases of the same. The "few books of any importance" in English he enumerates (p. xiv): the foreign productions are to-day most easily found in the second editions of Chevalier and Potthast.

An extensive introduction of 224 pages places before our eyes the sixth century of our era. With really consummate skill our author has collected from a hundred sources and effectively disposed about all available information concerning Rome and Constantinople, the Lombard invaders, the civil, social, and academic conditions, imperial and ecclesiastical politics, the monastic life at Rome, and other factors of the training and early career of the great noble with whom came to an end, typically, the immemorial citizenship of the Roman City. Mr. Dudden pays due tribute to the labors of Diehl, Duchesne, Weise, Grisar, and others; his own work will in the future deserve honorable mention. Few readers appreciate the hard and honest labor, the trained historical sense of truth, order, and proportion, the accurate insight born of study and become an instinct, which such brilliant pages presuppose. I point out, haphazard, the "Angli and Angeli" story (pp. 196–197) and the account (pp. 211–221) of the Roman pestilence of 589. Like Montalembert's famous "Introduction" to Saint Elizabeth, these chapters might easily stand by themselves—they exhaust their own high theme, and have therefore an intrinsic, general, and durable worth apart from the service they render to any minor subject within the same period. It would be small and ungracious to pick flaws or point out a rare omission or defect in so excellent a piece of historical narrative.

A little more than one half of these two volumes (535 pp.) is taken up with the actual story of Gregory's pontificate. The exposé of facts is based on a very full use of the pope's letters and works; very lengthy translations are often made from them, and when necessary sufficient side-light is drawn from contemporary records, documents and monuments, chronicles and biographies. Indeed, it is truly a documentary history that we are reading. It opens nobly and properly with a view of Gregory's idea of his task, taken from his "Regula Pastoralis," and proceeds to show how he put into practice these convictions, at Rome, in Italy and Sicily, in temporal and spiritual dealings with the Western and the Eastern churches, in matters of ecclesiastical discipline and the administration of the great estates of the Roman Church. The greatest land-owner in Europe was also the mouthpiece of the Gospel in his dealings with his farmers and tenants scattered through Italy, Sicily, Gaul, and elsewhere. Circumstances compelled him to become a statesman and to stand forth for

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Italy as Leo the Great had done before Attila. Mr. Dudden treats at length of the pope's relations with the Lombards, the new rulers of Northern Italy, and the Franks, then moving slowly and painfully out of their native fierceness, avarice and immorality. It was truly a period of universal upheaval, and our author is both candid and equitable in his dealings with the episodes of Phocas and Brunehilde. Having caught the spirit and aims of the great pope, he rises easily above the hateful and malicious insinuations of writers whose cold hearts were never touched by the noble enthusiasm of humanity in Christ Jesus, such as it appeared to Gregory. In the chapter on "Gregory's Missionary Labours" is told (II, pp. 99–141) the story of the conversion of England. Seldom have we read more moving pages—even the "hors d'œuvre" of St. Columba is welcome for the sympathetic portrait it gives of the "fine old Irish missionary and saint" who represented in distant Iona the Master that Augustine had been sent to announce.

At the same time we must take exception to the very positive statement (II, 144) that Augustine was aiming, in his dealings with the Welsh monasteries, at the "imposition of a foreign yoke which it (the Welsh Church) had never hitherto at any time admitted." The intimate relations and mutual esteem of the early Irish and Welsh churches forbid us to believe that the latter differed, in so essential a point, from the former. Bishop Greith in his "Altirische Kirche" (1867) showed conclusively that the Columban churches recognized the Roman supremacy. Cardinal Moran did as much in his fine work (1879) on the "Origin, Doctrine and Discipline of the Early Irish Church," and John Salmon has embodied the gist of their argument in his "Ancient Irish Church" (Dublin, Gill, 1897; pp. 26–57). It remains true, in spite of much toilsome and hostile learning, that the early British Church was not formally and consciously separated from the See of Peter, but that it recognized the same. If the evidences therefor in the fifth and sixth centuries are few, it is owing to the frightful disorder into which all Britain fell during that period as a result of the Saxon invasions. In the same chapter Mr. Dudden (II, 140) doubts the authenticity of St. Patrick's Letter to Coroticus. This is regrettable, for few other scholars any longer refuse to admit its genuinity.[1] In his life of St. Patrick (London, 1905) Mr. Bury says (p. 228) that "the genuineness of the document seems to be written on its face as in the case of the Confession; that a falsification should have taken this form would be inexplicable."

[1] Cf. a critical edition of this text by Rev. N. J. White in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, 1904.

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On the other hand, Mr. Dudden does not doubt the authenticity of the famous "Responsa" of St. Gregory to St. Augustine, that "rule and code of Christian missions" according to Montalembert. Our author deals with it (II, 130–137) at length, and asserts that the authenticity of this masterly document, with its evidence of the good sense, good feeling, and statesman-like ability of the writer, is now admitted by the majority of scholars. It was first published by Saint Bede (H. E. I, 27) for whom it may have been transcribed either from the original at Canterbury or from the archives of the Roman Church.[2]

Very important and thorough is the third part of this monumental work in which Mr. Dudden systematizes (II, 285–444) the theology of Gregory the Great. We agree with the writer in the Tablet (February 3, 1906, p. 170) when he says that this is an admirable presentation of the pope's teachings, consecutive and luminous, and betrays an efficient theological training. Here and there, however, Mr. Dudden departs from the objective attitude which he has elsewhere rigorously observed, and injects conclusions and comments whose accuracy Catholic historical theologians will challenge, e. g. (II, 333), where he charges St. Gregory with "an inadequate conception of the perfection of our Lord's humanity, and an insufficient recognition of the claims of the Kenosis." Apart from this and some few other similar blemishes, the two chapters on "Gregory's Theology" and "Gregory's Doctrine of Man and the Means of Grace" offer to every theologian a model of equitable doctrinal statement couched in a diction at once pure, clear, and forcible. Would that we had a good number of Catholic writers who could, or would, deal similarly with other epoch-making Latin Fathers, e. g., Saint Ambrose and Saint Leo the Great!

Two fine indexes (pp. 445–470) close this work—one a general index of its contents, and the other a special index to the life, works, and doctrine of Gregory. The latter index is simply of incalculable utility; by means of it the entire personality of this pope is at the disposal of any student for any theme or purpose that it can illustrate.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

[2] Greg. M. Ep. XI, 64 (56 a). Cf. Mommsen, *Neues Archiv. f. alt. d. Geschichtskunde*, XVII, 390, 395; Duchesne, "Origines du Culte Chrétien" (1889), 93–94, also the English translation of the same (London, 1903), p. 100.

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Saint Francois de Borgia (1510–1572). Par Pierre Suau (Les Saints). Lecoffre: Paris, 1905. 8°, pp. 204.

Saint Colomban (ca. 540–615). Par l'abbé Eugene Martin (Les Saints). Lecoffre: Paris. 8°, pp. 199.

1. In some two hundred pages Fr. Suau has given us an excellent portrait of the third general of the Society of Jesus, to whom it owes so much of its marvelous success in the sixteenth century. Courtier, statesman and saint, this grandee of Spain occupies a foremost place in the political and religious history of his own time. Fr. Suau has restored him to his actual surroundings, and thus enables us to appreciate the causes and conditions of the influence which this saintly Borgia exercised in the large province of the generalate of the Society. His malodorous family name, remarks our author, attracts the world's attention in its italianized members, but very little is ever heard of the saint "who repaired the faults of his ancestors and rehabilitated their name." The narrative proper is based on the contemporary accounts of Vasquez (1586) and Ribadeneyra (1592), both of whom knew St. Francis, but neither of whom proceeded critically, though the latter is the more honest and sincere. In the next century Sacchini and Nieremberg made use of these lives, in different measure, the latter simply copying Vasquez, and even going so far as to suppress certain admissions of this author concerning Alexander VI. Toward the end of the seventeenth century appeared the lives of Verjus (1672) and of Bartoli, in 1702 that of Cienfuegos quite rich in documents, but over-rhetorical and exaggerated. Fr. Suau has been able to utilize the official Borgia correspondence in the archives of Simancas and at Paris—they reveal in the Viceroy of Catalonia and the Duke of Gandia quite another person from the one earlier biographers have depicted. The eighteen volumes of the register of the saint's generalate of the Society are yet in its Roman archives; other unedited documents in the same repository are capable of throwing new light on his religious life. Fr. Suau has also made good use of numerous documents in the "Monumenta Historica S. J." now being pubished by the Jesuits of Madrid. Unfortunately the private archives of the house of Gandia, belonging to the Dukes of Osuña, are yet inaccessible. It is our author's intention to carry on, with all sincerity, the preparation of a more complete and every way satisfactory life of Saint Francis—he admits frankly that he is yet ignorant of many matters and situations, a knowledge of which is needed to fully explain the career of a man in every way remarkable and influential.

2. St. Columbanus has always attracted the attention of French hagiographers—our readers will recall at once the eloquent pages

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of Montalembert, and perhaps those of Gorini in his "Défense de l'Eglise" from the misrepresentations of Henri Martin and others. In this small book the Abbé Eugène Martin treats with learning, historical skill and sympathy, our famous Irish saint who appears to him as "an original and even eccentric personality, in every way curious, striking, and characteristic of his race and time" (p. vi), and again as a "legislator of monasticism, an apostle of penance, the propagator of auricular confession and a rugged censor of princes and peoples" (p. 198). Of the admirable life of Columbanus by his disciple Jonas, Abbé Martin says that it holds "le premier rang parmi les beaux monuments hagiographiques du VII siècle." It needs to be read in connection with four other lives of Jonas—those of St. Attala, St. Eustasius, St. Fara and St. Bertulf—holy men of the same epoch in whom the spirit of Columbanus was transferred to mediæval France. Their text, originally edited by Mabillon and reprinted in Migne (PL. LXXXVII) is now scientifically established by the fine labors of Br. Krusch in the fourth volume of the "Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum" (Mon. Germ. Hist.). The writings and the letters of St. Columbanus have been used to good effect by our author—his work is indeed one "of good faith," and "serious documentation," "Elle est écrite," he says, "avec le seul souci de la verité, et si elle ne dissimule ni les défauts ni les fautes, elle s'efforce, par l'exposé loyal des circonstances, d'expliquer, sinon de justifier une conduite qui souvent, au premier abord, peut sembler inexplicable." The monasteries founded by Columbanus at Luxeuil, Fontanes and Bobbio, became in reality "seminaires universels" from which issued nearly all the brave apostles, preachers, reformers, and popular tribunes of this rude and lawless epoch in Gaul. While omitting no modern study of even slight importance, Abbé Martin has extracted from the original sources whatever could help to place before us this marvelous Irish civilizer of the Franks, Burgundians and Lombards.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher, in seiner neuen Fassung, dargelegt und rechtlich-historisch gewürdigt. Von Joseph Hilgers, S.J. Freiburg: Herder, 1904. 8°, pp. xxi + 638.

Among the commentaries called forth by the new (1900) "Index librorum prohibitorum" of Leo XIII, and his Brief "Officiorum ac Munerum" (1897), the work of Fr. Hilgers seems to be by far the most important, touching as it does on the numerous questions of canon law, moral theology and church history that are raised by the study of prohibitive ecclesiastical legislation concerning books.

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The reader will find here a lengthy and accurate description of the new legislation of Leo XIII, with reference to all its documents, then a brief history of the "Index" of forbidden books, an apology for the ecclesiastical legislation, a German translation of the new "Rules of the Index" with a commentary, a study on the relations of Catholic savants to these rules, a translation of the Bull of Benedict XIV, "Sollicita ac Provida," concerning the examination and condemnation of books, an account of the actual workings of the Congregation of the Index, chapters descriptive of the new "Index" in all its details, and of the books prohibited in the nineteenth century, a classification of condemned authors, an account of female condemned authors, a defence of the "Index" from the numerous attacks made on it in the last fifty years, and a chapter on "The Index and the Jesuits." Then follows a rare, and perhaps unique, account of book-censorship outside the Roman Church (pp. 206–402). Fr. Hilgers traces at great length the history of book-censorship in England, Holland, the Northern kingdoms, Switzerland, France, and Germany, needless to say with what edification and curious results. An "Index" of some kind has existed everywhere, and is yet among the "instrumenta regni" of every European government. Finally he has arranged in chronological order all the books in the new Index, from 1575 to 1900, and adds the works condemned from 1900 to 1903. This is a very serviceable piece of work, and will be highly appreciated by all who have occasion to look up the works actually prohibited. Fr. Hilgers adds to his book a long series of important documents, concerning the prohibition of books and the Congregation of the Index. The earliest papal documents date from 1479 and 1487. Some of the documents here printed pertain to earlier editions of the "Index librorum prohibitorum," some deal with the origins of the Congregation of the Index, and others concern certain special cases of condemnation. Notable among the latter, and here printed for the first time, is the Brief of Innocent XI (May 26, 1689) in favor of Cardinal Matteo Petrucci, whose pro-Quietistic writings had been condemned. After his due submission, the pope issued the aforesaid document for the purpose of protecting the Cardinal against any future inconvenience likely to result from his condemnation.

There are also (p. 574) two letters of filial submission from Rosmini (1849–1850), and an interesting tribute to the wisdom of the Index from Gioberti's "Introduzione allo studio della filosofia" (2d ed., 1844, I, 319). In spite of a certain lack of order and proportion, and an air of "miscellaneousness," and repetition, this work is very valuable for canonists and ecclesiastical historians. Its learning is

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extensive and richly "documented," its apologetic pages numerous and stocked with many good arguments and illustrations, its spirit equitable and generous. At the same time its rich material could well be recast into a smaller and more orderly book.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

De Dignitate et Officiis Episcoporum et Praelatorum. Tractatus canonico-moralés, cura et studio Fr. Joseph Calasanctii Cardinalis Vivès. Rome: Fr. Pustet, 1905. 8°, pp. 336.

It was in every way an admirable idea of Cardinal Vivès y Tuto to prepare for the special use of the Catholic episcopate a manual that should forever have its place clearly marked beside the numerous excellent modern manuals on the duties of the priesthood. The eminent author has executed his task with a fine tact, equalled only by the learning that all theologians have long admired in the author of admirable commentaries and compilations that deal with the Pater Noster, the Breviary, the Magnificat, Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, and other subjects of special ecclesiastical interest. While the order, office, and experience of this distinguished ecclesiastic would amply justify the direct discourse, he chooses to efface his personality behind the official utterances of the episcopate itself, the formal legislation of the Church, and the writings of holy and learned reformers. Several pages (33–44) are taken up with the admirable "Monita" of St. Bonaventure, taken from his work "De Sex Alis Seraphim." Then follow the "Admonitio" of the Ven. Robert Bellarmine, S.J., to his nephew, the Bishop of Teano, and the "Sermo" of St. Bernadine of Sienna "De Rectoribus et Prælatis vel pro Synodo." Other important considerations concerning the episcopal office are extracted (pp. 213–234) from the provincial councils of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The duties of metropolitans are illustrated (pp. 235–248) from the decrees of provincial councils in more recent times, to which are added the instructive admonitions of the Plenary Council of the South American Church held at Rome in 1899. The work opens appropriately with "Monita Generalia ad Prælatos utriusque Cleri," in thirty-two chapters. These pages (1–32) are a little encyclopedia of wise direction and suggestion, drawn from the writings of the Fathers, the saints, the doctors, and approved theologians of the Catholic Church, and disposed with all the art and compilatory skill that are peculiar to Cardinal Vivès. Perhaps the most serviceable element of a very serviceable book is the "Summula Canonum" (pp. 249–274), in which may be found a digest, under ninety appropriate rubrics, of positive ecclesiastical legislation concerning the ad-

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ministration of the bishop's office. For this alone the work of Cardinal Vivès will always be in demand, as offering what a mediæval compiler would call a "Speculum" or mirror of the supreme ecclesiastical theory and praxis concerning the administration of the Church, both spiritual and temporal. Over all the writings of Cardinal Vivès one might place the motto: *pietas docta.* So the work ends with a "Stimulus Quotidianus Prælatorum," a series of brief extracts from the fathers, the saints, the learned doctors and zealous reformers of the Church, arranged for every day in the year, and each one cast into the form of a tender petition to the Blessed Virgin. This encyclopedia of the bishop's office is in every sense a unique and important work, the fruit of vast reading, the flower of a pious life, the outcome of a long ecclesiastical experience that has got itself darkened by no cynicism or pessimism, but on the contrary has been sweetened constantly by that antique Christian charity which is never so well fed and developed as by the thoughtful reading of the Fathers and the canons, the writings of the saints, doctors, and theologians of Catholicism.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The History of England from the Norman Conquest to the Death of John (1066–1216). By George Burton Adams. New York: Longmans, 1905. Pp. 473.

"Seventy-five years have passed since Lingard completed his 'History of England' which ends with the Revolution of 1688. During that period historical study has made a great advance. Year after year the mass of materials for a new History of England has increased, new lights have been thrown on events and characters, and old errors have been corrected. Many notable works have been written on various periods of our history; some of them at such length as to appeal almost exclusively to professed historical students. It is believed that the time has come when the advance which has been made as a whole should be laid before the public in a single work of fairly adequate size."

In these words, prefixed to each of twelve volumes, prepared by different authors, the publishers justify their offer of a new political history of England. Except this study, by a Professor of Yale University, each volume of the proposed series is to be written by a British author. This work begins with the overthrow at Hastings of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. Its first chapter discusses concisely the subsequent events until the return in 1067 of William from Normandy. The author discriminates nicely the economic from the

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political phase of feudalism, and indicates clearly the outline of that system as it existed in England before the coming of the Normans. It is also made clear that the church was then subordinate to the civil authority and that in the confiscation which followed the conquest ecclesiastical institutions suffered severely. Though this section adds little to our knowledge of the period, the intelligent use of material and the extent of the author's information has enabled him to present his subject in a manner at once interesting and elegant.

It will surprise many readers to learn that the machinery of the jury was introduced into England by the first Norman king, and that it was used by him for the establishment of facts, such as the Domesday Book, and very probably in local cases arising in the courts. Elsewhere it is shown that by the Anglo-Saxon the institution was greatly developed. This is not so easy to understand, for a French speaking people then "filled the high places," and a new race, not strictly Anglo-Saxon, was springing from the union of conquerors and conquered. It is true that the formative stage was not yet over.

In discussing monasticism and learning the author says: "by degrees the land was covered by those vast monastic and cathedral churches which still excite our admiration and reveal to us the fact that the narrow minds of what we were once pleased to call the dark ages were capable, in one direction at least, of great and lofty conceptions." The Catholic reader seeing at the outset that he is reading the work of a sympathetic scholar will on this account be more likely to consider carefully the author's conjecture that Lanfranc influenced the council of Windsor to pass adversely upon the claim of York to a coordinate position with that of Canterbury by an extensive series of forgeries of which Lanfranc himself "was probably the author." We shall return later on to this charge made by Heinrich Böhmer in his "Fälschungen Lanfranks." (Leipzig, 1902.)

The points of view of Anselm and William Rufus in the unfortunate controversy which arose in the reign of that king are ably and candidly examined; so also is his attitude toward the Pope. The indifference of William to the first crusade is made no less evident than his interest in rounding out his kingdom and extending his authority over his Welsh and his Scottish neighbors. There is also in this section, what we do not remember to have seen before, an attempt to give more definiteness to those peculiar services by which Ranulf Flambard commended himself to the king and incurred the hostility of ecclesiastics.

The student of constitutional history will scarcely fail to be interested in the author's examination of the coronation charter of

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Henry I. All the circumstances which determined the character of that document are carefully noticed. In the long controversy between the king and Anselm over the question of investitures the point of view of both parties is made clear, as is the temporizing policy of the king and the determination of the churchman. The real concessions of Henry and the political conditions which forced him ultimately to compromise are fully related. A remarkably interesting paragraph shows the educational activity of the time.

From the Pipe Roll of 1130 the author is enabled to afford his reader a peep at the progress of public finance. It shows that as yet there was no distribution of the powers of government, but it shows also that even at that early date legislative and administrative functions were beginning to differentiate. This separation appears in the supervision of revenues by the *curia regis*, which marks the beginning of the exchequer. To the foreign policy and the feudal wars of Henry much space is devoted. To show his place as a statesman this was necessary.

The prosperity resulting from a generation of almost unbroken peace in Henry's reign was rudely interrupted by the long struggle between Stephen and Matilda. There is given in this part of the volume an excellent analysis of the character of the former, but, except as a striking example of the multitude of ills which follow in the train of civil war, there is little instruction to be found in examining the details of this reign. However, the chief consequence of this destructive contest, the growth of the church, is admirably set forth.

The succession of measures by which Henry II imposed order upon his turbulent barons is well described. At this point one expects some mention of the influence upon Irish civilization of the Danish invasion. Logically it forms an element of Strongbow's conquest, but chronologically its treatment belongs to the preceding volume. The famous Bull "Laudabiliter" the author believes to have been "merely a student's exercise in letter writing," a position that can no longer be held since the publication by Arthur Ua Clerigh of the text of that Bull as found in the Book of Leinster (*New Ireland Review*, March, 1906).

The controversy between Henry and St. Thomas is cleary traced as is also the trouble with his sons and the influence upon Henry's dominions of the growing power of Philip Augustus. The development of the judicial system is properly emphasized. Indeed, a more impartial and interesting narrative of the great reign of Henry II it would be difficult to find.

Except that they contain a better account of financial methods the

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chapters treating the reign of Richard I add little to our knowledge of that period. The great events of the succeeding epoch are very ably presented. The controversy between John and the Papacy is fully examined, and the concluding chapter makes clear the position of the Pope after John became his vassal, and his duty of supporting the King in the long struggle which culminated in the granting of Magna Charta.

In an appendix is given a critical account of the authors on whose works this volume is based. A good index and two excellent maps complete this instructive history. After what has been said in the preceding paragraph it is scarcely necessary to add that this is one of the most impartial and scholarly works upon English history that we have read. It is not improbable that the reader will regret that Professor Adams prepared but a single volume.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

Lourdes and Its Inhabitants, Its Pilgrims and Its Miracles. By Richard F. Clarke, S.J. New York: Benziger, 1905. 8°, pp. 224.

The story of Lourdes has been told in French by a number of able writers, by Lasserre, Boisserie, and above all by the Abbé Bertrin, whose "Histoire critique des événements de Lourdes" has already reached its ninth edition. The idea occurred to Fr. Clarke that a popular account of this wonder-working place of pilgrimage would be of interest and edification to English readers. His work, now republished in an American edition, has been warmly received, and deservedly so, for in the first five chapters he gives a highly interesting description of Lourdes, its pilgrims and miracles, based chiefly on information obtained at first hand from the local authorities and on his own personal observations. In his story there is much to edify. Even the religious sceptic cannot read it without being deeply impressed with the sincerity and generous charity that one sees at Lourdes. We are told of the annual pilgrimages that are gotten up by popular subscription for the benefit of the afflicted poor. We become acquainted with the noble spirited *hospitaliers* and *hospitalières*, men and women largely of wealth and culture, who generously volunteer to accompany the sufferers on their painful journey, and to minister to their many wants. The grotto is described with its adjoining baths into which flow the chill, healing waters, and above the grotto the splendid basilica, a striking monument to the generous devotion and gratitude of the faithful of many lands, glittering with precious votive offerings of every kind. We are edified to be told

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of the order, decorum, and spirit of unselfishness displayed within the precincts of the Basilica and Grotto where the Missionaries of the Immaculate Conception have jurisdiction. "Many things for which a charge might reasonably be made are perfectly gratuitous. To all, whether rich or poor, who desire to plunge into those sacred waters, the well kept baths are provided free of cost, with linen and all necessary appurtenances. Seats in the basilica are all free of cost. The various officials employed in and around the Grotto take no fees."

Father Clarke tells also of the great care exercised by the authorities at Lourdes to verify every extraordinary cure operated at the shrine before allowing it to be recorded. For this purpose there is on the grounds a "Bureau de Consultations" with an examining physician of wide experience, before whom those who have been benefited by the healing waters present themselves and are subjected to the most rigid scrutiny. They are expected to bring with them a certificate from their regular physician declaring the nature and period of the ailment, and even when the fact of the cure is recognized at the bureau, it is not recorded as such till another certificate from the home physician is sent some months afterward, establishing the permanency of the cure.

Father Clarke's discussion of the cures effected at Lourdes is temperate and judicious. He says that the number of pilgrims cured is, comparatively speaking, not large. "It is a great mistake to suppose that any large proportion of the sick who are brought to Lourdes are healed there. The percentage of those who are completely freed from their maladies there is very small indeed. I scarcely like to venture on any sort of conjectural average, but I imagine that if five per cent. of the sick are cured in any given pilgrimage, the average would be regarded as a very large one. Sometimes there are no cures at all."

Again, of those that return cured, the larger number have been freed from ailments of an hysterical character, ailments that are known to yield at times to strong mental suggestion, and hence not necessarily banished at Lourdes by miraculous power. But on the other hand the waters of Lourdes have effected some few cures that defy explanation on any known natural grounds and that our author confidently points to as undoubtedly miraculous. Such, for example, is the authenticated case of Marie Marcelin, a young woman from Marseilles, who came to Lourdes June 6, 1885, prostrated with an intense fever and suffering from an enormous ovarian tumor on the left side, and who was completely cured the next day after being let down twice into the healing waters.

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The last two chapters are devoted to the story of Bernadette Soubirous to whose curious visions Lourdes owes its world-wide fame.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

La Providence et le Miracle devant la Science Moderne. Par Gaston Sortais. Paris: Beauchesne et Cie, 1905. 8°, pp. 189.

Not quite three years ago, M. Gabriel Séailles, professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne, published a number of essays under the title, "Les affirmations de la conscience moderne." The volume was anti-catholic and anti-religious. It declared that dogmatic Christianity was dead beyond hope of resurrection. It asserted that the steady advance of positive science in the last three centuries has sapped the foundations of belief in a personal God and Providential Ruler of the world, and by demonstrating the universal reign of blind, physical, causation, discredited miracles as things impossible.

M. Gaston Sortais, formerly professor of philosophy in the College of St. Ignatius, Paris, has not allowed these statements to pass unchallenged. To the assertion that Christian dogmas are dead and buried, he has published a reply entitled, "Pourquoi les dogmes ne meurent pas." (Paris, 1905). To the further discomfiture of M. Séailles, he has brought out the volume under review, wherein he aims to disprove the sweeping assertions of the Sorbonne professor that modern positive science rejects belief in Providence and miracles. This aim the author keeps steadily in view throughout the book. Quick to detect the weak points in his adversary's line of thought, he exposes them with perfect control of temper, at the same time repeatedly delivering thrusts of keen sarcasm in which the Frenchman is so easily a master.

It is among those who cry out against Christian dogma that the most pronounced dogmatists are often to be found. To this class belongs M. Séailles. Setting himself up as a spokesman for the highest advocates of modern culture, he declares that the scientific world for the last three centuries has been coming to see more and more clearly, what it now recognizes beyond the shadow of doubt, that intelligent volition in the form of Divine Providence has absolutely nothing to say to the orderly working of the forces of nature, in a word, that belief in Providence is unscientific and superstitious.

Our author shows in the first chapter of his book how unwarranted this assertion is. His plan is simple but effective. He calls up those who have done most in the last three centuries to make modern science what it is, and by citing their own words, has them testify to their personal convictions regarding the existence of Divine Provi-

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dence. The outcome of the testimony is an overwhelming denial of the assertion of M. Séailles. Among the great thinkers and investigators of former times who expressed undoubted belief in Providence are Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Leibnitz, Newton, Lamarck, Ampère, Volta, Fresnel, Arago, Faraday, Laplace. The statement of the latter, often wrongly understood in an atheistic sense, that he had no need of the hypothesis of God, meant, as our author gives evidence to show, simply that our planetary system is not, as Newton thought, the immediate creation of God, but rather a divine creation by law, the result of a gradual development from a primal nebula. Arago is authority for the fact that Laplace, who died a good Christian, on learning shortly before his death that his saying had been quoted in a biographical work in a manner to imply his disbelief in divine guidance, requested to have the anecdote expunged, but in vain.

To this testimony of older scientists our author adds similar testimony of men illustrious in our own day for their contributions to the knowledge of nature,—Liebig, Robert Mayer, Heer, August de La Rive, Quatrefages, Pasteur, Faye, Lapparent. These and many other eminent scientists, more competent than M. Séailles to pronounce on the compatibility of theistic belief with modern scientific truths, have unhesitatingly proclaimed their belief in Divine Providence. A canvass made by Dr. Denner, in 1903, of the religious attitude of the scientific world showed that out of three hundred scientists consulted, only fifty-eight expressed doubt or disbelief in Divine Providence.

The rest of the book is devoted to the refutation of the dogmatism of M. Séailles on the unreality of miracles. While both science and philosophy, he maintains, tell against the very possibility of miracles, ther is, besides, not a single alleged miraculous event that can stand the test of scientific inquiry.

In opposition to this view, only too common in our day, our author, in chapters II and III, shows that miracles rightly understood, do not run counter either to sound science or to sound philosophy. He then proceeds in the last three chapters to establish the *fact* of miraculous intervention. He insists that a miraculous fact, like any other fact of history, is a matter of observation, and is made credible by the testimony of competent witnesses. But has any alleged miracle been verified by unimpeachable testimony? He answers, yes, and in the fifth chapter calls attention to the wonderful cures effected at Lourdes, the permanent school of supernatural wonders. Here ailments beyond the reach of hypnotic suggestion, pronounced incurable by medical experts of the highest authority, are suddenly cured after

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devout prayer and use of the water of Lourdes. The blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the palsied walk again.

A striking instance, verified by unquestionable medical authority, is offered in the well-known cure of the Belgian peasant, Pierre De Rudder. In 1867, he suffered a complicated fracture of both bones of the lower leg. The separated parts refused to mend. Suppuration set in, and after long and unsuccessful treatment, the surgeons advised amputation. To this drastic measure the patient was loath to submit, and in 1875, he set out with the hope of being miraculously cured, to the shrine of Notre Dame de Lourdes at Oostacker. At this time, as often as the bandages were removed, the lower part of his leg hung limp and dangling, and through a deep, running sore the ends of the bones could be seen. Three competent surgeons witnessed this shortly before his cure. While he was praying at the shrine, he discovered to his great joy that the limb which had been a grievous burden for eight years, had become firm and whole, so that he could walk without crutches. The broken bones had united, and only scars marked the places of the sores. He resumed his work as a peasant laborer, and died March 22, 1898. An autopsy showed both leg-bones firmly knit together where they had been fractured.

These facts have been attested by physicians of the highest repute. At a meeting of the medical society of Saint-Luc, in 1900, the case with the evidence was carefully set forth. It was the unanimous decision of the sixty-five members present that the cure was incontestably miraculous.

In the last chapter, our author argues that life on earth points to supernatural, and hence miraculous, intervention for its origin, since the only other possible alternative is spontaneous generation, which science is powerless to demonstrate. This is a good argument *ad hominem* for men like M. Séailles, but in the present volume too much confidence seems to be placed in it. At best, it gives but a high degree of probability, but may be destined to be overthrown with the further advance of scientific research.

The conclusion of the work has the following significant citation from the illustrious philosopher and scientist, Charles Renouvier:— "We do not know the limits of man's power over nature, nor can we set the boundary to the possibilities of natural forces. Above all, the idea which we have of these forces by no means authorizes us to go so far as to affirm that no supra-mundane will ever introduces any phenomenon that could not be produced by the spontaneous action of these forces of nature. . . . Thus neither reason nor what we

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know of natural laws obliges us to deny the possibility of miracles. Nor have we, further, the right to assert that we rid history of the miraculous in virtue of an unvarying experience, or that no miracle has thus far been firmly established."

Among the "notes justificatives" at the end, one would gladly miss the hackneyed tale of the misadventures of the Bathybius. In all things human we progress not without mistakes. This mistake scientists themselves were quick to recognize. Catholics in France can afford to be considerate in such matters, after the huge hoax perpetrated on them in the name of Diana Vaughan.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

What Catholics Have Done for Science. By Rev. Martin Brennan. New York: Benziger. Third Edition, 1905. 8°, pp. 204.

The motive that inspired this work, as the author informs us in the preface, was to refute two common misconceptions, the one "that when a man devotes himself to science, he must necessarily cease to be a Christian; and the other, that the Catholic Church is hostile to scientific progress." With this end in view, he attempts in thirty short chapters to give a hasty survey of the growth of the various branches of physical science and to show the important part that Catholic investigators have had in their development. It is surely to the credit of the reverend author that he has found time in the midst of his numerous parochial duties to compile a treatise of this kind. To compress a vast range of information into so small a compass and at the same time preserve a proper perspective was by no means an easy task. The appearance of the work in the third edition is evidence that it has commended itself to many readers; but even the well-disposed critic looks in vain for improvements that each successive edition ought to bring. A candid examination of its contents reveals, along with much that is indeed excellent, not a little that is sadly defective. The perspective is not always the best. Trivial remarks usurp the place that should belong to sentences pregnant with solid and useful information. Observe, for example, the waste of words involved in the following passage to express a very simple thought: —"All astronomers before Copernicus took the wrong road towards the true solution of the problem of celestial mechanics. Some traveled farther along the path than others, but all journeyed the same way. Copernicus, too, traveled quite a distance along the well-beaten path of error, but his eagle eye at length perceived the absence of the usual landmarks of simplicity and symmetry that nature never fails to post along the highway of truth. Hence, returning to the very beginning,

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he discovered the right road and journeyed a considerable distance along it. The great glory of Copernicus is to have found out and persevered in the right way" (p. 11).

Again, in the opening sentences on Geography we are gravely told that "Job, besides his extraordinarily correct astronomical views, gives interesting geographical details concerning parts of Asia and Africa." And this rare bit of information is followed by the less hazardous statement that "the ancient Phœnicians, Chinese, Egyptians, and Carthagenians had more or less extensive knowledge of neighboring territories" (p. 45).

One would expect that in so compendious a treatise the author would confine himself to what Catholics have done, not for pseudo-science, but for science. Yet the only specific thing told of Albertus Magnus is that "He believed that water was the most elementary of bodies, and nearer the soul of nature than any other substance." Of Basil Valentine we learn that "He introduced the use of antimony into medicine, and considered salt, sulphur, and mercury as the sole components of all metallic bodies." Van Helmont, to whom belongs "the merit of having introduced the term gas into chemistry," is noted among other things for having "looked upon water as the primary element of all things" (pp. 150–151).

In this treatise, where many inferior Catholic scientists are mentioned, one looks in vain for the names of eminent Catholic physicists and naturalists of our own day—Faye, Lapparent, Quatrefages, Nadaillac, Pasteur and others.

To one who has read, for example, Dr. Schantz's chapter on Galileo in his "Christian Apology," the author's treatment of the case cannot but appear one-sided and defctive. Nor does he do justice to the facts when speaking of the conflict between Genesis and Geology he says:—"There is the most perfect concord between geology and the cosmogony of the great Lawgiver. . . . The facts related by Moses are in absolute accord with the teachings of geology" (p. 180).

It is not a grateful task to expose these defects in a book written with the laudable ambition of giving a popular answer to a common form of malicious attack on the Church. But as it stands, its power for good is seriously crippled. Revised, it can be made a valuable contribution to popular apologetics.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

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Elements of Practical Pedagogy. By the Brothers of the Christian Schools. New York: La Salle Bureau of Supplies, 1905, pp. xx + 304.

All students of pedagogy will welcome the appearance of this little volume. It is not the work of a single author, nor does it deal with abstract theories of education. Its aim is eminently practical. The bulk of the work consists of a body of rules for the conduct of elementary schools, and while general principles are stated at times, they are dealt with in reference to their practical application. A justification of the principles of pedagogy is evidently no part of the purpose of the book. The chief value of the volume lies in the fact that it is a concise and detailed statement of the methods that are employed by the army of teachers that constitute the membership of this society.

To the Christian Brothers belongs the credit of having established the first normal school for the professional training of teachers in elementary schools. Their first normal institute was opened in 1685. All the members of the order were professionally trained before they began their work in the schoolroom. This seems very natural and necessary to us to-day but at the time the Christian Brothers founded their normal school professional training was not considered necessary for elementary teachers. Owing to the influence of the Protestant Reformation, the control of elementary schools had largely passed out of the hands of religious orders. The teachers in these schools were made up, in great part, "of church sextons, disabled soldiers, village cobblers, or various persons whose chief occupations were either sedentary or lasting for part of the year only."

The instruction in the Christian Brothers' normal schools was not confined to theory. They incorporated into the normal schools primary schools where the candidates were given an opportunity to observe the work of model teachers and an opportunity to practice the art of teaching under a master's eye. The Christian Brothers were also the first to introduce our present grade system and the method of class recitation.

These features gave to the Christian Brothers' schools a superiority over all other elementary schools of the period, and account, in a measure, for the rapid spread of the institute. In 1719, thirty-five years after the foundation of the order, there were twenty-seven houses and two hundred and seventy-four Brothers. At the end of the eighteenth century there were one hundred and twenty-two houses and eight hundred Brothers. During the following century the Christian Brothers spread into almost every country of Christendom.

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Normal school training, practice teaching, the class method of recitation, and the grade system, which are now universally recognized as essential features of a primary school system, were very slow in meeting with general recognition. The educational ideals of St. Jean Baptiste de la Salle were set forth in "The Conduct of Schools" published in 1720. The institute received Papal approbation in 1724. Religious teaching was of course the most characteristic feature of these schools. Instruction was conducted chiefly in the vernacular. All the branches of an elementary secular education were included in the curriculum. The schools were conducted for the children of the poor and tuition was free. The life of heroic self-sacrifice led by the Brothers of the Christian schools in the cause of Christian education can be adequately rewarded only by Him who said: "Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

At a time like the present, when the cry is going up everywhere against the effeminization of our elementary public schools, and when serious-minded people in all parts of the country are endeavoring to find some means of introducing the teaching of religion and morality into our public schools, no educator, whether he be Catholic or Protestant, can fail to be interested in the methods which have been so successfully employed in the schools conducted by this splendid organization of men teachers.

"The Conduct of Schools" has rendered the ideas and methods of St. Jean Baptiste de la Salle and his disciples more or less familiar to all students of education. But the Christian Brothers are eminently a progressive body. Their professional study does not terminate with their graduation from the normal institute. A part of their time throughout their whole teaching career is religiously devoted to the study of theoretical and practical pedagogy and to the subjects which they teach. It was to be expected, therefore, that they should have taken advantage of every advance made in pedagogical science and in the group of allied sciences on which pedagogy rests. This has rendered it very desirable indeed that we should have a fresh statement of the theories and methods which are at present employed in these schools.

The present little volume of three hundred pages is far from doing justice to the important contributions to pedagogy made by the Brothers of the Christian schools in the past; it is just as far from giving an adequate idea of their present attitude on many of the questions which are occupying the attention of educators. The book, in fact, gives the impression of being a synopsis of a pedagogical library rather than a treatise on any one phase of education. The wide range

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of subjects touched upon renders the treatment almost catechetical in its brevity and leaves no room for the development of any one theme or for the discussion of principles. This may have its advantages for the members of the order, but it is likely to lead to many misunderstandings on the part of those who are unfamiliar with the spirit and the work of the Brothers of the Christian schools.

The wide range of subjects touched upon and the necessary meagerness of treatment, may readily be gathered from the divisions and chapters. Part I, "Education," is condensed into thirty pages, divided into the following seven chapters: (1) General Considerations on Education, (2) Physical Education, (3) Intellectual Education, (4) Education of the Moral Sensibility, (5) Training of Conscience, (6) Education of the Will, (7) Religious Education. A volume on any one of these chapters would be a very acceptable contribution to Catholic pedagogy. The matter touched upon in these seven chapters would be very condensed if treated in a thousand pages instead of thirty. Part II, "The School and its Organization," is dealt with in seventeen pages divided into three chapters: (1) Material organization, (2) School Attendance, (3) Rules Relating to Good Education and General Order. These two parts of the book consist of a series of definitions and categorical statements, which, however convenient as a guide to the young teacher, will not illumine nor satisfy the mind of the student of education.

Part III, "Organization of Teaching," is by far the most interesting and valuable part of the work. It occupies thirty-five pages, divided into eight chapters: (1) General Considerations of Teaching, (2) Divisions and Programs, (3) Time Tables, (4) Official Registers and Pupils' Exercise Books, (5) Modes and Methods of Teaching, (6) General Processes of Teaching, (7) The Oral Lesson, (8) Exercises of Memory. With the exception of twenty-eight pages at the end of the book devoted to discipline, the remainder of the book is occupied with special methods on thirteen different subjects each one of which, if adequately expanded, would require a separate volume.

The minute details that are entered into in the body of rules which make up the greater part of this volume are likely to impress the casual reader unfavorably. They would seem, at first sight, to render the teachers mere automata without individuality or freedom. Such an idea, however, would be dispelled by a careful study of the little volume, for in many passages it is made evident that the teachers are expected to continue their professional studies, to read and profit by the current literature, to do their own thinking on educational matters, and to defend their views freely in the teachers' conferences

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which are a regular feature of the Brothers' schools. In speaking of these conferences, on page eighty-two, the following passage occurs: "The conference generally comprises the reading of a paper on a subject proposed beforehand, followed by the discussion of this paper, and by a practical lesson. The secretary of the conference makes a brief note of the work done, the criticism of the lesson, and the leading points in the discussion. A pedagogical paper should be arranged didactically, and have literary form and simplicity. Its chief merit ought to be accuracy of view and practical character of conclusions. After the reading a courteous discussion begins; everyone present is perfectly free to give his opinion, and to point out what he thinks particularly good in the work, as well as the points on which he does not agree with the author. The latter defends his opinion, if the arguments of his apponents do not convince him. The president then summarizes the observations and gives his own judgment."

Again, the detailed rules and directions for the memorizing of texts might easily lead one to suppose that these teachers practice the "cramming system." This impression, however, would be corrected by referring to page ten, from which we quote the following excellent advice: "Lest the verbal memory be developed at the expense of the intellective, bring the lessons within the capacity of the children who are to learn them; and never present portions of a text-book for study until the ideas and words have been fully explained. Never encumber the memory by trying to enrich it, but aim at order, choice, and suitability in the lessons given and the studies which follow them; deduce from the mass of details the general ideas which coordinate and summarize them."

The spirit of the Christian Brothers' schools finds expression in the brief article on the "End of Teaching," p. 48: "Instruction is a precise and systematized body of knowledge which the pupil assimilates by personal work: *precise,* for no one is an instructed man who has only vague, obscure, incomplete ideas of things; *systematized,* for to know properly is to know things in their causes, and consequently to link together in the mind principles and consequences, laws and the phenomena; *assimilated,* for true knowledge is nothing artificial, applied to the mind from without or simply stored in the memory, but it consists of systems of truths that become an integral part of the mind, and are organized in it to become as active as itself. However important instruction may be, it is much less so than the education of the faculties; for, 'the moulding of the mind is more important than its progress.' The school should prepare its pupils, not for examinations and competitions, but for life. Now, it is not

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the man who has most knowledge who—other things being equal—is best fitted for entering a certain career and succeeding in it; it is rather the man who is quick in taking hold of ideas, seeing what they lead to, and then making use of his own experience, and that of others. In other words, it is not 'crammed' heads but *trained* ones that do the best and most practical thinking."

All who are interested in Catholic education will be particularly glad to welcome this little volume. It is as modest and unpretentious as the Brothers who have produced it, and in its own way as efficient. We notice with pleasure that a fuller development of the subjects here touched upon will be given in a work which is soon to appear. Let us hope that this is but the beginning of a series of volumes on pedagogy by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. We are in sad need of a Catholic literature on pedagogy in English, and there are few amongst us who are better fitted than the Christian Brothers to contribute to it. Teaching is with them a vocation; they devote their lives to it with intelligence and zeal, and they have back of them a glorious record of success.

THOMAS EDWARD SHIELDS.

The Use of the Scriptures in Theology. The Nathaniel William Taylor Lectures for 1905 given before the Divinity School of Yale University, by William Newton Clarke, D.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Colgate University. New York: Scribners, 1906. 8°, pp. 170.

The first of the four lectures contained in this volume is devoted to a statement of the problem which confronts the theologian when he attempts to use the Scriptures for the construction of Christian theology. "To-day there is a scholarly view of the Bible and there is a popular view of the Bible and they are an appalling distance apart" (p. 6). Criticism puts many of the books of the Bible in a different chronological order; an inductive study of several books proposes a new answer regarding their origin, authorship and literary character. These questions become therefore very pertinent—"Must modern knowledge be silent in the presence of sacred tradition, or must sacred tradition give way in the presence of modern knowledge? Or how are the genuine values in both to be preserved?" (p. 8). In the second lecture the author presents and expounds the principle by which he is confident the genuine values in sacred tradition and in modern knowledge can be preserved. In the third and fourth lectures, he gives us the results negative and positive, destructive and constructive, which are obtained by the application of his rule to

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many doctrines which he considers to be embodied in the sacred tradition.

The problem of the writer is of necessity a relative one. Such expressions as "in Protestant theology," "it has been generally held by Protestants" indicate that his purpose is to direct Protestants towards a solution of the problem or rather combination of problems which have arisen from the new studies concerning the Scriptures. However, even this limited purpose does not permit such inaccuracies as the following "*all through the history of Christian theology* there have been claims underlying or distinctly formulated" based upon the assumption that "the Bible is the sole and sufficient rule of faith" (p. 38). To Christian theology, before the rise of Protestantism, such claims were unknown. Or again, it is not the whole truth to say that "if with our generation we have occasion to inquire what Christianity is, we shall meet with this reply, that Christianity is the sum total of the Biblical teaching, which alone is authorized teaching" (p. 40). In our own generation this same historic Christian theology without minimizing or contradicting the Scriptures, recognizes other sources and another rule of faith.

We take, therefore, this exception to the book that it regards the Protestant position as the sole historic Christian position. In consequence it presents against rationalistic and infidel interpretations of the "modern knowledge," as a final statement of "sacred tradition," views which are at least not complete, nor, we venture to think, the strongest which could be formulated.

For example, take the doctrine of inspiration. Under the stress of a distorted theory of inspiration the Bible, and especially the Old Testament, made many contributions to Protestant theology which in the face of modern knowledge cannot stand. But does it follow that the rejection of these theological deductions necessitates the rejection of the inspiration of the Scriptures? Would it not be sufficient to reject this extreme theory of inspiration which gave them birth? The sacred tradition, the real sacred tradition, the dogmatic fact of inspiration, is not compromised by the failure of any and every theory that is formulated to explain its nature or define its extent. More accurate historical scholarship and more balanced theological judgment would, therefore, substitute the phrase, *a one-time theory of inspiration,* when we are told that "*the doctrine of inspiration* is untenable," that "if we ground theology on this doctrine we cannot build safely," that "by it theology is burdened with a doctrine that cannot be proved. Since the problem is thus misstated or at best only partially stated, its solution is hardly of permanent value.

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The principle proposed to solve the problem is "that Christian theology is only required and permitted to use the Christian elements in the Bible (p. 50), in which the author understands "Christian" as that "which enters into or accords with the view of divine realities which Jesus Christ revealed." One may fairly ask—does not this ultimately require a determination of the very point at issue? What are the Christian elements? All Christians admit that "the view of God and life brought into effect by Jesus Christ is true, and that it must bring into theology all truth which it implies and exclude all doctrine that cannot live with it in spiritual harmony." But does not this leave the question where it was before? Where can one find the authoritative statement of Jesus' view of God? Who is to determine the truths that it implies or the doctrines that cannot live with it in spiritual harmony? The failure of this principle, its large subjectivity, its hidden dogmatism, all appear when the author attempts to apply it to various theological doctrines.

He had said that even the Apostles variously interpreted the Master beyond any hope of present day harmonization of their teachings (p. 83). In spite of this, he assures us (p. 161) with a naïve optimism that by the application of his principle (than which "there is scarcely anything that the Christian world needs more" union is nevertheless possible. "We must only think with Christ." Though the Apostles drew from the experience of an intimate life with the Master, though they were guided by a special Pentecostal illumination of the Holy Spirit, nevertheless, we are told they hopelessly and substantially diverged in their presentation of Jesus' view of God. They did not think with Christ. The future union of Christianity is beyond the realm of faintest hope, even with the acceptance of Professor Clarke's "plain and unambiguous" principle, if this supposition were verifiable.

With a vagueness which is characteristic of his constructive portions at one time he looks forward to a day "that will eliminate all differences and establish for theology undying oneness" (p. 82), "in the everlastingness of that which cannot be removed" (p. 96); at another time, he feels "it would not be a Christian thing to propose a standard that can stand the test of uniformity" (pp. 74 sq. 78, 136–7). Such wavering between desire for unity and concessions to diversity, between the inevitableness of diversity and the necessity of unity, could hardly be found except in one who had a preconceived fear lest the logical need of a visible authority be too clearly forced upon his readers (cf. pp. 138–9).

"Formerly," he says, "theology was expected to interpret the

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Scriptures into assertion of a scheme of thought, accepted in advance as representative of their teachings." We agree that this "a priori" method, by whomsoever employed, is rightfully censured as "not a high one" and as "putting theology at a serious moral disadvantage." In truth it appears to be fairly descriptive of the process which the author himself employs. If the Bible does not teach *his* theology, it teaches thereby a non-Christian theology which must be abandoned.

He inveighs against the disadvantages that attend the interpretation of a book with which it is our duty to agree. For in such circumstances, he fears, "the surest and shortest way is to make the book agree with us." Hence, he concludes that "we must seek honorable exemption from the strong temptation to make the Scriptures agree with us." His solution, however, as he exemplifies it in the latter lectures, is not more desirable. He does not make the book agree with him, but—doubtless a shorter way—he simply refuses to consider as authoritative and Christian whatever portions of the Bible are out of harmony with his preconceived scheme of thought. This is perhaps "exemption from the strong temptation," but at what a cost!

He would formulate his own interpretation of "Jesus' view of God" and with this standard accept those parts of the Scriptures which conform to his ideas, excluding all else which does not thus conform. The Bible is for him merely a collection of writings, that contain more divine elements than any other writings. These writings, "Scripturæ Sacræ," however, are not divine in such way that we must accept their evident and explicit teaching if it does not coincide with our interpretation of Christ's doctrine. This remains true even though there be Apostolic assurance in the Scriptures themselves that the teaching therein contained is in "spiritual harmony" with Jesus' view of God. The Bible is for him an authority only when it confirms what he chooses to accept.

On the whole the author fails to grasp the vital character of Christian theology, the real nature of an historical Christianity ever developing with renewed life, accepting some and rejecting others of the many tentative views advanced to express Christianity in terms of, or in relation with, the constantly increasing sum of human knowledge. The real status of a theological opinion is not immediately determined, but its ultimate rejection does not mean the simultaneous rejection of the broader Christian truth which it attempted to express, perhaps in greater detail, or from a new point of view. So much for the sacred tradition. Besides this there is need to notice that between facts and the interpretation of facts the divergency may be considerable. If the "modern knowledge" puts forward new facts for consideration, this

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does not require us to accept as fact the accompanying interpretations. This is exactly the work of criticism, to test, weigh, differentiate. But if it would endure, if it would live, criticism must preserve a vital connection with the historical Christian truths, it must be consistently Christian.

JOSEPH LYNCH EARLY.

Bishop Gore and the Catholic Claims. By Dom John Chapman, O.S.B. New York: Longmans, 1905. 8°, pp. 124.

One of the ablest exponents of the High Church movement or Anglicanism is Bishop Charles Gore, formerly bishop of Worcester, last year appointed to the newly created see of Birmingham. Bishop Gore is the author of a popular work entitled "Roman Catholic Claims," the object of which is to vindicate the Anglican position as a rational and consistent form of Catholicity, having as good a right to call itself one, holy, catholic, and apostolic, as the Church of Rome. While avoiding anything like an acrimonious tone of controversy, he has been led in the course of his argument to criticise certain features of the Church of Rome. Since its first appearance in 1888, the work has gone through eight editions. Its appearance last year in a ninth six-penny edition has given occasion to the production of Dom Chapman's pamphlet as a corrective to Dr. Gore's popular, misleading treatise. It takes up the latter chapter by chapter, and in a courteous, temperate tone, shows where the bishop has missed the mark in his criticisms of Rome, at the same time gently emphasizing the many points on which the Anglican and the Catholic find themselves in friendly accord. It is an able rejoinder to Bishop Gore's reasons for holding aloof from the Roman Catholic Church, and may go far towards solving the difficulties of doubting Anglicans.

CHARLES F. AIKEN.

Elizabeth Seton, Foundress of the American Sisters of Charity, Her Life and Work. By Agnes Sadlier. New York: D. and J. Sadlier & Co. 2d ed., 1 vol. 12°, illust., pp. 289.

For American Catholics there will ever be an interest in Elizabeth Seton, foundress of an American religious community, and perhaps soon to be one of America's saints. Born and educated in the aristocratic New York society of the close of the eighteenth century, with the advantages of wealth and family connection, she added to these a character that needed only the blessing of faith for its full and harmonious development. Even in her earlier days as a Protestant

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we can perceive the germ of that spiritual insight so evident in later years in the foundation and government of her congregation. This congregation has become an important part of our national life. Yet how many Americans, Catholics or Protestants, know its history? Perhaps even of those who have experienced its benefits, many could tell hardly more than the name of the school or asylum or hospital which in their minds is identified with it. And yet in the East it has been prominent for nearly a hundred years. Since its foundation the country has been visited with several epidemics of disease, and not a few great wars, in all which the Sisters of Charity have done far more than their share of the work among the stricken, while their efforts in the cause of higher female education have been eminently successful.

It was the consciousness of this which, hardly more than a quarter of a century after her death, induced Dr. White of Maryland to undertake his well-known—we may say standard—biography. But even after the somewhat reduced second edition, there still remained room for a "Life" that would be at once neither too detailed for attractiveness nor to brief for accuracy. With the publication of Mrs. Sadlier's little work the need has ceased to exist, and so quickly has that fact been recognized that already the work has reached a second edition. Like the older biographer, but with a more tempered generosity she has allowed her subject to tell her own story as far as possible. Quotations from the journals, letters, etc., of Mother Seton, and the testimonies of those nearest to her during her life, form a large part of the book, and the resulting narrative is most beautiful. The selections from her writings intended to illustrate her grasp of "the things of the kingdom of Heaven" have been carefully made—and an idea of the difficulty and self-restraint requisite for this may be obtained when we recall that a passage like the following is but one of many such that the author might have included in her book:

"I once read, or heard, that an interior life meant but the continuation of our Savior's life in us; that the great object of all His mysteries, was to merit us the grace of this interior life, and communicate it to us, it being the end of His mission to lead us into the sweet land of promise—a life of constant union with Himself. And what was the first rule of our dear Savior's life? You know it was to do His Father's will. Well then, the first end I propose in our daily work, is to do the will of God; secondly, to do it in the manner He wills it; and thirdly, to do it because it is His will. I know what His will is, by those who direct me; whatever they bid me do, be it ever so small in itself, is the will of God for me. Then, do it in the manner He wills it, not sewing an old thing as if it were new, or a new thing as if it were old; not fretting because

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the oven is too hot, or too cold. You understand, not flying, and driving, because you are hurried, or creeping like a snail because no one pursues you. Our dear Savior was never in extremes. The third end is to do this will because God wills it; that is, to be ready to leave our work at any moment, and take up anything else we may be called to" (quoted on p. 187).

In fact, whether as an important figure in the history of the Church in this country, or as a model for those of her compatriots who are trying to walk in the footsteps of the Master, a history of this saintly woman has great value—for the second reason no less than for the first. For in these days, when "the strenuous life" is mistaken for activity, and allowed to usurp the place of that quiet which is alone the atmosphere of progress (religious or otherwise), it would be well for us to look back upon those great pioneers of the faith in our land, persons like Cardinal Cheverus, Archbishop Carroll, Bishop Bruté and Mrs. Seton, who, in the midst of a very active existence, took care to vivify their work with the spirit of those "whose lives are hid with Christ in God." American Catholics of the twentieth century could hardly do better than revert to this primitive type.

EDWIN RYAN.

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PIUS X. ON THE STUDY OF SCRIPTURE IN ECCLESIASTICAL SEMINARIES.

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE.

SS. D. NOSTRI PII DIV. PROV. PAPAE X, DE RATIONE STUDIORUM SACRAE SCRIPTURAE IN SEMINARIIS CLERICORUM SERVANDA.

PIUS PP. X.

Ad Perpetuam Rei Memoriam.

Quoniam in re biblica tantum est hodie momenti, quantum fortasse nunquam antea, omnino necesse est, adolescentes clericos scientia Scripturarum imbui diligenter; ita nempe, ut non modo vim rationemque et doctrinam Bibliorum habeant ipsi perceptam et cognitam, sed etiam scite probeque possint et in divini verbi ministerio versari, et conscriptos Deo afflante libros ab oppugnationibus horum hominum defendere, qui quidquam divinitus traditum esse negant. Propterea in Litt. Encycl. *Providentissimus* recte decessor Noster illustris edixit: "Prima cura sit, ut in sacris Seminariis vel Academiis sic omnino tradantur divinae Litterae quemadmodum et ipsius gravitas disciplinae et temporum necessitas admonent." In eamdem autem rem haec Nos, quae magnopere videntur profutura, praescribimus:

I. Sacrae Scripturae praeceptio, in quoque Seminario impertienda, ista complectatur oportet: primum, notiones de inspiratione praecipuas, canonem Bibliorum, textum primigenium potissimasque versiones, leges hermeneuticas; deinde historiam utriusque Testamenti; tum singulorum, pro cuiusque gravitate, Librorum analysim et exegesim.

II. Disciplinae biblicae curriculum in totidem annos partiendum est, quot annos debent alumni Ecclesiae intra Seminarii septa commorari ob sacrarum disciplinarum studia: ita ut, horum studiorum emenso spatio, quisque alumnus id curriculum integrum confecerit.

III. Magisteria Scripturae tradendae ita constituentur, quemadmodum cuiusque Seminarii conditio et facultates ferent: ubique tamen cavebitur, ut alumnis copia suppetat eas res percipiendi, quas ignorare sacerdoti non licet.

IV. Quum ex una parte fieri non possit, ut omnium Scripturarum accurata explicatio in schola detur, ex altera necesse sit omnes divinas Litteras sacerdoti esse aliquo pacto cognitas, praeceptoris erit,

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peculiares et proprios habere tractatus seu *introductiones* in singulos Libros, eorumque historicam auctoritatem, si res postulaverit, asserere, ac analysim tradere: qui tamen aliquanto plus, quam in ceteris, in eis Libris immorabitur ac Librorum partibus, quae graviores sunt.

V. Atque is ad Testamentum vetus quod attinet, fructum capiens ex iis rebus, quas recentiorum investigatio protulerit, seriem actarum rerum, quasque hebraeus populus cum aliis Orientalibus rationes habuit, edisseret; legem Moysi summatim exponet; potiora vaticinia explanabit.

VI. Praesertim curabit, ut in alumnis intelligentiam et studium Psalmorum, quos divino officio quotidie recitaturi sunt, excitet; nonnullosque Psalmos exempli causâ interpretando, monstrabit, quemadmodum ipsi alumni suapte industria reliquos interpretentur.

VII. Quod vero ad novum Testamentum, presse dilucideque docebit, quatuor Evangelia quas habeant singula proprias tanquam notas, et quomodo authentica esse ostendantur; item totius evangelicae historiae complexionem, ac doctrinam in Epistolis ceterisque Libris comprehensam exponet.

VIII. Singularem quandam curam adhibebit in iis illustrandis utriusque Testamenti locis, qui ad fidem moreque christianos pertinent.

IX. Illud semper, maxime vero in novi Testamenti expositione meminerit, suis se praeceptis conformare eos, qui postea voce et exemplo vitae erudire ad sempiternam salutem populum debeant. Igitur inter docendum commonefacere discipulos studebit, quae sit optima via Evangelii praedicandi: eosque ex occasione ad exequenda diligenter Christi Domini et Apostolorum praescripta alliciet.

X. Alumni, qui meliorem de se spem facient, hebraeo sermone et graeco biblico, atque etiam, quoad eius fieri possit, aliqua alia lingua semitica, ut syriaca aut araba, erunt excolendi. "Sacrae Scripturae magistris necesse est atque theologos addecet, eas linguas cognitas habere, quibus libri canonici sunt primitus ab agiographis exarati, easdemque optimum factu erit si colant alumni Ecclesiae, qui praesertim ad academicos theologiae gradus aspirant. Atque etiam curandum, ut omnibus in Academiis de ceteris item antiquis linguis, maxime semiticis, sint magisteria." (Litt. Encycl. *Providentissimus*).

XI. In Seminariis, quae iure gaudent academicos theologiae gradus conferendi, augeri praelectionum de Sacra Scriptura numerum; altiusque propterea generales specialesque pertractari quaestiones, ac biblicae vel archeologiae, vel geographiae, vel chronologiae, vel theologiae, itemque historiae exegesis plus temporis studiique tribui oportebit.

XII. Peculiaris diligentia in id insumenda erit, ut secundum leges

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a Commissione Biblica editas, delecti alumni ad academicos Sacrae Scripturae gradus comparentur: quod quidem ad idoneos divinarum Litterarum magistros Seminariis quaerendos non parum valebit.

XIII. Doctor Sacrae Scripturae tradendae sanctum habebit, nunquam a communi doctrina ac Traditione Ecclesiae vel minimum discedere: utique vera scientiae huius incrementa, quaecumque recentiorum sollertia peperit, in rem suam convertet, sed temeraria novatorum commenta negliget: idem eas dumtaxat quaestiones tractandas suscipiet, quarum tractatio ad intelligentiam et defensionem Scripturarum conducat: denique rationem magisterii sui ad eas normas diriget, prudentiae plenas, quae Litteris Encyclicis *Providentissimus* continentur.

XIV. Alumni autem quod scholae praelectionibus ad hanc assequendam disciplinam deerit, privato labore suppleant oportet. Quum enim particulatim omnem enarrare Scripturam magister prae angustiis temporis non possit, privatim ipsi, certo ad hanc rem constituto spatio in dies singulos, veteris novique Testamenti attentam lectionem continuabunt; in quo optimum factu erit, breve aliquod adhiberi commentarium, quod opportune obscuriores locos illustret, difficiliores explicet.

XV. Alumni in disciplina biblica, ut in ceteris theologiae, quantum nimirum e scholae praelectionibus profecerint, periculum subeant, antequam ex una in aliam classem promoveri et sacris ordinibus initiari possint.

XVI. Omnibus in Academiis quisque, candidatus ad academicos theologiae gradus, quibusdam de Scriptura quaestionibus, ad *introductionem* historicam et criticam, itemque ad exegesim pertinentibus, respondebit; atque experimento probabit, satis se interpretationis gnarum ac hebraei sermonis graecique biblici scientem.

XVII. Hortandi erunt divinarum Litterarum studiosi, ut, praeter interpretes, bonos lectitent auctores, qui de rebus cum hac disciplina coniunctis tractant; ut de historia utriusque Testamenti, de vita Christi Domini, de Apostolorum, de itineribus et peregrinationibus Palestinensibus: ex quibus facile locorum morumque biblicorum notitiam imbibent.

XVIII. Huius rei gratiâ, dabitur pro facultatibus opera, ut modica conficiatur in quoque Seminario bibliotheca, ubi volumina id genus alumnis in promptu sint.

Haec volumus et iubemus, contrariis quibusvis non obstantibus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die XXVII Martii anno MDCCCCVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

L. + S. A. CARD. MACCHI.

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[TRANSLATION.]

The Biblical Question has, perhaps, never been of such importance as it is to-day, and it is therefore absolutely necessary that young clerics should be assiduously trained in the knowledge of the Scriptures, so that they may not only know and understand the force and character and teaching of the Bible, but that they may be skilfully and rightly trained in the ministry of the Divine Word, and able to defend the books written by the inspiration of God from the attacks of those who deny that anything has been divinely handed down to us. To this end Our illustrious Predecessor in his encyclical "Providentissimus" decreed: "Let the greatest care be taken in ecclesiastical seminaries and academies to have the sacred Scriptures taught in a manner befitting the importance of this study and the necessity of the present moment." On this same subject, then We now lay down the following rules which We regard as of the greatest utility:

I.—The instruction in Sacred Scripture to be imparted in every seminary should embrace: first, the principal ideas concerning inspiration, the canon of the Scripture, the original text and the most important variants, the laws of hermeneutics; secondly, the history of both Testaments; and, thirdly, the analysis and exegesis of the different books according to the importance of each.

II.—The curriculum of Biblical studies is to be divided over the entire period during which ecclesiastical students pursue their course of sacred studies within the walls of the seminary; so that when the course is finished each student may have gone through the entire curriculum.

III.—The Chairs of Scripture are to be filled according to the condition and the means of the different seminaries, but always in such a way that no student shall be deprived of the means of learning those things of which a priest may not lawfully be ignorant.

IV.—Since, on the one hand, it is not possible to have a detailed exposition of the whole of Scripture given in school, and, on the other, it is necessary that the whole of Scripture should be in some sense known to the priest, the professor shall take care to have special treatises or introductions for each of the books, to prove their authority, when occasion requires, to teach the analysis of them, but he will, at the same time, dwell at greater length on the more important Books and parts of Books.

V.—With regard to the Old Testament, he will make use of the latest results of research in illustrating the history of the Hebrew people and their relations with other Oriental nations; he will treat of the main features of the Mosaic Law; and he will explain the principal prophecies.

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VI.—He will take especial pains to imbue his students with zeal to study and understand those psalms which they recite daily in the Divine Office; he will select some of those psalms for interpretation in order to show by way of example the method to be followed by the students in their private studies to interpret the others.

VII.—Treating of the New Testament, he will explain briefly and clearly the special characteristics of each of the four gospels, and the proofs of their authenticity: he will also illustrate the general character of the entire gospel story, and the doctrine contained in the Epistles and the other Books.

VIII.—He will pay special attention in treating of those parts of both Testaments, which concern Christian faith and morals.

IX.—He will always remember, especially in treating of the New Testament, to conform to the precepts he explains those who are afterwards by their words and their example to teach the people the doctrine of salvation. He will, therefore, in the course of his instruction explain to his students the best way of preaching the gospel, and will stimulate them, as occasion may offer, to observe diligently the commands of the Lord Christ and the Apostles.

X.—The more promising students are to be instructed in the Hebrew tongue, in Biblical Greek, and whenever possible, in some other Semitic language, such as Syriac or Arabic. "It is necessary for Professors of Scripture, and it is becoming in theologians to know those languages in which the canonical books were originally written by the hagiographs, and it is of the greatest importance that these languages should be studied by ecclesiastical students, and especially by such of them as aim at obtaining academical degrees in theology. And efforts should be made to have chairs in all academies for other ancient languages, and especially the Semitic." (Encyclical, "Providentissimus.")

XI.—In seminaries which enjoy the right of conferring academical degrees it will be necessary to increase the number of lectures on Sacred Scripture, and consequently to go more deeply into general and special questions, and to devote more time and study to biblical exegesis, archæology, geography, chronology, theology and history.

XII.—Special diligence is to be shown in preparing select students for the academical degrees in Sacred Scripture according to the rules laid down by the Biblical Commission—a matter of no small importance for securing suitable Professors of Scripture for the seminaries.

XIII.—Every Doctor in Sacred Scripture will be most careful never to swerve in the least in his teaching from the doctrine and tradition of the Church; he will of course make use of the real addi-

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tions to our knowledge which modern research supplies, but he will avoid the rash commentaries of innovators; so, too, he will confine himself to the treatment of those questions which contribute to the elucidation and defence of the Sacred Scriptures; and finally he will be guided in his plan of teaching by those rules, full of prudence, contained in the Encyclical "Providentissimus."

XIV.—Students should endeavor to make up by private study what the schools fail to supply in this branch of sacred learning. As lack of time will render it impossible for the professor to go over the whole of Scripture in detail, they will by themselves devote a certain portion of time every day to a careful perusal of the Old and New Testaments—and in this they will be greatly helped by the use of some brief commentary to throw light on obscure passages and explain the more difficult ones.

XV.—Students are to undergo an examination in Scripture, as well as in other parts of theology, to show the profit they have derived from the lessons, before they are allowed to pass into another class or to be initiated in sacred orders.

XVI.—In all academies every candidate for academical degrees in theology will be asked certain questions on Scripture relating to the historical and critical introduction as well as to exegesis; and will prove by examination that he is sufficiently acquainted with the Hebrew tongue and has a knowledge of biblical Greek.

XVII.—The students of Sacred Scripture are to be exhorted to read not only interpretations of the Scripture, but good authors who treat of subjects connected with this study—for instance, the history of both Testaments, the life of Our Lord and the Apostles, and books of travel in Palestine—from all of which they will easily acquire knowledge of biblical places and customs.

XVIII.—To further this object efforts will be made to supply each seminary, as far as circumstances will permit, with a small library in which books of this kind will be at the disposal of the students.

This is Our will and Our command, everything to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on the 27th day of March, 1906, the third of Our Pontificate.

A. CARD. MACCHI.

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PIUS X AND POLAND.

To Our Venerable Brethren the Archbishops of Warsaw and Bishops of Plotsk and Lublin among the Poles. Pius X., Pope.

Venerable Brethren, Health and the Apostolic Benediction.

About three years ago this Apostolic See was duly informed that some priests, especially among the junior clergy of your dioceses, had founded, without permission from their lawful Superiors, a kind of pseudo-monastic society, known as the *Mariavites* or *Mystic Priests*, the members of which, little by little, turned aside from the right road and from the obedience they owe the Bishops "whom the Holy Ghost has placed to rule the Church of God," and became vain in their thoughts.

To a certain woman, whom they proclaimed to be most holy, marvellously endowed with heavenly gifts, divinely enlightened about many things, and providentially given for the salvation of a world about to perish, they did not hesitate to entrust themselves without reserve, and to obey her every wish.

Relying on an alleged mandate from God, they set themselves to promote without discrimination and of their own initiative among the people frequent exercises of piety (highly commendable when rightly carried out), especially the adoration of the Most Holy Sacrament and the practice of frequent communion; but at the same time they made the gravest charges against all priests and bishops who ventured to express any doubt about the sanctity and divine election of the woman, or showed any hostility to the society of the *Mariavites*. Such a pass did matters reach that there was reason to fear that many of the faithful in their delusion were about to abandon their lawful pastors.

Hence, on the advice of Our Venerable Brethren the Cardinals of the General Inquisition, We had a decree issued, as you are aware, under date of September 4, 1904, suppressing the above-named society of priests, and commanding them to break off absolutely all relations with the woman. But the priests in question, notwithstanding that they signed a document expressing their subjection to the authority of their bishops and that perhaps they did, as they say they did, partly break off their relations with the woman, still failed to abandon their undertaking and to renounce sincerely the condemned association. Not only did they contemn your exhortations and inhibitions,

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not only did many of them sign an audacious declaration in which they rejected communion with their bishops, not only in more places than one did they incite the deluded people to drive away their lawful pastors, but, like the enemies of the Church, asserted that she has fallen from truth and justice, and hence has been abandoned by the Holy Spirit, and that to themselves alone, the Mariavite priests, was it divinely given to instruct the faithful in true piety.

Nor is this all. A few weeks ago two of these priests came to Rome: Romanus Prochniewsky and Joannes Kowalski, the latter of whom is recognized, in virtue of some kind of delegation from the woman referred to, as their Superior by all the members of the Society. Both of them, in a petition alleged by them to have been written by the express order of Our Lord Jesus Christ, ask the Supreme Pastor of the Church, or the Congregation of the Holy Office in his name, to issue a document conceived in these terms: "That Maria Francesca (the woman mentioned above) has been made most holy by God, that she is the mother of mercy for all men called and elected to salvation by God in these days; and that all Mariavite priests are commanded by God to promote throughout the world devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament and to the Blessed Virgin Mary of Perpetual Succor, free from all restriction of ecclesiastical or human law or custom, and from all ecclesiastical and human power whatsoever. . . ."

From these words We were disposed to believe that the priests in question were blinded not so much by conscious pride as by ignorance and delusion, like those false prophets of whom Ezechiel writes: "They see vain things and they foretell lies, saying: The Lord saith: whereas the Lord hath not sent them: and they have persisted to confirm what they have said. Have you not seen a vain vision and spoken a lying divination: and you say: The Lord saith: whereas I have not spoken" (Ezechiel xiii. 6, 7). We therefore received them with piety, exhorted them to put away the deceits of vain revelation, to subject themselves and their works to the salutary authority of their Superiors, and to hasten the return of the faithful of Christ to the safe path of obedience and reverence towards their pastors; and finally to leave to the vigilance of the Holy See and the other competent authorities the task of confirming such pious customs as might seem best adapted for the fuller increase of Christian life in many parishes in your dioceses, and at the same time to admonish any priests who were found guilty of speaking abusively or contemptuously of devout practices and exercises approved by the Church. And We were consoled to see the two priests, moved by Our fatherly

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kindness, throw themselves at Our feet and express their firm resolution to carry out Our wishes with the devotedness of sons. They then caused to be transmitted to Us a written statement which increased Our hope that these deluded sons would sincerely abandon past illusions and return to the right road:

"We (these are their words), always ready to fulfil the will of God, which has now been made so clear to us by his Vicar, do most sincerely and joyfully revoke our letter, which we sent on February 1 of the present year to the Archbishop of Warsaw, and in which we declared that we separated from him. Moreover, we do most sincerely and with the greatest joy profess that we wish to be always united with our Bishops, and especially with the Archbishop of Warsaw, as far as your Holiness will order this of us. Furthermore, as we are now acting in the name of all the Mariavites, we do make this profession of our entire obedience and subjection in the name not only of all the Mariavites, but of all the Adorers of the Most Holy Sacrament. We make this profession in a special way in the name of the Mariavites of Plotsk who, for the same cause as the Mariavites of Warsaw, handed their Bishop a declaration of separation from him. Wherefore, all of us without exception prostrate at the feet of your Holiness, professing again and again our love and obedience to the Holy See, and in a most special way to your Holiness, most humbly ask pardon for any pain we may have caused your fatherly heart. Finally, we declare that we will at once set to work with all our energy to restore peace between the people and their Bishops immediately. Nay, we can affirm that this peace will be really restored very soon."

It was, therefore, very pleasant for Us to be able to believe that these sons of Ours, thus pardoned, would at once on their return to Poland give effect to their promises, and on this account We hastened to advise you, Venerable Brethren, to receive them and their companions, now that they professed entire obedience to your authority, with equal mercy and to restore them legally, if their acts corresponded with their promises, to their faculties for exercising their priestly functions.

But the event has deceived Our hopes; for We have learnt by recent documents that they have again opened their minds to lying revelations, and that since their return to Poland, they not only have not yet shown you, Venerable Brethren, the respect and obedience they promised, but that they have written to their companions a letter quite opposed to truth and genuine obedience.

But their profession of fidelity to the Vicar of Christ is vain in those who, in fact, do not cease to violate the authority of their

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Bishops. For "by far the most august part of the Church consists of the Bishops (as Our Predecessor Leo XIII. of holy memory wrote in his letter of December 17, 1888, to the Archbishop), inasmuch as this part by divine right teaches and rules men; hence, whoever resists them or pertinaciously refuses obedience to them puts himself apart from the Church. . . . On the other hand, to pass judgment upon or to rebuke the acts of Bishops does not at all belong to private individuals—that comes within the province only of those higher than they in authority and especially of the Sovereign Pontiff, for to him Christ entrusted the charge of feeding not only His lambs, but His sheep throughout the world. At most, it is allowed in matters of grave complaint to refer the whole case to the Roman Pontiff, and this with prudence and moderation as zeal for the common good requires, not clamorously or abusively, for in this way dissensions and hostilities are bred, or certainly increased."

Idle and deceitful too is the exhortation of the priest Johannes Kowalski to his companions in error on behalf of peace, while he persists in his foolish talk and incitements to rebellion against legitimate pastors and in brazen violation of episcopal commands.

Wherefore, that the faithful of Christ and all the so-called Mariavite priests who are in good faith may no longer be led astray by the delusions of the woman above mentioned and of the priest Joannes Kowalski, We again confirm the decree whereby the society of Mariavites, unlawfully and invalidly founded, is entirely suppressed, and We declare it suppressed and condemned, and We proclaim that the prohibition is still in force which forbids all priests, with the exception of the one whom the Bishop of Plotsk shall in his prudence depute to be her confessor, to have anything whatever to do on any pretext with the woman.

You, Venerable Brethren, We earnestly exhort to embrace with paternal charity erring priests immediately they sincerely repent, and not to refuse to call them again, under your direction, to their priestly duties, when they have been duly proved worthy. But should they, which may God forbid, reject your exhortations and persevere in their contumacy, it will be Our care to see that they are severely dealt with. Study to lead back to the right path the faithful of Christ who are now laboring under a delusion that may be pardoned; and foster in your dioceses those practices of piety, recently or long since approved in numerous documents issued by the Apostolic See, and do this with all the more alacrity now when by the blessing of God priests among you are enabled to exercise their ministry and the faithful to emulate the example of the piety of their fathers.

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Meanwhile as a pledge of heavenly favors and in evidence of Our paternal goodwill we bestow most lovingly in the Lord the Apostolic Benediction on you, Venerable Brethren, and on all the clergy and people entrusted to your care and vigilance.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's the fifth day of April, MDCCCCVI, in the third year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

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THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY AND THE FRENCH IN FRANCE.

We subjoin the letter written by Cardinal Gibbons in the name of the Hierarchy of the United States to Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, and the reply of the latter.

THE CARDINAL'S LETTER.

To His Eminence, F. Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris:

Your Eminence:

One century ago, the first, and, at that time, the only Catholic Bishop in the United States, the Right Rev. John Carroll, of illustrious memory, laid the corner-stone of his Cathedral Church. Of this Mother Church, at regular intervals, other churches were born, which, in turn, increased and multiplied to such an extent that today, the original Diocese is represented by fourteen ecclesiastical Provinces, embracing twenty-four Dioceses, two Vicariates, and one Prefecture-Apostolic. Such rapid increase and wondrous prosperity demanded grateful recognition of God's goodness. In this conviction, the large majority of the Bishops of the United States have assembled, at our invitation, to commemorate with us this joyous centenary, and to give thanks to God in this very Church, which may be truly called the cradle of the Catholic hierarchy in this country.

We would profit by the presence of so many distinguished Prelates to offer to our brethren in France, not so happily circumstanced as we, an unequivocal testimony of our sympathy, and our sincere wishes for the welfare of the Church of France. Our words are addressed to Your Eminence, as being the most venerable and exalted representative of the French Episcopate.

We are compelled to assure you of the keen regret which we feel at sight of the bitter persecutions to which the Church of France is subjected—a persecution which particularly during the last quarter of a century has been marked by exceptional and vexatious legislation. To crown these irritating enactments, the agreement, which for a century bound the eldest daughter of the Church to Rome, has been, contrary to all the requirements of justice and honor, ruthlessly dissolved. The bloody conflicts immediately consequent upon the first application of this notorious law sanctioning the separation of Church

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and State, so recently and peremptorily condemned by Pius X., do but forecast disturbances of a more serious character. However, such misfortunes are bound to enlist in your behalf the sympathy and prayers of all true children of the Church, since, according to the Apostle, the faithful scattered throughout the world are members of the one body of which Jesus Christ is the Head, and, as a consequence, share in one another's joys and sorrows. "If one member suffer anything, all the members suffer with it." (I Cor., 12: 26.) If this be true of the Church in general, it is still more true of the Bishops, who are the Fathers of the Christian people, and, in the case of the Bishops of the United States, the law has a special application. They recall with peculiar pleasure that many of the pioneer Bishops of the United States were your fellow-countrymen, namely, the Cheveruses, the Flagets, the Dubois, the Dubourgs and others; and that, not only at the present time, but at every period during the interval, French Prelates exercised episcopal jurisdiction in their midst. They are likewise deeply sensible of the generous aid which their missions have received from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith.

It is difficult for minds, accustomed to the complete liberty which we enjoy in this country, to understand how a civilized government can, in the name of liberty, subject an entire Christian people to the yoke of official atheism. Here, on the contrary, our rulers recognize that religion is necessary for the prosperity of the nation. Whilst they arrogate to themselves no authority in religious matters, thanks to the kindly feeling that animates them, mixed questions are equitably settled. To illustrate by a single example, far from enacting legislation hostile to the Church, disputes involving ecclesiastical property are decided by the civil courts in conformity with her recognized laws. If the Church has the right to protection because she is the truth, her progress requires only liberty worthy of the name. This we have fully and completely.

We sincerely hope that the Church of France may soon enjoy the same advantage. Our hope is strengthened in that we already see an earnest of the future in the universal evidences of faith which the persecution has elicited, in the noble and courageous attitude assumed by Your Eminence and all your brethren of the Episcopate in protesting against the "Inventories" and in publishing and commenting upon the Encyclical *Vehementer*, and, above all, in the paternal solicitude of the Sovereign Pontiff, who has personally chosen and consecrated new Pastors for your flocks. Furthermore, we realize that the Christian life of France has ever been rich in works of zeal,

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of evangelization, and of charity, both at home and abroad; and we are sure that, in this latest emergency, French Catholics will contribute to the support of religion and its ministers. Finally, we are confident that, under the guidance and instruction of the Holy Father and of their Bishops, they will profess their faith as well in the political arena as in private life, and thus will they soon recover the liberties of which they have been robbed.

We assure Your Eminence that the Bishops of the United States most earnestly pray that they may always have reason in the future as in the past, to thank Almighty God for all that He may accomplish for His own glory through "the noble French nation."—(Leo XIII.).

Your Eminence, graciously accept for yourself and in behalf of the entire French Episcopate, this testimony of respectful sympathy, this token of esteem, and these wishes for your well-being, which we take the liberty of presenting to you, in the name of all our brethren of the Episcopate in the United States.

I beg to remain, Your Eminence's very humble and devoted servant,

JAMES CARD. GIBBONS,
Archbishop of Baltimore.

CARDINAL RICHARD'S ANSWER.

Archbishop's House, Paris, May 22, 1906.

Most Eminent and Most Reverend Sir:

The letter which Your Eminence has so kindly sent me in the name of the Catholic Bishops of the United States, assembled for the purpose of commemorating the establishment of the first Cathedral Church in your country, has deeply touched me and compels my warmest gratitude. All the Bishops of France to whom I have made known your brotherly communication, share the feelings which its perusal caused me.

In the midst of the sad experiences through which we are now passing, we feel consoled and encouraged by the sympathy extended to us by the young and glorious Church of America, which rejoices in the remembrance of the devoted Apostles whom France sent to her from the very beginning. I read with particular emotion the name of Mgr. Flaget, for I knew him personally, and his memory is held in benediction in those provinces of France in which he preached the Word of God.

May Our Venerable Brethren of the United States be pleased to accept the expression of our respectful and affectionate gratitude.

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Ever united in our allegiance to Our Most Holy Father, Pius X, we shall answer his summons, characterized by so much strength and wisdom, to restore human society in Jesus Christ.

Begging Your Eminence to accept the assurance of my respectful attachment, I am, Your Eminence's very humble and very devoted servant,

FRANCIS CARD. RICHARD,
Archbishop of Paris.

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COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, 1905–1906.

The commencement exercises of 1905–1906 were held Wednesday, June 6, at 10 A. M., in the Assembly Room, McMahon Hall. Mgr. Diomede Falconio, the Apostolic Delegate presided. Near him sat Rt. Rev. Mgr. D. J. O'Connell, Rector of the University, and around them were grouped Prof. D. W. Shea, Ph.D., dean of the faculty of sciences; Dr. Maurice Francis Egan, vice-dean of the faculty of letters; Rev. Dr. Edward A. Pace, dean of the faculty of philosophy; Prof. W. C. Robinson, LL.D., dean of the faculty of law; Very Rev. Dr. Charles P. Grannan, vice-dean of the faculty of theology. Rt. Rev. M. J. Hoban, D.D., Bishop of Scranton delivered the address to the recipients of the degrees.

Other members of the faculty on the platform were Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, S.T.D., J.U.L., professor of church history; Very Rev. John Joseph Griffin, Ph.D., professor of chemistry; Prof. Albert Francis Zahn, Ph.D., associate professor of mathematics; Professor Geo. Melville Bolling, Ph.D., associate professor of Greek, literature and comparative philology and Sanskrit; Rev. John Thomas Creagh, S.T.D., associate professor of canon law; Rev. John Damen Maguire, Ph.D., associate professor of Latin; Rev. Thomas Edward Shields, Ph.D., assistant professor of physiological psychology; Prof. Joseph Dunn, Ph.D., assistant professor of Celtic; Rev. John Webster Melody, S.T.D., assistant professor of moral theology; Prof. Charles Mallan McCarthy, Ph.D., assistant professor of American history; Thomas Jefferson Thompson, A.B., teaching fellow in civil engineering, and David Aloysius McCabe, A.B., teaching fellow in political economy.

The guests from the affiliated colleges were: Very Rev. D. J. Kennedy, O.P., S.T.M., of the Dominican College; Very Rev. Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., S.T.L.; Rev. William L. Sullivan, C.S.P., S.T.L.; Rev. James J. Fox, S.T.D., and Rev. William T. Walsh, C.S.P., all of the faculty of St. Thomas'

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College; Very Rev. J. F. Sollier, S.M., S.T.D.; Rev. Romain Butin, S.M., S.T.L., Ph.D.; Rev. J. Grimal, S.M., S.T.D.; Rev. Charles A. Dubray, S.M., S.T.B., Ph.D., and Rev. Nicholas A. Weber, S.M., S.T.L., all of the faculty of the Marist College; Very Rev. James A. Burns, C.S.C., A.M.; Rev. M. A. McGarry, C.S.C.; Rev. George M. Sauvage, C.S.C., S.T.D., and Rev. Timothy R. Murphy, C.S.C., all of Holy Cross College; Very Rev. Bede Oldegeering, O.F.M., superior of the Franciscan Monastery; Very Rev. John F. Fenlon, S.S., S.T.D., superior of St. Austin's College, and Very Rev. Walter Elliott, C.S.P., and Rev. A. P. Doyle, S.C.P., rector of the Apostolic Mission House.

DEGREES CONFERRED.

In the Faculty of Sciences.

Civil Engineer (C.E.).

Octavius Charles Smith, Washington, D. C.
A.B. (San Luis Gonzaga College, Havana, Cuba) 1896;
A.B. (Mt. St. Joseph's College, Baltimore, Md.) 1901.
Dissertation—"The System of Sewage Disposal of Washington, D. C."

Thomas Jefferson Thompson, Webster, Mass.
A.B. (Harvard University, Cambridge Mass.) 1903.
Dissertation—"A Study of Reinforced Concrete."

Mechanical Engineer (M.E.).

Francis DeSales Smith, Washington, D. C.
B.S. (The Catholic University of America) 1896;
M.S. (ibid.) 1900.
Dissertation—"Determination of the Atmospheric Resistance of Rods and Wires."

In the Faculty of Letters.

Master of Philosophy (Ph.M.).

Rev. John Joseph O'Brien, Archdiocese of St. Paul.
Dissertation—"A Study of James Clarence Mangan."

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Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.).

REV. FRANCIS XAVIER EDWARD ALBERT, Society of St. Sulpice.
Dissertation—"An Edition, Translation, and Philogical and Critical Study of Two Homilies on the Fast, composed by Mar Quiore of Edessa and Mar Posi."

TIMOTHY JOHN CROWLEY, Congregation of the Holy Cross.
A.B. (University of Notre Dame) 1902.
Dissertation—"Character-Treatment in the Mediæval Drama."

JEAN-BAPTISTE ETIENNE DELAUNAY, Congregation of the Holy Cross.
Bachelier ès-Lettres (Sorbonne, Paris) 1902.
Dissertation—"Tertullian and his Apologetics."

IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY.

Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.).

VERY REV. JAMES ALOYSIUS BURNS, Congregation of the Holy Cross.
A.B. (University of Notre Dame) 1888;
A.M. (ibid.) 1894.
Dissertation—"Catholic Education in the United States—its Fundamental Principles; With an Account of its Development during the Colonial Period."

LESTER BERNARD DONAHUE, Portland, Maine.
A.B. (College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass.) 1902;
A.M. (ibid.) 1904.
Dissertation—"The Ethics of Gambling."

IN THE FACULTY OF LAW.

Bachelor of Laws (LL.B.).

SAMUEL OGDEN BATES, Memphis, Tenn.
A.B. (Christian Brothers College, Memphis, Tenn.) 1904.

MATTHEW HENRY CZIZEK, Dubuque, Iowa.
A.B. (St. Joseph's College, Dubuque) 1904.

GEORGE ANTHONY GRACE, Syracuse, N. Y.
A.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1905.

WILLIAM JOSEPH GRACE, Syracuse, N. Y.
A.B. (Manhattan College, New York, N. Y.) 1903;
A.M. (ibid.) 1905.

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JOHN VINCENT MCCANN, Philadelphia, Pa.
A.B. (Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md.) 1903;
A.M. (ibid.) 1905.

Master of Laws (LL.M.).

JOSIAH NEWTON BAKER, Lewisburg, Pa.
LL.B. (Georgetown University) 1904;
LL.M. (ibid.) 1905.

STEPHEN VINCENT CAREY, Seattle, Wash.
Attorney at Law.

MICHAEL PATRICK KEHOE, Baltimore, Md.
Attorney at Law.

JOHN JOSEPH MCCUSKER, Baltimore, Md.
LL.B. (University of Maryland) 1903.
Attorney at Law.

IN THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

Bachelor in Sacred Theology (S.T.B.).

REV. JOHN BERCHMANS BRITT, Archdiocese of New York.

REV. THOMAS CHARLES BRENNAN, Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

REV. PATRICK THOMAS COSTELLO, Diocese of Mobile.
A.B. (Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md.) 1902;
A.M. (ibid.) 1904.

REV. JAMES JOHN DEVERY, Congregation of St. Paul.

REV. JOSEPH ALOYSIUS DUNNEY, Diocese of Albany.
A.B. (Manhattan College, New York, N. Y.) 1901;
A.M. (Columbia University, New York, N. Y.) 1905.

REV. JOSEPH PATRICK LYNCH EARLY, Archdiocese of Boston.

REV. JOHN JOSEPH GOERGAN, Society of Mary.

REV. JOHN JOSEPH HUNT, Archdiocese of San Francisco.

REV. EDWIN JOSEPH ALOYSIUS RYAN, Archdiocese of New York.
A.B. (College of St. Francis Xavier, New York, N. Y.) 1901.

REV. JOHN PATRICK SPENCER, Archdiocese of St. Louis.

Licentiate in Sacred Theology (S.T.L.).

REV. WILLIAM ALOYSIUS CAHILL, Archdiocese of Baltimore.
A.B. (St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore) 1900;
A.M. (ibid.) 1901;
S.T.B. (ibid.) 1903.
Dissertation—"The Kingdom of God."

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REV. DANIEL JOSEPH CONNOR, Diocese of Scranton.
A.B. (St. Mary's Seminary) 1898;
A.M. (ibid.) 1900;
S.T.B. (ibid.) 1902.
Dissertation—"The Philosophy of the Moral Argument for the Existence of God."

REV. WILLIAM JOHN FITZGERALD, Diocese of Hartford.
S.T.B. (Grand Seminary, Montreal) 1903;
J.C.B. (ibid.) 1904.
Dissertation—"The Idea of Authority in the Christian Religion, as exhibited in the Ecclesiastical Writings of the First Two Centuries."

REV. BARTHOLOMEW ALOYSIUS HARTWELL, Archdiocese of Baltimore.
A.B. (Rock Hill College) 1900;
S.T.B. (St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore) 1904.
Dissertation—"The Historical Reality of the Personality of Jesus Christ, as portrayed in the Synoptics."

REV. PATRICK JOSEPH MCCORMICK, Diocese of Hartford.
S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1905.
Dissertation—"Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona; an Educational Study of the XV Century."

REV. JOHN JOSEPH O'BRIEN, Archdiocese of Boston.
A.B. (Boston College) 1900;
S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1905.
Dissertation—The History of the Law Governing Episcopal Elections."

REV. JOHN FRANCIS WALSH, Archdiocese of Boston.
A.B. (Boston College) 1900;
S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1905.
Dissertation—"De Sanatione in Radice; a Study in Marriage Revalidation."

Doctor of Sacred Theology.

REV. JOHN AUGUSTINE RYAN, Archdiocese of St. Paul.
S.T.B. (The Catholic University of America) 1899;
S.T.L. (ibid.) 1900.
Dissertation—"A Living Wage; its Ethical and Economic Aspects."

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Discourse of Bishop Hoban.

Rt. Rev. Rector, Rev. and Learned Professors and Gentlemen:

When the honor of an invitation to address this learned body was conferred on me a short time ago, at first I hesitated to accept and then regretfully declined the invitation for what I considered valid reasons; later on, the Rt. Rev. Rector induced me to reconsider the matter and I then accepted the honor with the understanding that my remarks would be simple, short and practical. You will, therefore, kindly pardon the brevity and directness of my address.

In no country in the world has popular education so many worshippers as in this beautiful land of ours. In no country has it become the fetish, from which or through which strange and wonderful results, even miracles, are expected. In no country have so many millions of dollars been expended on its youth that they may have all the advantages of higher education. States and individuals have spent enormous sums in building and in endowing institutions of learning, some possibly with the pardonable vanity of seeing their names handed down to generation after generation of a grateful people, others with the more laudable ambition of simply helping their fellow countrymen to be nobler men and better citizens. All are agreed that if our beloved republic is to survive and continue its wonderful progress towards the hegemony of the world, its citizens must be educated men, must be men highly developed and capable of discharging whatever duties may be imposed upon them in the constant struggle for success. Ignorance and successful democracy are incompatible. They cannot coexist—sooner or later the ignorant must succumb to the schemes and stratagems of the more intelligent or more cunning, and democracy would end in despotism. Our orators never tire in proclaiming the wonderful natural resources of our country and the equally wonderful adaptability of our fellow countrymen in exploiting these magnificent gifts of nature. Foreigners are amazed at the apparently extravagant American method of throwing into the scrap heap costly things that have outlived their usefulness or are in the way of advancement and of ultimate greater gain. But this seeming ex-

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travagance has been productive of immense results and has been justified by success. Our merchants and manufacturers build magnificent mansions in the cities and own princely estates in the country. Our railroad kings survey their dominions from the windows of their rolling palaces, as they annihilate time, and our coal barons possess the earth and the riches thereof. Our progress in the acquisition of riches has astounded the world and we are the envied of nations. Visitors come hither to learn our methods, and the ubiquitous American tourist pours with lavish hand the golden stream of dollars from out of the horn of plenty, as he girdles the world in his wanderings. Europe, Asia and Africa are ransacked for their treasures and priceless objects of art which formerly decorated the palaces of a decaying aristocracy now beautify the galleries of our successful millionaires. The artisan and the laborer also demand a share of the enormous wealth, which their labor has helped to win, and they claim a larger, and a still larger portion of the profits resulting from their toil. The rich vie with each other in ostentatious display and in seeking new sensual pleasures to whet their jaded appetites, while their envious poorer neighbors pitifully imitate them in their follies and extravagances. We are becoming money-mad in commercial life, in social life and in political life; we are becoming too much engrossed in material success and in the sensual pleasures to be obtained by wealth; we are developing an aristocracy of money, instead of an aristocracy of virtue and intellect, and we are in danger of permitting success, like charity, to cover a multitude of sins. But within the past few years, the revelations of various committees of investigation, both in political and in commercial life, have made manifest the fact that something more than mere knowledge of the head and skill of the hand are required for the real progress of our commonwealth and its permanency as a political entity. We stand amazed that we, the sharpest people on earth, have been fleeced by sharpers, that many of our captains of commerce have been pirates on the sea of business and that many of our political leaders are tricksters, boodlers and grafters, while statesmanship is for certain politicians merely the ability to direct the powers and resources of the state to one's own

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personal profit, and the curt remark of the French monarch is once more exemplified, "L'état, c'est moi." We have seen the Dead Sea fruit of apparent success turn into bitter ashes on the lips of those who were tortured with the sacred hunger of gold and who did not hesitate to break the laws of both God and men in order to satisfy that raging hunger. We have seen men prominent in municipal, state and national affairs buy voters like cattle and sell their honor for a price. We have seen how many of our manufacturers have made their fortunes by overworking and underpaying their workmen, and still worse, work-women and work-children; how many of these same business men have knowingly and deliberately sent out from their establishments articles that were shoddy not genuine, adulterated not pure, poisonous not wholesome. And the worst feature of it all is that these same men in private life are honorable, respectable members of the community wherein they live and seem to have no, or at least a very faint, conception of the fact that their methods of business are both dishonest and dishonorable. Many non-Catholic educators and thinkers now admit what Catholics have always claimed, that educating the intellect alone is one sided and illogical and can only end sooner or later in moral disaster. They now seek a remedy in compulsory moral instruction, forgetful that morality without a religious sanction is a delusion and a snare. They think forsooth that because education of the intellect brings about a certain refinement and develops a hesitancy to do things that are considered low, mean and dishonorable, a little hypodermic injection of moral lymph will enable them to withstand the fierce assaults of temptation, or at least to avoid the more serious crimes of which men are guilty. In this spiritual phagocytosis, by an adaptation of the pathological law to the ethical world, the little white moral axioms would rush to the assistance of the morally wounded and prevent his moral death. But as in the physical order blood poisoning will sometimes occur notwithstanding the work of the phagocytes, and recourse to the surgeon's knife is necessary in order to save life, so in the moral order, little precepts of virtue will not save us from spiritual blood poisoning and it is necessary to have recourse to the Author of life and death

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in order to save us from eternal death. But if in the lower schools education without any moral instruction has such a disastrous effect, what may we expect when the future leaders of our social and political life receive the crown and capstone of their education in universities where God is neither acknowledged nor adored, but where he is altogether ignored, His Christ denied and His church misrepresented and derided? Here where the great majority are educated without God and a knowledge of His law, where the higher education of men has gradually passed or is slowly passing out of the control of religious men, it is absolutely necessary that we should have at least one University, where God reigns supreme.

The more we consider these things, therefore, even though the great mass of our Catholics in the United States are neither rich nor powerful, and although there still exists more or less prejudice against the church, the less chimerical should it seem to aim at a university, of which Catholicity is the fundamental principle.

Cardinal Newman has well said: "When the church founds a university, she is not cherishing talent, genius or knowledge for their own sake, but for the sake of her children with a view to their spiritual welfare and their religious influence and usefulness, with the object of training them to fill their respective posts in life better and of making them more intelligent, capable and active members of society." I know that there are those who do not quite agree with the great English Cardinal and who look upon the university rather as a "corporation devoted to the advancement of knowledge by means of investigation and literary productivity" and as "the supreme court of appeal in things of the mind." But I venture to think that the Catholics of the United States would not have burdened themselves with the heavy expenditures of money necessary to found and to endow this Catholic University of America were they not convinced that it would be at one and the same time a scientific institute and a training school for the business of life. We expect it to be a scientific institute in which all truths are fearlessly investigated, but in which no notoriety-loving professor shall send forth as a scientific truth what he himself knows to be a very badly working hypothesis, where

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no anti-religious bias shall ever lead to the startling discovery of bathybius and similar absurdities, and where no dishonest tampering with the germinal spot on the negative will be allowed in the interests of a preconceived theory. The Catholic church is not afraid of scientific truth. We expect the university to be to us a beacon and a light in investigating the various conspiracies of error against truth during the past four hundred years. Prejudice and passion are gradually dying away and men are now ready to listen to statements of facts, from which they would turn in anger only a comparatively few years ago. What Leo XIII is reported to have said to Dr. Pastor, may be repeated to every Catholic professor of history: "Do not fear to tell the truth. Do not dare to tell a lie." The church is not afraid of historic truth. We look to the university for help in the solution of the vast social problems which are attracting the attention of the world and which must be solved in accordance with right and with justice, if they are to be solved at all. The rights of combination among employers and of combination among workers, the combination of both against the buyer of their products, the question of child labor, of woman labor, of general conditions of labor, of a just wage, of honest workmanship, of length of work day, of trusts whether of capital or of labor, of monopolies, of cornering the various necessities of life, in a word of justice and fair dealing between man and man, are all to be considered and studied; and ultimately allied to these are great political questions, which sooner or later touch on theology, as the notorious Proudhon admitted in his "Confessions of a Revolutionist," when he wrote these remarkable words: "It is wonderful how we ever stumble on theology in all our political questions." But the more notorious Rousseau anticipated him in the discovery when he wrote these equally remarkable words: "Modern governments are undoubtedly indebted to Christianity on the one side for the firmness of their authority and on the other for the lengthened intervals between revolutions. Nor has her influence extended to this alone for acting on themselves, she has made them more humane. To become convinced of this, we have only to compare them with ancient governments."

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And the remark of Rousseau merely corroborates what Montesquieu had previously said: "There is no doubt Christianity has created among us the political right we recognize in peace and the right of nations we respect in war, for the benefits of which the human race shall never be sufficiently grateful."

Gentlemen! that Christianity to which modern governments are indebted and which has created among us political rights in time of peace and international rights in time of war, still exists, she is still the teacher of nations and of men, she has the same right and authority to teach now that she undoubtedly had in bygone ages and that authority came from Christ, her Founder, when he told the apostles—"Go! teach all nations." Christ is the Saviour of nations, as He is of men. He heals the wounds of nations as He heals those of men. And as men who reject Christ cannot be said to be truly happy, so neither can the nation which rejects Christ and His teachings be truly happy. The pomp and pride of royalty and the pageantry of war do not constitute a nation's happiness, and our modern historians are no longer court chroniclers and biographers of successful warriors but rather searchers after the truth of history and the records of the life and customs of the common people. From the researches of Thorold Rogers, Astley, Janssens and others we find that the common people were apparently much happier or relatively better situated in the Catholic days of the fifteenth century than later on when the "blessed light of the Reformation" set Europe on fire and religious revolution turned back the hour hand on the dial of progress. Gentlemen! the nation that knows not God, knows not the laws to which governments are subject and does not possess political truth; neither does it know the laws to which human societies are subject and consequently does not possess social truth. Donoso Cortes has well written "What we have said of ages can be said of men. Denying or granting them the faith, God denies or grants them the truth. He does not grant or deny them intelligence. The infidel's may be sublime, the believer's moderate. But the former is only great like an abyss, while the latter is holy like a tabernacle; in the first dwells

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error; in the second truth. In the abyss with error is death; in the tabernacle with truth is life. For this reason there is no hope whatever for those societies which abandon the austere worship of truth for the idolatry of genius. On the heels of sophisms come revolutions; on the heels of the sophists executioners."

Gentlemen of the University! we look to you to help us to detect the various social and political sophisms that spring up like mushrooms on the rich soil of our country. Possessing the truth, the truth will make us free and keep us free. It is the touchstone by which we may detect the true from the false, the genuine from the imitation, the right from the wrong. It is the chart by which we may detect hidden rocks and shifting sands. It is the compass by which we may direct the ship of state over the stormy sea of politics into the port of social salvation. The common people are at length aroused and are clamoring for their own or for what they believe to be theirs, and hydra-headed socialism earnestly appeals to their passions and to their prejudices and claims to be the only means by which the down-trodden poor and submerged tenth may be restored to their proper places among men. It claims that by the economic interpretation of history, it can bring back the golden age of mankind, eliminate injustice and make men brothers forevermore. And yet whatever good there is in any of the protean forms of socialism the Catholic church already possesses and teaches, while she rejects absolutely its injustice, its immorality and its atheism. The only power to-day on American soil that can successfully throttle atheistic socialism is the Catholic Church and you, Gentlemen of the University, must help in the work by your lectures and writings. Back of you is the Catholic Church, the ground and pillar of truth, and back of the Church is her Founder, Jesus Christ, the God of truth.

But not only should this University be a scientific institute in which all truth is taught, but it should also be a training school for the business of life. More than sixty years ago an American writer said—"In the colleges is determined the character of most of the persons who are to fill the professions,

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teach the schools, write the books and do most of the business of legislation for the whole body of the people. The general direction of literature and politics, the prevailing habits and modes of thought throughout the country are in the hands of men whose social position and early advantages have given them an influence of the magnitude and permanency of which the possessors themselves are hardly conscious."

If this be true, as I think it is, it furnishes another reason for the foundation of this University. If the character of these influential professors, teachers and writers is determined in the college how necessary, therefore, is it that the college itself be competent not only to teach the truth but to form the character of Catholic students along Catholic lines. And how dangerous also is it to send our Catholic young men in the formative period of their lives to universities wherein the atmosphere is irreligious, anti-Catholic or at best that of indifferentism, where the professor passes over "truths about God's nature, about His dealings with the human race, about the economy of Redemption as matters of simple opinion which never can be decided and which can have no power over us to make us morally better or worse," where he simply ignores the Church, her history and her doctrines; or if he should refer to them, does so with a sneer as not affecting social and political interests! How can we expect our Catholic young men to come forth from such institutions sturdy defenders of the cause of God's truth and of His Church? How can we expect them to come forth even as strong Catholics as when they entered unless perchance they form an association for self-defence? The social atmosphere as well as the educational atmosphere would seem to stunt their Catholic life, and only strong characters are apt to survive the ordeal unscathed. The advice of St. John Chrysostom to the Christians of his day is applicable to ourselves: "We ought not to send children to schools where they will learn vice before they learn science and where in acquiring learning of relatively small value, they will lose what is far more precious, their integrity of soul. Are we then to give up literature? you will exclaim. I do not say that; but I do say that we must not kill souls. . . .

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When the foundations of a building are sapped, we should seek rather for architects to reconstruct the whole edifice than for artists to adorn the walls."

The golden-mouthed Christian orator merely echoed the advice of the pagan rhetorician Quintilian—*Si studiis quidem scholas prodesse, moribus autem nocere constaret, potior mihi ratio vivendi honeste quam vel optime dicendi videretur.* An honest man is the noblest work of God and the University that succeeds in sending forth men who are honest before God, honest before the tribunal of their own consciences and honest before their fellowmen, is a successful university, no matter how small be its resources or how few may be its students. It is not how much we know that is important in the last analysis, but what we are—not how great a student, but how great a man. If manhood be not developed, then the very basic element of education is lacking and the edifice, however ornate and beautiful in appearance, will come tumbling down in disaster sooner or later because it is not built on truth. The least quake of passion may suffice to shatter its walls and expose its weakness. It is true that the home and the preparatory school wield an immense influence in the formation of character, but the true university by furnishing high ideas and principles of action, which give direction and purpose to character, will uplift the already good to nobler heights and will correct and strengthen those who may come to it, ignoble and weak, possibly the victims of heredity and environment. The true university will develop the *whole* man, morally, intellectually, spiritually. Our young men, therefore, ought to receive such a university education as would fit them to show forth by the beauty of their manly, Christian lives the beauty of the Church,—such as would fit them to be leaders of men in the moral, social and political worlds, wherein they may move,—leaders whose influence must necessarily make itself felt, who could not be inconsiderately thrust aside, if for no other reason than that they have truth and justice on their side and have the ability and character to make this evident to our truth-loving and justice-loving American fellow citizens. Who can calculate the immense amount of good not only for

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the Church but also for our country, did we but have such a body of earnest, honest, intelligent, influential, courageous educated Catholics in these United States? Their upright lives would be the best answer to the many foolish slanders against the Church that are still unfortunately current among our fellow-countrymen. Their knowledge would enable them to explain the position of the Church on many questions of the day, its history and its doctrines—and to defend it, if necessary, honestly and honorably. I venture to say that there are few of us, who have come in contact with candid non-Catholics but have been amazed by their very curious questions—indicating an appalling ignorance of the history and doctrines of that Church which civilized Europe and will be the salvation of America. We owe it to ourselves to have a reason for the faith that is within us and we owe it to our fellow-countrymen to set forth these reasons when charity or necessity may call upon us. But even though we may not have such an opportunity of explanation or of defence, yet there is a joy in seeking for the truth for its own sake. There is a conscious pleasure in knowing, even though we may not put our knowledge to any practical use. Nothing better develops this desire for truth than residence in a university, where all one's associates are devoted to the earnest search after truth and where all experience the pleasure of knowing more and more each day. "To know and to think," writes the great intellectual giant of Germany in the fifteenth century, Nicholas of Cusa (Cardinal Krebs), "to see the truth with the mind's eye is always a joy. The older a man grows the greater is the pleasure which it affords him, and the more he devotes himself to the search after truth the stronger grows his desire of possessing it. As love is the life of the heart, so is the endeavor after knowledge and truth the life of the mind. In the midst of the movements of time, of the daily work of life, of its perplexities and contradictions, we should lift our gaze fearlessly to the clear vault of heaven and seek ever to obtain a firmer grasp of and keener insight into the origin of all goodness and beauty, the capacities of our own hearts and minds, the intellectual fruits of mankind throughout the cen-

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turies and the wondrous works of nature around us; but remembering always that in humility alone lies true greatness and that knowledge and wisdom are alone profitable in so far as our lives are governed by them."

The exercises were brought to a close by the Rt. Rev. Rector, who congratulated the professors and students on the good work of the year, and expressed to all his best wishes for the period of rest that had been so well earned.

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FINANCIAL STATUS OF THE UNIVERSITY, MARCH 31, 1906.

The following pages set forth the actual financial condition of the Catholic University of America. They are taken from the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Rector (April, 1906), pp. 16–17.

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General Balance Sheet, March 31, 1906 and 1905, and Comparison.

Assets.	March 31, 1906.	March 31, 1905.	Increase.	Decrease.
Lands and Buildings:				
University Grounds and Farm	$ 39,899.90	$ 39,899.90		
Caldwell Hall	338,242.78	338,242.78		
McMahon Hall	310,969.33	310,969.33		
Keane Hall	50,444.03	50,444.03		
St. Thomas' College	1,000.00	1,000.00		
Observatory	4,654.51	4,654.51		
Cottage	7,876.38	7,876.38		
Tenant House	644.42	644.42		
Farm Buildings and Equipment	5,000.00	5,000.00		
Long Branch	32,000.00		32,000 00	
Total Lands and Buildings	$ 790,731.35	$ 758,731.35	$ 32,000 00	
Furniture, Apparatus, Etc.				
Caldwell Hall	$ 23,846 14	$ 26,210 78		$ 2,364.64
McMahon Hall	7,440.24	8,266.93		826.69
Keane Hall	2,977.85	3,309 49		331.64
Chapel	4,500.00	5,000.00		500.00
Divinity Library	21,071.15	25,849.78		4,778.63
Bouquillon Library	5,000.00		$ 5,000.00	
Other Departments	43,684.95	46,686.06		3,001 11
Total Furniture, Apparatus, etc.	$ 108,520.33	$ 115,323.04		$ 6,802.71
Endowment Property:				
Real Estate—Chicago, Ill.	$ 8,600.00	$ 8,600.00		
Real Estate—Omaha, Neb.	13,271.36	18,281.05		$ 5,009.69
Total Endowment Property	$ 21,871.36	$ 26,881.05		$ 5,009.69
Investments:				
Bonds and Stocks—Schedule Attached	$ 361,148.15	$ 212,008.06	$149,140.09	
Real Estate Loans	816,607.21	866,778.71		$50,171.50
Long Branch Mortgage		32,000.00		32,000.00
Ground Rents—Baltimore	5,442.65		5,442.65	
Magruder Farm Mortgage	1,800.00		1,800.00	
Total Investments	$1,184,998.01	$1,110,786.77	$ 74,211.24	
Current Assets:				
Cash on Hand and in Banks	$ 34,341.63	$ 81,692.77		$47,351.14
Bills Receivable	4,500.00	4,500.00		
Uncollected Subscriptions to Bishops' Guaranty Fund	12,600.00	19,700.00		7,100.00
Uncollected Subscriptions to Guaranty Fund for General Expenses	5,071.00	5,886.00		815.00
Total Current Assets	$ 56,512.63	$ 111,778.77		$55,266.14
Deferred Assets:				
Uncollected Endowment	$ 10,000.00	$ 10,000.00		
Keane Hall Advances	1,188.32	542.94	$ 645.38	
Premiums for Perpetual Insurance	875.00		875.00	
Total Deferred Assets	$ 12,063 32	$ 10,542.94	$ 1,520.38	
TOTAL ASSETS	$2,174,697.00	$2,134,043.92	$ 40,653.08	

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Liabilities.	March 31, 1906.	March 31, 1905.	Increase.	Decrease.
DONATIONS—GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS:				
University Grounds and Farm	$ 29,899.90	$ 29,899.90		
Caldwell Hall	220,100.10	220,100.10		
McMahon Hall	221,436.60	221,436.60		
Total Donations—Grounds and Buildings	$ 471,436.60	$ 471,436.60		
ENDOWMENT RESERVES:				
Chairs—Caldwell Hall:				
Fully Endowed	$ 350,000.00	$ 350,000.00		
Partially Endowed	4,750.00	4,750.00		
Chairs—McMahon Hall:				
Fully Endowed	425,000.00	425,000.00		
Partially Endowed	58,132.46	46,829.97	$ 12,302.49	
Archbishop Kenrick's Chair—Partially Endowed	11,783.00	11,783.00		
Archbishop Williams' Chair—Partially Endowed	7,940.00	7,840.00	100.00	
Fellowships—Caldwell Hall	15,000.00	15,000.00		
Fellowships—McMahon Hall	10,000.00	10,000.00		
Scholarships—Caldwell Hall	128,107.62	123,107.62	5,000.00	
Scholarships—McMahon Hall	19,675.55	19,675.55		
General Endowment	11,485.00	11,485.00		
Bouquillon Library Endowment	2,385.00		2,385.00	
Total Endowment Reserves	$1,045,258.63	$1,025,471.14	$ 19,787.49	
ESTATE OF A. F. RYAN	105,427.55	105,427.55		
BILLS PAYABLE		150,000.00		$150,000.00
CAPITAL	482,552.88	381,708.63	100,844.25	
SURPLUS	70,021.34		70,021.34	
TOTAL LIABILITIES	$2,174,697.00	$2,134,043.92	$ 40,653 08	

NEW YORK, April 16th, 1906.

We have examined the books and records of The Catholic University of America for the year ended March 31st, 1906, have verified all cash and security balances by actual count or by certificates from Depositaries, and

WE HEREBY CERTIFY that the accompanying General Balance Sheet agrees with the records of the University and is correct.

(Signed) HASKINS & SELLS,
Certified Public Accountants.

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UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Additions to the Board of Directors.—At its late meeting (April 18) the Board of Directors decided to add to its membership, and invited several distinguished ecclesiastics and laymen to accept a place in the governing body of the University. Archbishop Quigley of Chicago, Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee, and Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis have already signified their acceptance, and the names of several laymen will be soon announced.

The Hoyt Bequest.—The University acknowledges with gratitude the receipt from the estate of Charles A. Hoyt, Esq., of $29,326.07, being the bequest left it by that gentleman in his will.

Donation of Mr. T. Herbert Schriver.—The University has received through Cardinal Gibbons from Mr. T. Herbert Schriver of Union Mills, Md., the sum of $5,000 as a contribution to its funds. Our sincere thanks are due this generous donor for his act of confidence and good-will.

University Collection for 1905.—The sum total received to date from the University Collection for 1905 is $96,216.19. Several dioceses remain yet to be heard from, and it is confidently expected that the collection will equal that of the preceding year.

Financial Receipts of the University for the Year Ending March 31, 1906.—The total of the annual receipts of the University for the last financial year reaches the figure of $293,066.80. Of this sum $118,721.74 represent donations and endowments received in that period.

The Cardinal's Collection.—During the last year the fund known as the Cardinal's Collection was increased by $56,443.13. It has now reached the figure of $139,386.93.

Gift of Knights of Columbus, Warren, Pa.—The University acknowledges with thanks the gift of a valuable mathematical instrument, invented by Professor Quinn, for the kinematic description of certain higher plane curves. It comes to us from Warren Council No. 964, with the best wishes of the inventor and his brother members.

St. Louis Exposition Medal for the School of the Social Sciences.—The University has received from the authorities of the St. Louis Exposition the large gold medal awarded to the School of the Social

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Sciences for its exhibit of the charitable work of the Catholic Church in the United States. It will be remembered that this unique exhibit was the work of two of our professors, Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby, Professor of Sociology, and the Hon. Charles P. Neill, then Professor of Political Economy, now United States Commissioner of Labor (see BULLETIN, October, 1904, X, 478–483).

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In the School of Technology, address
Prof. D. W. SHEA, Director.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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The
Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XII. *October, 1906.* *No. 4.*

THE ETHICS OF GAMBLING.

The earliest evidence of history points to the fact that the particular habit of gambling was an outgrowth of the more general practice of gaming. We are thus led to seek the origin of the practice in pre-historic times and to regard it as one of man's earliest acquisitions in the line of habit. It is often spoken of as an "instinct," and its almost universal existence proves this appellation true. We are, of course, to a great extent in the field of conjecture, when we endeavor to describe the genesis of that habit, yet not altogether so. Human nature in its universal customs is a sure guide even in pre-history.

Viewed from the standpoint of psychology, the gambling question offers many interesting facts in an analysis of the term "instinct." We are aware of the existence in man of two forces, reason and instinct. The possession of the former power by man distinguishes him from the brute animal; its use enables him to deduce one truth from another, to see the good and avoid the evil, to predicate relation, value, and position of the objects about him.

Instinct on the other hand is possessed in common by man and beast. In man it is, or should be, subservient to reason; in the animal it has complete control. It is that undefined force which attracts like to like, which provides them with powers of self-preservation, and is instrumental in the maintenance of their existence. In man, instinct, although subordinate to reason, often rises in rebellion and is as correspondingly strong as the force of the will is weakened or strengthened.

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With the savage in primitive ages instinct predominated. The highest type of modern civilization, on the other hand, displays a condition in which mind exercises control over the organism while instinct is more or less completely subject to reason. Human nature, ever so much the same the world over, has thoroughly demonstrated the fact that while instinct may be checked, it cannot be eradicated. An examination of our organic structure has revealed truths surprising in their reality, an explanation, one might say, of forces which seem to disappear at times, subsequently rising up with reinforced strength, as if they would demonstrate in their own way an incontestable right to share in the life of man and direct the course of his actions. To that source or mainspring of human associations, the idea of necessity, fluctuating at different periods, yet always existing in man, may we trace the origin of our several emotions, our ideas of pleasure and happiness, misery and pain. All such emotions or feelings are in one way or another concerned with the struggle for existence. Parallel with these organic manifestations there exists an interest as complete as the physical power to which it is related.

Even from our limited and obscure knowledge of pre-historic man, we are able to attribute to him, as to the animals also of that early period, a high development of the emotional states, a harmonious co-operation of mental and of organic power in the cultivation of such qualities as were absolutely necessary for existence. The brute forces were developed to a high degree in both man and beast and with the constant exercise of these forces there grew up a corresponding interest in the problems so vital for both. Through the various stages of history that abnormal development in the motor force of instinct has been superseded by an advance of the intelligence whose subsequent growth and cultivation effected a superiority of mind over matter, of reason over instinct. We cannot say that this development of reason and subjugation of instinct has been accomplished without enormous struggles, nor that the victory has been complete. The emotional tendencies, so freely exhibited in the life of pre-historic man, are still factors in modern civilization.

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The interest displayed by primitive man in his field of activity was based upon a very simple law. The individual considered his own welfare and gave it his hearty and untiring attention. Pleasure and pain were constantly before the primitive man; the one he sought after with tireless energy, the other he avoided with a wholesome fear. The attention thus centered upon the idea of pleasure and pain, experienced violent changes in the transition from one state to the other. Thus the motor powers, the organic forces, of early man were kept in a state of constant activity. As the different social groups enlarged, the limitations of the individual increased, his freedom suffered a restriction. The man of nature, of the wilderness, became member of a group. Around him were gathered fellow-beings, experiencing common needs, establishing laws, traditions and institutions.

In the conditions developed by social growth, the former savage encountered a problem as novel as it was vital. In this new environment he found himself restrained by authority. He no longer seeks his personal gratification only, but merges his individual wants with the needs of the group. The animals, once the prey of his strength, he tames; with their assistance, he forces the earth to contribute to his support. He tills the soil, plants the seed, and harvests the crops of the field. A radical change, we may say, from a former state in which the problematical stimulus furnished an outlet for the emotional reactions in man, to a condition devoid in many respects of excitement, a sort of artificial life where modes of action were uniform and routine constant, where the mind became dull, and the man was considered to be little better than a machine.

This phase of man's progress, in which labor and organization demanded full recognition, was not easily established. Not all the social groups readily made that change or adjustment to new conditions. Even among those groups which thrive under the new regime of activity, there is still an instinctive expression of pleasure at the advent of holidays or periods of relaxation, a revival to a certain degree of the ancient and yet ever present power possessed by all, which, though checked by reason, is always seeking an outlet. The

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artificial element in the life of a society has been greatly intensified by the rise of the factory, and the invention of labor-saving devices. These would naturally tend to reduce to a minimum the emotional element in man, blocking the natural outlet which was afforded his organic nature in the days of his pristine vigor, when the exercise of reason was at best a real but vague factor. We cannot say that all present forms of activity are equally devoid of that stimulating incentive for which the emotional and instructive element in man craves. The strength or degree of development of the emotional side of man is frequently indicated by the choice he makes in his occupation or calling. In certain occupations, it is true, bravery and even altruism seem to be dominant traits. A closer inspection, however, of the facts discloses additional information relative to the characteristics of men in these occupations. The element of uncertainty, nay even more, the idea of risk, of chance, is a fundamental attraction for such men. Their emotions find ample outlet in their hazardous employment. Their energies are expended in positions ever productive of surprises, of dangers, whose solution calls for rapid and violent changes from one emotion to another.

From the factory and machine shop where the regulated activity has reduced to a minimum the emotional element in man's nature, to the stock exchange, where the greatest possible play of emotions is experienced, we see typified in the various occupations many different degrees or phases of emotion. The factory hand possesses a limited field for the exercise of his energy, he is little better than an economic statistic in the world of commerce and business. Freedom from responsibility renders him incapable of experiencing the sense of triumph, the flush of victory felt by the owner of a business when he has defeated competition, or the excitement attendant upon the success of the manipulator of stocks.

The emotional cravings in man by their very nature demand an outlet. Where the business or profession furnishes no satisfaction for such cravings, the individual, forced by circumstances, creates a field wherein such natural feelings may find expression. The practice of gaming, so satisfying to the man of early days, in a society far less complex than

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our own, has been gradually extended to gambling, in which the attention of the participants is concentrated, and in which the emotions, keyed to a high degree of intensity, find ample room for the desired expression.

The control exercised over the actions of man by instinct, its power and its range, are strikingly exhibited in the gambling contest. The first indulgence arouses a smouldering spark of emotion which is subsequently fanned to flame. The individual is compelled to constantly invent new fields of activity in which he may satisfy his craving. Once the gaming instinct finds expression in gambling, there is presented to reason a problem which involves one of the most insidious habits peculiar to the human race. Gambling, as a form of activity in which the emotional forces find such an ample field for expression, may be described as that act, or series of acts, in the performance of which a transfer of property is made through the medium of chance; the element of chance being conceived as "pure" or "mixed" according as it is, or is not, conceived with other determining conditions. We may call chance "pure," when no knowledge, skill, foresight or trickery is used by any of the interested parties as a determining factor in the outcome of the transaction; chance here being direct, the resultant of a combination of forces wholly beyond the calculation of those interested. Mixed chance on the other hand is predicated of those transactions, in which chance and skill are considered as joint factors in the result. Such a combination of the certain with the uncertain is a very important factor in our social life. Skill, however, is pitted against chance and constantly endeavors to diminish, and, if possible, totally eliminate its value. The stock-broker, the business-man and the farmer recognize the existence of an element of uncertainty in those transactions which so vitally concern them, towards the satisfactory execution of which they direct all their energy, employ all their ingenuity, concentrate all possible skill.

In what respect does the risk taken by the man of business differ from that taken by the gambler? As we have previously noted, gambling is intimately concerned with an exchange of property. Both merchant and gamester risk their money for greater wealth. In the action of the merchant there is an

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attempt to eliminate the uncertain, to evolve from this haze of chance a certain merited, definite product in the form of gain. He aims to execute a social trust in a distribution upon a rational scale of values possessed by him. Consequent upon his action there follows an increase of utility, a real contribution to the healthy growth of the community of which he is a member. With the gambler, there is no idea of any social consideration; no "social trust" principle ever disturbs his mind. He works in harmony with chance and endeavors to increase, not to diminish, the element of uncertainty.

Whatever be our idea of property, the fact still remains; property is not an idle term. It has a real value; it represents the result of labor and exchange. The right of the individual to have and to hold property should not be entirely divorced from those social considerations which stamp such a right with the seal of public approval. All transfer of property supposes a just exchange of values, an equivalent received by the parties to such transaction. The loser in a gambling contest gets no equivalent since the total gain is appropriated by the winner. It is true that, prior to the contest, there existed a mutual danger, an equality of risk, yet no equality of danger or of risk can be converted into equivalents or translated into real possessions. The gambler is a member of a community who may be classed as an individual in, but not of, the group. No principle is conceivable upon which such men might be regarded as dealers in property who are worthy of the social trust.

The gambler has no real value as an agent in facilitating the production and distribution of commodities. He appears for a brief period upon the horizon of commercial life, a temporary holder of property which remains but a few hours, days at best, under his control only to pass to another, whose permanent ownership is inconsistent with the nature and tendency of gambling. Such an individual evinces little or no interest in problems which are ever present to those who are mindful of the welfare of the community; problems suggesting greater privileges for the individual, social growth for the classes and collective progress for all. The interest surrounding the live problems in a community indicates the con-

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sideration given them in a healthy condition of society; it acts as a social thermometer, which registers with unfailing accuracy the social temperature. As gambling increases, it presents a serious obstacle to the moral growth of the community. The state, like the individual in many respects, possesses moral characteristics, which affect society as the actions of the individual leave their trace upon his character. It is obvious that any action of the individual in which reason is made subservient to a misdirected use of impulse or emotion, becomes a real power for harm, and hence threatens the welfare of that individual. Allow these acts to be predicated of even a small proportion, a fraction of society, and the tendency passes from its individual phase into a larger significance, a danger seriously threatening the stability of the group.

One, if not the best, asset which society can possess is contained in the moral character of the individual. Laws, regulations, institutions, in fact all kinds of collective legislative activity, count upon the presence of this moral tone in the members of the governed body. Society draws upon this fountain for its very existence, its growth and progress. History itself bears witness to the fact that the decadence and death of moral life is but a foreshadowing of social dissolution. The difficulty experienced by the individual in retaining his moral integrity in the midst of temptation, and often of positive crime, is made strikingly apparent in gambling practices. Here, in spite of many protestations to the contrary, is an atmosphere charged with dangers and temptations, more frequently with actual wrong. Fraud, dishonesty, immorality, theft, suicide and even murder, are often the results. It is possibly with the best intentions that a person enters a gambling transaction. His perception of morality is as strong as his determination to live up to its teachings. Not many such contests, however, have taken place before the ideas of right and justice, to say nothing of charity, become obscured in the gambler's mind, whose will-power for aught save the gratification of the gambling passion, has been weakened and undermined by repeated indulgence. He becomes the habitual gambler and oftentimes a leader of the criminal class. He

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loses all respect for self, for his fellow being, and even for life itself which he often destroys in suicide or murder. Familiarity with actions of an immoral or unjust nature frequently produces indifference. The transition from an attitude of indifference to one of approval is easy and rapid. The evils and crimes which the gambling novice at first abhors, often claim him as their agent in a remarkably short space of time. Since his energies are exercised in an atmosphere of crime and disorder, there follows the almost inevitable result of contamination, in one form or another. Conscience alone, clouded by such a habit, is helpless to reform the demoralized individual; hence the necessity of positive legislation upon gambling.

Social conscience made manifest in civil legislation, and the individual conscience expressed in the laws of morality, have given to the gaming transaction the status of a contract. A careful consideration of the problem from the point of view of law would necessarily open up a field for investigation entirely out of proportion with the scope of the present treatise. It is important, however, that we possess a general idea of the attitude assumed by the law in relation to such contracts.

A contract may be defined as an agreement by which at least one of the concurring parties acquires a right to an act or forbearance upon the part of the other or others. A gambling contract, also mentioned in legal terminology as a wager, is "an agreement whereby one party promised to give money or its equivalent upon the determination of an uncertain event, in a particular way, in consideration of the other party's making a present absolute payment, or an absolute promise of payment, or of his promising to give money, or its equivalent, in case the event falls out otherwise."[1]

There are wagering contracts which are transactions possessing commercial value, which are recognized as forms of business by the law and as such are subject to regulations. Apropos of such may be mentioned all forms of insurance, speculation in futures, etc. Those wagering transactions, on the other hand, which are known as mere bets, have no com-

[1] Hammon. *Contracts*, p. 213; Lawson, *Contracts*, p. 284.

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mercial value and are not recognized as factors in the world of commerce.

In some jurisdictions, where there is an absence of legislation upon the subject, a wager is considered valid unless for certain reasons; when, namely, it is contrary to good morals and sound public policy. Legislation in other sections declares all wagers void. Primarily wagers had been enforceable; but the enforcement of this law was accompanied by expositions of indecency and by such revelations of immorality that a subsequent law was enacted which declared wagers or bets binding only when the same were in accord with decency, with sound public policy, and were free from injustice. The present legislation in relation to such transactions is statutory. In some American states decisions have been rendered which classify as illegal all wagers save those directly connected with commercial transactions. Other American states adopt the English view, which legalizes wagers, where the same in no way injure the state, imply no immorality and are in strict accord with justice. A very strict stand has been taken against gambling contracts by the descendants of the Puritan settlers in New England, in the statutes of which section all wagering contracts are held to be illegal.

It is clear then, that civil legislation is by no means kindly disposed to the bet or wager, when such transaction possesses no commercial value, in whose execution there exists a menace to sound public policy, an inclination towards indecency, or a strong temptation to acts of injustice. Like all other institutions civil legislation has well defined limits: its laws are directed toward the welfare of the community, approving or prohibiting the external action of the individual in so far as those actions are in accord or at variance with the common welfare. Not the whole individual, then, but rather the man in certain phases of his activities becomes the subject of the laws of the state. There is another element in the member of society, which, independent in many respects from legal enactments, requires nevertheless the existence and enforcement of laws for its proper growth and expansion. It is the character, the moral quality in man that calls for laws and sanctions far

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more detailed, more penetrating than are discovered in regulations of the state.

The moral law concerns itself with the man rather in the light of the individual as such, than in a treatment of him from a collective standpoint. It considers the man not only as a unit in the community, but as a subject whose greater individual perfection quickens the progress of the group, as his defects retard its advance. Since the moral law aims to direct and govern all the actions of its subjects, it is natural to expect a manifestation of its laws upon the various phases of activity emanating from the individual. The moral law indeed regards with special concern the dangers accruing to the individual from an indulgence in actions of a gambling nature. Like the civil law, only upon a larger scale, it recognizes the element of danger, the temptation to evil deeds, so strongly manifested in gambling transactions; and to safeguard the conduct of those inclined to such acts it has placed several conditions before them as requisite for proper indulgence in this practice. In a gambling contest, then, the following rules are to be observed: (1) The gambler shall have dominion of those values which he stakes; (2) the game shall be free from cheating and fraud; (3) the danger, or chance of losing, shall be morally equal for all participants; (4) the game shall be honest in itself, and not prohibited by law;(5) the amount paid over by the loser shall not be such as to cause his family or creditors to suffer injury.[2]

No detailed analysis of these conditions is necessary for the deduction of conclusions plainly apparent to the reader. Gamblers, restricting the extent of their activities to such conditions, must necessarily desist from the practice or become ideal members of an ideal community. The strict observance of such laws makes gambling permissible in theory, impossible in practice. He who can observe such conditions and remain a gambler, must look for a society more perfect than the one in which we now live. The civil law permits gambling in conditions most diffcult to observe; the moral law adds restrictions which are well-nigh prohibitive. The ideal conditions of

[2] Sabetti, *Theologia Moralis*, Cap. V, pp. 364–365.

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the moralists, however, disappear when we consider the gambler as a member in the community. It remains for the future to show how far these ideal conditions will exert an influence upon civil legislation to frame laws that will confine within narrower limits than those of the present day, the gambling practice with its attendant evils.

An attempt will be made in succeeding pages to trace the motives which prompted the condemnations of the gambling practice, in the earlier periods of history. The two principal sources of information upon this phase of the question, are public opinion and legislation. In the one we meet the outpost of social conscience; a power which indicates the presence of an evil in society, and whose agitation for the welfare of the community frequently crushes out evils whose development would be fatal to society. In the other is contained the formal action of authority whereby society safeguards its life and integrity.

LESTER B. DONAHUE.

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A HISTORY OF CATHOLIC PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES.

To understand a great movement in the world of thought or action, it is usually necessary to approach it on its historic side. It is difficult to grasp its inner spirit and purpose, or gauge aright its possibilities and power, except one bring to the study of its present condition a thorough knowledge of its past. The larger and more complex the movement is, the more important the study of its past becomes. Only in its history are we able to discern, in clear perspective, the principles that gave it birth, that presided over its development, and that are the mainspring of its present activity. Only in its past development, as Newman has pointed out, do we find the key to a correct understanding of what it is essentially at present, and what it is likely in the future to grow to be

The Catholic parochial school system in the United States represents a great religious and educational world-movement. "The greatest religious fact in the United States to-day," says Bishop Spalding, "is the Catholic school system, maintained without any aid except from the people who love it." Its magnitude and complexity make it difficult to understand. Most non-Catholics who treat of it fail to apprehend either its purpose or its power. A school system which comprises 1,000,000 pupils, over 20,000 professional teachers, more than $100,000,000 worth of property, with an annual expenditure in the neighborhood of $15,000,000; which combines absolute unity and fixity of essential purpose with a flexibility of program as great as that which obtains in the public school system; which is national in its organization, and, at the same time, diocesan; which unites in the administration of each school three widely separated elements of authority, the bishop, the parish priest and the nun,—a system that does all this and does it effectively, without jar or noise, must be a very large and complex thing. It could not be the creation of a day. It must have come about gradually, as the result of a process of

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development. And to be understood it must be studied as such.

As a matter of fact, the foundation of the Catholic parochial school system in the United States dates from the early years of the Maryland Colony. It represents, therefore, a development covering a period of over two hundred and fifty years. Broadly speaking, we can distinguish two great periods in its development, the first, lasting down to the time of the Revolution, and the second, extending from that epoch-making event to our own day. The salient feature in its growth throughout the whole time is its dependence upon the growth of the Church in general. A direct relation existed between the development of the Church and the development of Catholic schools. We see the proof of the existence of this relation during the first period in the fact that, whenever Catholic settlements were formed and Catholic life reached any degree of maturity, Catholic schools were set up and a corresponding educational development took place. In settlements where Catholic life was weak or short-lived, either no schools were established, or those that were, had only a short or desultory existence. In the post-revolutionary period, the relation is even more clearly illustrated. The growth of Catholic parochial schools and their organization into a great system has kept pace in a remarkably even way, with the rapid and extraordinary growth of the Church. The main factors in the Church's growth—immigration and migration, the hierarchy, parochial and diocesan organization, the religious orders, the Councils—have constituted also the main factors in the growth of the schools. And the influences that were at work to retard the Church's growth, have had a correspondingly hampering effect upon the schools. The relation between Church and school has been, in fact, so close, that it is impossible to disassociate the history of the one from that of the other. The parochial school has been from the very beginning an agency of the Church. It is really a part of the Church's wider organization. Both in principles and in practical working, it belongs to the Church's system.

The fact of this relation is itself sufficient to fix the place of the Catholic parochial school system in educational history,

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and to exhibit its connection with the general world-movement for religious education, even if the connection were not made plain by the religious and educational antecedents of the men and women who founded the early parochial schools. In point of fact, however, there is a direct historic connection between the Catholic school system in this country and the Catholic school systems of the various countries of Europe. The first Catholic schools here were off-shoots of the existing school systems there. The founders and first teachers of our schools were products of the Catholic schools and colleges of Europe. The schools they established here were reproductions, to a great extent, of those in which they had been trained, or with which they were familiar in the old countries. All through the history of the Catholic parochial school system in this country, this European influence upon our schools is traceable through immigration, the religious orders, and other agencies. It has been a potent factor in the making of our schools and colleges, and in the moulding of their character.

We should expect to find, therefore, that the religious principles for which the parochial school stands are the same as those for which the distinctively Christian school has stood in every age and under every variety of conditions. Those principles sprang from certain definite views about man and God, and the relationship of man to God,—views that are as unchangeable as Christianity itself, and are indeed of its very essence. That man is a moral being; that the voice of conscience is a reflection of the eternal moral law; that God has made a revelation of truth through Christ, outside of the natural order of things; that man is destined for another and a more perfect life beyond the grave, for which his life on earth has been ordained as a preparation,—these are concepts that lie at the root of Christian education. Out of these ideas, have developed several well-defined principles in respect to education, its end and scope and appropriate accompanying circumstances, which are traceable all through the history of religious schools. These principles have, in substance, been held inflexibly by Catholics as well as by many Protestants, and they are likely to be held inflexibly, at least by Catholics, whatever may be the development or condition of religious

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education in the future. Let us try to define clearly just what these principles are, as we see them unfolded in the gradual evolution and organization of Christian education, and more particularly, as we see them expressed in the development of the parochial school system in the United States.

1. Looking at the matter historically, then, we may say that moral training, or the education of the will, is one of the fundamental things the Christian school stands for. It is generally admitted that moral character counts for more than mere knowledge in the struggle of life, and that moral training is an important duty of the school. So far practically all educators agree. But lines of cleavage in this commonly held view begin to disclose themselves when we ask, what is the ideal? Fundamentally, moral character is based upon the distinction between good and bad, right and wrong, virtue and vice. But again, what is the ideal of good, and right, and virtue? Is it to be found simply in the natural order of things—in the dicta of a reason and conscience rightly informed by a knowledge of the laws of the outer and inner worlds? Is the ideal that of the natural virtues, and no more? Here the position of the Christain school is plain and fixed. It necessarily rejects the ideal of character which is based upon the natural virtues alone. For the Christian the ideal of character is that set up by Christ,—an ideal which finds its sanction in conscience, too, but which commends itself to conscience as clearer, fuller, loftier, and more perfect than that which reason, unaided, is able to propose. In a word, it is *Christian* character, based upon the supernatural virtues and teachings of Christ, not distinct from the natural virtues, but including them and much more besides, which the Christian school places first among its duties, as the thing of most fundamental importance to the child.

The ideal of character to be striven for thus constitutes a note of radical difference between the Christian school and the school in which religion is not taught, or in which the religion taught is not Christian. The ideal being different, the view as to the means to be made use of in moral training is different too. The Christian school looks to a knowledge of the higher moral law which has come to us through Christ, joined to the practice of the moral and the Christian virtues, as the means

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to be made use of for the training of character. It stands squarely opposed, therefore, to that doctrine of Herbart, which seems to be finding an ever wider acceptance in our day, that "school discipline and instruction in the common branches, if illumined by the fundamental moral ideas, may be the adequate means for developing moral character."[1] The doctrine is debateable enough, if we take the ideal of moral character to be simply that of the natural man. But it cannot be maintained, and it was doubtless not the mind of Herbart to maintain, that "school discipline and instruction in the common branches" is an adequate means for the development of *Christian* character. The two systems are irreconcilably opposed in point of ideal and purpose.

2. In the second place, the Christian school stands for the principle that religious knowledge possesses a direct and important educative value for the pupil, apart from its influence in the formation of moral character, and its function as a dogmatic basis for the primary precepts of morality. Broadly speaking, all truth is educative, but all truth cannot be comprehended in the school curriculum. A selection has to be made. What shall be the basis for the selection? Manifestly, the intrinsic educative power of the subjects to be taught, under the given circumstances, and their importance for the pupil's after life. In both these respects, it is maintained, religious knowledge possesses a very high degree of value for the growing mind.

The mind develops through knowledge, and knowledge is gained and assimilated through the relationship of idea to idea. When the child enters the school for the first time, his mind has reached a certain stage of development, and is in possession of certain ideas. The work of the teacher is to develop these ideas still further, or rather to lead to their self-development. For this purpose, the principles of identity, of equality, of likeness, of causality, of the æsthetic, and the like, which the mind of the child has already learned through experience to employ, are brought into play, and made to serve as apparatus for the apprehension of new ideas, as well as for the better

[1] De Garmo, Herbart and the Herbartians, p. 56.

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assimilation and structural disposition of the existing content of the mind. Now, the apprehension and assimilation of religious knowledge is based upon these same organic mental processes. In the realm of religious truth, idea is related to idea, just as in the realm of secular knowledge. The two realms, in fact, have many points of contact. At bottom, all religious truth bears upon the relation of man and the universe to God, and the apprehension of this relation involves the exercise by the mind of those same structural mental principles of equality, likeness, causality, and the rest, which form the subjective basis of instruction in secular knowledge. From this point of view, therefore, the teaching of religion does not necessarily involve the introduction of any foreign principle into the methods of instruction.

Moreover, the mind of the child has already a substratum of religious knowledge. It is gifted with a certain religious sense, inclining it toward religion, and causing it to eagerly reach out to apprehend new religious ideas. It is only necessary to suppose, then, that the religious truths presented in the catechetical instruction or otherwise are made sufficiently simple and concrete, in order to have present all the conditions requisite for their easy and effective apperception in the pupil's mind.

But the apperceiving ideas are not confined to the purely religious content of the pupil's mind. They include other elements also, to a greater or lesser extent. They include purely secular as well as religious elements, although the religious elements doubtless play the more important role. For when the work of religious instruction is rationally done, the religious truths imparted to the child are presented linked in the closest relationship to truths of the natural order. The doctrine of the Incarnation, for instance, is presented in a setting of historical, geographical, moral, and æsthetical facts, and the ideas which rise up in the pupil's mind to embrace the complex image will correspond to the setting of truths in the natural order enveloping the religious doctrine, as well as to the religious doctrine itself. This is a very important point. In this precisely lies the chief educative value of religious teaching for the growing intelligence. It is just here that religious

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instruction in the school possesses an intellectual and practical value which religious instruction in the Sunday school or the Church can never have. For as the religious doctrine is gradually unfolded, in the course of time, the setting of historical, geographical, moral, and æsthetic elements is made continually to expand. In this way, an ever wider and more intimate correlation is established in the pupil's mind between the doctrines of faith and the facts and principles derived from the study of the common branches.

The supreme relation of man and the universe to God, the Creator of all things, is thus apperceived in connection with the relations of man and the other component elements of the universe to each other. A continuous process of co-ordination and synthesis is set up between the pupil's outer experience and his secular studies on the one hand, and his inner experience and the doctrines of faith on the other. A tendency is created to see truth in the whole, to see particular truths as all converging towards a common center, rather than as separated fragments, or as divergent series that never meet. In an embryonic way, the process may be likened to the work of the great mediæval schoolmen, who attempted to synthesize, in their theological *Summas*, the truths of philosophy and of the natural sciences, with the dogmas of faith and their corrollaries as embodied in the Christian revelation.

The process is, in the main, synthetic, but if the work is intelligently done, the analytical and critical faculty of the pupil's mind is brought into requisition too. Assimilation and co-ordination necessarily involve analysis and comparison. The objection, that the principle of religious instruction is authority, while that of secular knowledge is demonstration and verification, and that these principles are so different that, under the same conditions of instruction, they are mutually incompatible, is based upon a two-fold misconception. It supposes that the authority invoked by the teacher in religious instruction is essentially different from that which is appealed to in the imparting of secular knowledge. The authority is indeed different, but, in its practical aspect, it is merely a difference of degree of imperativeness. Besides, for the immature mind of the child, the all important thing is not truth

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in its relation to its sources, but truth in itself, in its relation to the existing content of the mind. The study of truth in its relation to its demonstrable sources is properly the work of maturer years. It is the work of the high school, the college, and the university. The supreme law of psychological change during the first years of school life, like the law of physiological change during the same period, is expansion. Psychologically, as well as physiologically, the child is, within certain limits, omnivorous. Through its innate structure, through inheritance, through acquired broad, general impressions, the mind of the child is an embryonic miniature of the whole world of knowledge. It hungers for knowledge of every kind which is capable of being correlated with the vague, general ideas it already possesses. It is the business of the teacher to satisfy this wholesome craving for knowledge and to develop it still more, in accordance with the laws of psychological growth on the one hand, and the actual and future environment of the pupil on the other. This is the main work in the beginning. And yet, while doing this, the teacher should be able to do something also to develop the spirit of inductive inquiry and demonstration. The objection is right in supposing that this is partially, at least, the duty of the elementary school. It is wrong only in supposing that this is impossible in the case of religious instruction. The objection here rests, in fact, upon a false psychological premise, in taking for granted the absence of all religious knowledge in the pupil which would enable him to bring the religious truths taught within the range of his powers of personal experience and verification. But is this any more true of the teaching of religion, than of the teaching of certain other subjects in the curriculum? The teaching, for instance, that all things come from God, and that all things, if rightly looked at, can be seen to give evidence of this relationship to God,—is the mind of the pupil less able to grasp this truth, and to apply it in his observation of the internal and external phenomena he experiences, than to understand the great principles of history and geography, and to submit their lessons to the probabilities of his personal experience? The objection would indeed be valid, if religious instruction in the school were simply a drill in abstract ideas.

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But it would hold equally against the teaching of geography and history in an abstract and uninteresting way.

The tendency towards the synthesis of secular and religious knowledge, which is set up in the school by the teaching of religion alongside of the common school subjects, does not stop with the termination of the school period. It is carried over into the after life of the pupil. From this point of view also, the teaching of religious truth in the school possesses a supreme educative value, not only as regards conduct and character, but also in respect to thought and feeling. What a knowledge of the elementary truths of faith does for the child, in helping him to harmonize his immature experiences of the outer order of things with the inner experiences of his soul and his religious sense, this the deeper and fuller development of the same truths, which comes with maturity of mind, does for the man, in the presence of the universe, and the infinity of complex relations which it involves. A man cannot think rightly or profoundly about any single fact or thing without being led back by it, step by step, to the great central religious truth, from which all else proceeds. A life cannot be regarded as rightly ordered which leaves out of account the Supreme Life, in the knowledge of which the end and purpose of all other life is to be sought.

Take the doctrine of the Incarnation, for instance, with all that it imports in respect to man's life and destiny. What a light this doctrine throws upon the idea of God, and upon the relations of all other beings to God, as well as to each other! Even in the sphere of purely mundane things, there is no single truth or group of truths which, in their deeper aspect, it does not touch and color. There is no mystery along life's pathway which it does not, to some extent, illumine. If the doctrine of the Incarnation represent a real truth, therefore, it is a matter of vital consequence for the after life of the pupil that he be made acquainted with that truth as soon, as fully, and as effectively as possible. The exclusion of such a doctrine from the circle of subjects which are to be made the basis of the child's instruction in school, could be justified only on the ground that it does not represent a real truth, or one that is

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certain. And in the Christian mind there is no place for this alternative.

3. A third fundamental thing the Christian school stands for is a religious atmosphere. By the atmosphere of the school is meant the sum of all the educative influences of the school-room, outside of the formal instruction. Study and recitation, lesson and lecture, represent only a part of the educational forces of the school. They constitute the formal process. But there are other and not less powerful agencies at work, though they are less obvious and direct in their operation. There is the influence of the teacher, outside of the teaching proper, an influence which is felt rather than perceived, which springs from character, personality, and general manner of life. There is the influence of the pupils upon each other, the interacting effect of their personal views, characters, conduct, manners, as well as, in a remoter degree, of their respective home surroundings. There is the influence of the appointments and ornaments of the school-room itself, which may be made to speak lessons of order, neatness, virtue, and religion day by day, silently, but none the less effectively, through appeal to the eye and the æsthetic sense.

It is the aim of the Christian school to turn all such things to account for the attainment of its specific end. If the teaching of religion is a thing of supreme importance in the work of the school, then every influence that can be made use of to make the religious instruction more effective and fruitful ought to be employed. The selection of teachers with special reference to their moral and religious character; the admission of only such pupils as belong to the religious faith which the school endeavors to foster and propagate; the placing of religious pictures and objects of piety in conspicuous places on the school walls; the use of religious songs, as well as common oral prayers and devotions, and practices; the organization of religious societies,—through these and kindred means it is sought to surround the pupil continually with an atmosphere of religion and piety in the school-room which will supplement and reinforce the work of formal religious instruction.

The efficiency of these methods of indirect religious teaching is based upon several well known psychological laws. The

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imitative instinct, which is a leading factor in the mental growth of the pupil during a certain period, is brought into play in the example of the teacher and the other pupils. Sense-perception and motor-activity are appealed to in the employment of songs, oral prayers and devotions, and symbolic representations. The sense of the æsthetic is associated with the idea of religion through images, pictures, and objects of art. In a word, the general aim is to correlate the religious ideas drawn from the catechetical instruction with all the existent ideas and activities of the mind of the pupil; and the school atmosphere, or the subtle influences we have been considering, are made to serve in this work of correlation, by concretizing and rendering more assimilable, for both will and intellect, the matter of the direct and formal religious instruction.

The three principles which I have outlined and explained, constitute the *raison d'être* of the Christian school. They are found embodied in substance in Christian schools of all ages, from the catechetical schools of Alexandria down to the denominational schools of our own day. They are common to Catholic and to distinctively Protestant schools. They are found applied, in varying degrees, in the work of religious educational institutions of all grades, from the primary school to the University. It is to these three principles, therefore, that we must look for the essential difference between the religious or denominational school and the non-sectarian school, which so often to-day is found side by side with the former, without any important difference from it either in the curriculum of secular studies or in the methods of teaching. It is likewise according to the more or less perfect application of these three principles in the work of the Catholic school, whatever be its grade or class, that we must measure its efficiency as a *Catholic* school and the extent to which it has been true to its own ideals as such.

The parochial schools in the United States represent the effort of the Church to develop a system of elementary education based upon these essential principles. From the very beginning of her organized work in this country, the Church has labored to establish schools and colleges wherein these

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principles would be embodied. From the very beginning, she has consistently held, that the training of the will is of even greater importance than the training of the intellect; that the school must be surrounded by an atmosphere of religion and piety; that the teaching of religious truth is of vital consequence for the right education of the child; and that religious instruction, to be effective, must be begun in the elementary grades, and be co-ordinated with instruction in the common branches.

The interest of the Church in the schools has always centered about these fundamental principles. In the teaching of the purely secular branches, she has had no direct interest. She took the curriculum of secular studies such as she found it, and left its development to the operation of the ordinary laws of educational growth. Outside of the matter of religion, there has been no attempt to differentiate Catholic parochial schools from other denominational schools or from the public schools. The tendency has been rather the other way. While Catholics, however, have clung faithfully to the historic ideals of the Christian school, it needs but a slight acquaintance with the history of Catholic schools in the United States to make one realize that the working out in practice of the principles outlined above is a matter which opens up grave difficulties and problems. If we compare, for instance, the teaching of religion in the parochial schools to-day with the teaching of it a few generations ago, it will be seen that great changes have taken place. Religion had a larger place formerly in the curriculum than it has now. The catechetical drill was more thorough, and took up more time. More importance was attached to it. The value to the growing mind of a knowledge of the truths of faith, simply as *knowledge,* was better evidenced in practice formerly. Not that the principle itself, perhaps, that religious truth, when properly taught, has a high educative value, is any less accepted now. But conditions in the school have changed. Secular studies have been multiplied. To make room for them, the time given to religious instruction has been cut down. There are some compensations for this, of course. Methods of teaching religion have im-

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proved. The ill-prepared teachers of the early days, often with little or no religious training themselves, have been replaced by teachers who are devoted to the service of religion by profession. The more distinctly religious atmosphere of the school is relied on to-day to do much of what was formerly done by direct instruction and drill.

Not only have there been great changes in the extent and methods of religious teaching in our schools in the past, but great differences in both these respects exist to-day. Parochial schools are sometimes found within a few blocks of each other in which the teaching of religion is about as different as it could be, the dogmatic content remaining the same. In some schools, the sum total of the religious influences at work hardly extends beyond the bare half hour of catechism teaching. In others, religion is kept in the foreground all the time. In some instances the desire to rival the rich and varied programme of the neighboring public schools, has caused a paring down of the religious work of the school to such an extent that anything like a religious atmosphere is scarcely possible. On the other hand, we see schools whose standard in secular studies is quite as broad and as high as that of the best public schools of their class, which are still able to include in their programme various exercises of piety as well as classes in religious instruction.

Here and there throughout the country, the effort is being made to bring the methods of catechetical instruction more fully into accord with sound psychological principles. In a number of our best schools catechism is now being taught by employing the same methods as prevail in the teaching of the other common branches. In these schools direct religious instruction is accompanied by object lessons, blackboard and chart illustrations, songs and devotional exercises,—in a word, the senses, the imagination, the emotions, the will and the affections are all appealed to, as well as the intelligence, in the endeavor to bring down the religious truths that are taught from the region of the abstract and the metaphysical, and to render them easily assimilable for the mind of the child. Several catechisms have recently made their appearance which

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embody these methods in a practical and attractive form. It must be admitted, however, that in the great majority of our schools, in many even which are thoroughly modern in methods of teaching in respect to other subjects, the catechetical instruction is still given after the fashion of a century ago. It is a dry, hard drill in abstract, theological formulæ, and little more. There is no appeal to the senses, and little, if any, to the imagination, the heart, and the will. The catechisms in more common use, so far as pedogogical principles and methods are concerned, offer not the slightest improvement over those of a century ago. If anything, they are worse, for they are longer, more technical, and more abstract. The question might well be raised as to why the question-and-answer method of teaching should be considered the *ne plus ultra* of method in religious instruction, since it is no longer regarded as sufficient in the teaching of other branches; but even apart from this question, the make-up of our common catechisms is such as to leave them upon to the gravest objections, in point of both principle and method.

It is evident, in fact, that, on the religious side, the parochial school of to-day is very far from having reached the term of its complete development. It is still in a partly embryonic condition. The adjustment of means to ends and principles has to proceed much farther and to become much closer before anything approaching a satisfactory situation as regards religious training can be said to be attained. In point of religious teaching, the development of our schools, as a whole, is far behind what it is in the matter of secular studies. It is a strange fact, and it would be a grave menace to the future of our schools, did not a consideration of the causes that have brought about this condition, in the light of the past history of the schools, warrant the hope of a fuller development of the school in the future on the religious side. The greater unification, or at least simplification, of the school curriculum, which educators generally now recognize as a need, will doubtless, in the future, afford opportunity to our Catholic schools to give to the teaching of religion the place of supreme importance it deserves.

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Outside of the matter of religion, there are a number of features about the development of the Catholic parochial school system in the United States which merit the special study of the student of education. On the economic side, what has been accomplished, taken together with the manner of its accomplishment, is altogether unique in the history of education. In respect to organization and administration there are features of even greater interest. Just as the Church, under the new conditions confronting Catholic life in America, has developed an organization and a spirit adapted to the carrying on of her work successfully under those conditions, so her school system has, under the pressure of adverse circumstances at certain points and the enlargement of opportunities at others, grown into a form and structure which is greatly different from our public school system on the one hand, and, on the other, from the existing systems of Catholic schools in other countries. As an illustration of this, it is sufficient to point to the fact that the parochial school system, owing to the nature of its organization, is altogther exempt from some of the crying abuses to which our public schools are subjected, such as, for instance, the manipulation of school interests for political ends. It is noteworthy, too, that Catholics in other lands have become interested in the Catholic school system here, and are studying its organization and methods. The development of the schools on the academic side is a feature also that is full of interest. How the old rigid "Three R" curriculum of the poverty-stricken Catholic schools in colonial days has expanded gradually, with the growth of educational thought, until to-day it is practically indistinguishable, in point of content, from the broad and bountiful curriculum of the state-endowed public schools; how the few, poor, and ill-prepared lay teachers of the early days have come to be replaced by the great communities of trained religious teachers who carry on the work of the parochial schools to-day; how the more or less crude and unscientific methods that obtained during the first period of our parochial school history have gradually given way to the vastly improved methods of teaching that are in use now;—all this and much more that pertains

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to the academic development of the schools calls for the attention and careful study of the student of education, whether interested in the religious problem or not.

Yet the parochial schools have received but scant attention at the hands of our educational historians. Those features of our school system which distinguished it from the public school system in respect to organization and administration have been almost altogether neglected. In some educational histories the very existence of the parochial school system has been practically ignored. It is hoped that in the following pages, in the exhibition of the origin, rise, and progress of our schools, justice may be done, in some measure, to the work of Catholic educators. But the subject is large enough to afford room for more detailed and searching study at every important point.

In setting forth the facts which have been gathered relative to the parochial schools, it has been borne in mind that their development is intimately interwoven with that of the Church and also that practically nothing has been written as yet regarding their history. These considerations have, to a large extent, determined the method followed. The underlying purpose has been, to show the causes that have produced the present system of Catholic schools and made it what it has grown to be. The effort has been to connect the movement, on the one hand, with the growth of the Church, and, on the other, with the religious, educational, social, and industrial movements in the country at large. During the colonial period particularly, when the Catholic school system was slowly forming in rough outline, these factors have been dealt with as extensively as it was thought necessary, in order to enable the reader to see clearly the creative influences that have been at work.

If the space devoted to the academic side of the Catholic school development seems unduly small, especially in the colonial period, the fault does not lie with the plan of the author, so much as in the scarcity of materials. Exceedingly little has come down to us about the academic side of the early schools. There are several reasons for this. People did not write much

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about education in those days or even think about it much. And there was often a special reason for keeping quiet about Catholic schools, in the fact of existing persecution and prejudice. But even for the post-revolutionary period, the materials for a thorough study of the academic development of the schools are very scarce, and hard to be got at. Except in a few instances, nothing has yet been done to collect, from local sources, materials relating to the history of the schools during the last century. There is an abundance of data in existence in local records, covering the history of the longer established schools during at least the past half century. It would not be a difficult thing to gather this up and cast it into the form of local or diocesan school sketches. Several attempts of this kind have recently made their appearance, and it is evident that the importance of preserving the records of our schools is beginning to receive attention. It is hoped that the present effort to trace, in outline, the history of the school system as a whole, will stimulate many to take an interest in the history of local schools, and to collect and publish their records. Only after local and diocesan historians have done their work, can a history be written of the Catholic educational movement which will do justice to the subject in all its aspects.

Even in the case of the pre-revolutionary period, if may be hoped that research will shed much further light upon the history of Catholic schools, especially upon their academic character and condition. The important facts which the author has gleaned from the old Maryland Will Books, and which go to disprove several statements of educational historians which, in effect at least, have reflected more or less upon Catholic zeal for education, furnish an example of how much still remains to be done before the full history of the early Catholic schools will be accurately known. What has become of the records of the old Jesuit school at Bohemia, and of the records of the still older college at Newtown, as well as of the parish registers of that and the other Jesuit parishes in Maryland? A few precious manuscript records relating to these institutions survive at Georgetown, but the parish registers and the great bulk of the records are unknown. They may have been destroyed.

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Several disastrous fires occurred in Jesuit houses in America and England in which such records, if existing, would be likely to be stored.[2] Or these records may still exist, forgotten and unknown, among the archives of some of the Jesuit establishments in England or on the continent. So too with the letters of the old Jesuit missionaries in Maryland and Pennsylvania, who were also the first school-teachers. Some of them have been religiously gathered up and treasured in the *Woodstock Letters,* but the great mass of them have still to be found and published, if indeed they are to be found at all. The *American Catholic Historical Researches* is doing a service of the highest kind to Catholic history by searching out and publishing original letters and documents of the kind. The Catholic Historical Society, of Philadelphia, through its *Records* is doing a similar work, as is also the New York Catholic Historical Society, in its *Historical Records* and *Studies.* The first two of these publications have furnished a large share of the materials that went to make up the chapter on the Catholic colonial schools in Pennsylvania.

There remains similarly, a large field still for research in the history of the early Franciscan schools. There is reason to fear that many of the records pertaining to the early New Mexico schools perished during the Indian uprising there in 1668. But much valuable material still exist, without doubt, relating to the Franciscan schools there, as well as in Florida, Texas and California. In the archives of the Mexican National Library there are many volumes of still unpublished manuscripts dealing with the history of Spanish rule in the Southwestern States.[3] The extraordinary success attained by the Franciscans in converting and civilizing the natives, together with the reliance they placed upon education in effecting this result, would make every additional bit of information from first-hand sources, bearing upon their work, an interesting and valuable contribution to the complete and comprehensive history of Catholic education in the United States,—a work which as yet belongs necessarily to the future.

[2] Cf. Records of the English Province, v. III, p. 323.

[3] Texas Historical Association Quarterly, 1904.

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TWO MEDIEVAL CATHOLIC EDUCATORS: I. VITTORINO DA FELTRE.

With the Italian Quattrocento are associated the glories of the peninsular Renaissance in literature and in art. The humanist is the leading figure of the century. His return to the historic past, or his restoration of the riches of Italy's golden days in letters was the most potent and far-reaching influence on the life of the century. With the revival of classic standards of thought and action the character of the civilization of the fifteenth century was deeply affected. An old culture became new, was universally and enthusiastically received. "Abeunt studia in mores." Old ideals changed; old systems disappeared with the rise of the new learning. An intellectual revolution took place and every phase of life and thought felt the influence.

Education profited by the movement in theory and in practice. In this age of literary activity a subject which with Italian statesmen, philosophers, and churchmen had always been of absorbing interest could not be neglected. It had been the favorite theme of Italian writers.

Almost ten centuries before, Ennodius (d. 521), bishop of Pavia, addressed Deuterius, a tutor, to whom his nephew Parthenius had been entrusted, congratulated him upon his pupil, and encouraged him by generous expressions of approval.[1] When two young men, Paterius and Severus, began their studies he addressed them an enthusiastic declamation.[2] Another boy's success in study called forth a similar burst of eloquence.[3]

In the same century Boethius (d. 525), Roman senator and last of the classic writers, produced his "De cognitione rhetoricæ" and "De consolatione philosophiæ." Those ac-

[1] Complete titles of works of reference are given in bibliography. Migne, Pat. Lat., LXIII, I, 282.

[2] Migne, Ibid., Decl. XI.

[3] Migne, Ibid., Decl. XII.

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quainted with the history of the science of oratory know how great was the influence of the former treatise throughout the middle ages and the Renaissance.

The latter work was constantly quoted in later times. Aeneas Sylvius, Pius II, could recommend it as a text-book in moral philosophy.[4]

Although there were many didactical treatises during the following ten centuries they did not entirely constitute the pedagogical inheritance of the Italians of the Quattrocento.

Cassiodorus, the last Roman consul contributed as much to the science of pedagogy by the instructive prefaces which he wrote to the documents issued by him as secretary to the Gothic conqueror, as by his treatise "De artibus et disciplinis litterarum." He was teaching his conquerors the Roman form of government. Like Gregory the Great, acting later in the appointment of barbarian bishops, Cassiodorus took the appointment of a Goth to office as an occasion to instruct him in the history of the office he was to fulfil and the duties it entailed. He taught a nation that was quick and eager to learn.[5] His works made him the "Preceptor of the Middle Ages," but the work he accomplished as a state official was equally far-reaching.

The ancient custom of addressing educational treatises to princes never disappeared among Latin and Italian writers. Sedulius, an Irishman of the ninth century, might be selected among a great number of Latin writers who continued the practice. In "De rectoribus christianis," he sought to instruct the princes of his age. He believed that the prince should be a leader in knowledge as well as in power. To him were allowed the choicest advantages to a complete education. If he accepted them his example would be a potent one toward the cultivation of learning.[6] Many instances of this mode of instruction are afforded by the writers of the fifteenth century.[7] When it is remembered, furthermore, that all the best produc-

[4] De educatione liberorum. Woodward, Vittorino da Feltre, 158.

[5] T. Hodgkin, Letters of Cassiodorus; A. Drane, Christian Schools and Scholars, I, 42.

[6] Migne, Pat. Lat., CIII.

[7] Monnier, Le Quattrocento, I, 238.

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tions of these centuries appeared and were preserved in Latin one readily sees what a great body of educational thought confronted the Italian pedagogue of this period.

The works of foreigners like Alcuin and Rabanus Maurus came directly to him in his own tongue and national literature. Writers before him had studied and accepted them. He could consult them as easily as the "De magistro" of St. Thomas.

One feels inclined to emphasize this fact at the present time, for the reason that some writers on the state of education in this period are very misleading. They insist so strongly on the achievement of the humanists that their readers may remain unaware of the pedagogical thought bequeathed to them by former generations. These writers however, are not entirely responsible for such an attitude.

Many accepted authorities had attached little importance to the preceding period as a stage in the development of pedagogy. Some, it seemed, in charitable silence had passed it by; others estimated its value by a damaging examination of the movements it produced in their decay.

The work of the schoolmen for instance, in logic, dialectic and the form of education was not acknowledged, chiefly because it was not understood.[8] The contribution of the humanists following upon the period of so great sterility recorded a most brilliant advance in educational science.

That there was an advance and a brilliant one none can doubt. Indeed, it is our desire to sustain and increase the belief. It will not weaken our position, however, but rather lend interest to our procedure to remark at the beginning that the early humanists were not independent of the theories and practices of the educators of the middle ages.

When it can be shown, for example, that the study of letters was not neglected in the universities of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, rather that chairs for the pursuit of the same flourished, despite activity and interest in philosophy and theology, the enthusiasm which promotors of the revival manifested is more easily comprehended and the success which they

[8] Mark, Educational Theories in England, 3.

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enjoyed is better understood. Furthermore, it is useful to remember that there still existed besides this university education, a system of monastery and palace schools, in which the trivium, *i. e.*, grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric, held the most prominent place. The first of these studies was beyond the rudimentary stage; indeed it furnished more than the germ from which the later humanistic education was developed. Something more, consequently can be claimed for the schools of this period than a remote preparation of the science of grammar and rhetoric for the humanist.[9]

Nevertheless, whatever may have been their indebtedness to the past, the first generation of humanist educators found a problem to solve which was peculiarly new. The literary reformation had produced it. These Italian pedagogues appear when the new birth in literature was at its height. They were among its most distinguished promotors. They saw all other interests fade with the return to classical antiquity. Their problem, in short, was to impart this immense store of learning to the next generation. The ideal in education had changed. The youth were to be trained in the knowledge which all were then so eagerly acquiring. Literary culture was to be the absorbing pursuit of the future.

Chrysoloras might come from Constantinople and lecture to university professors and students at Venice or Padua on the treasures of the Greek classical authors; Guarino, Aurispa, or Filelfo, fresh from the Capital of the East, might lecture to cultured audiences at Bologna or Florence on the discoveries in Latin or Greek letters, and realize success in their efforts; the task of preparing youthful minds for the new studies and awakening in them the same ardor and enthusiasm was a more difficult and scientific problem.

The humanist pedagogue set about to solve it. He proceeded at times, like Aeneas Sylvius or Pier Paolo Vergerio, by preparing a pedagogical treatise and addressing a prince or noble of his time on this new concept of education; he lectured, like Chrysoloras, or Barzizza, in the universities and academies on the preparatory steps towards the cultivation of

[9] Browning, Educational Theories, 38; Adams, Middle Ages, C. 15.

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the new learning, or like Vittorino da Feltre or Guarino da Verona, he engaged in the active work of training children as tutor in the palace or master in the town school.

There are instances where he held these two offices at the same time. Strangely enough this was a most successful procedure with some humanists. It possessed all the advantages of the tutorial system with a wider field of activity; for in these schools attached to the courts were received the sons of other nobles and, in addition, poor boys whom the master deemed worthy of a superior education.

The tutor had never disappeared from the palaces of the older Italian families. Although the monasteries since the days of St. Benedict, had drawn young men from the castle for the purpose of instruction, the nobles still retained the "Precettore" even for the older children. Notwithstanding the lack of care often manifested in the selection of men to occupy such positions, scholars of genuine ability were often secured. They produced highly creditable results in the training of children.

Frequently they were esteemed members of the household, sharing in the parental authority with regard to all that concerned the pupils' formation. The number of pupils was small and the master was allowed a freedom of activity, which in addition to the other advantages of the system rendered the conditions for the educational work almost ideal.

The tutor lived with his pupils. They were his constant study. He discovered their physical and mental powers and carefully observed their dispositions and traits of character. He opened their minds to knowledge, and witnessed their progress and development. He could be their helper and director in work, their companion in recreation, their advocate and friend in the family council.

Examples of eminent tutors are not rare among the humanists of the early Renaissance. Mostly laymen, graduates of universities, eminent scholars, foremost in the movement, they bent their energies to the loving task of setting before young minds the long hidden and newly discovered riches of an immortal literature. They became intermediaries to transmit to

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future generations all that was ennobling and inspiring in the life of a golden past.

Two of these teachers are conspicuous figures in the literary history of Italy during the first half of the Quattrocento. They were enthusiastic humanists, abreast with their contemporaries in science and labored indefatigably to reduce the new discoveries in learning to a system of teaching.

They are offered here as examples of the lay teacher in Italy before the Reformation. Having some common characteristics it would seem that they afford excellent material for a comparative or a parallel study. Such however, has not been attempted here. Others have so treated them with the result that both have unduly suffered by the contrast, for they differ widely in many respects.[10]

They are presented together in this paper with the belief that one is necessary for the proper understanding of the other. They are occasionally contrasted or compared. We believe that they "were only excellent in a multitude of lay teachers of the Quattrocento."[11]

They represent a type of schoolmaster, now little known or almost forgotten, for which the Italy of that century is remarkable. That they were able scholars, and great educators will appear from a review of their lives, and a study of their educational work in the schools with which they were most intimately associated.

I. Vittorino da Feltre.

1. *First Studies and Training.*—Vittorino de'Rambaldoni was born in 1379 of good Italian stock in the Alpine town of Feltre, whence he derived the surname by which he is best known. His father, Bruto de'Rambaldoni was a public writer or notary,[12] and during Vittorino's childhood the family often suffered from extreme poverty.[13]

[10] Rosmini, Vittorino da Feltre, 148.

[11] Shahan, Middle Ages, 404.

[12] Probably a scribe who depended for his livelihood on the small fees exacted from the illiterate for such services as letter-writing, drawing of testaments, etc.

[13] Symonds, Renaissance in Italy, II, 298; Woodward, Vittorino da Feltre; Rosmini, 15.

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In 1396 Vittorino, then in his eighteenth year, entered the University of Padua. This institution, the daughter and rival of the great "studio" of Bologna, ranked second only to Florence among the universities of Italy.[14] Padua was very favorable to the new learning. The spirit of Petrarch still lingered there. The poet's beloved pupil Giovanni Conversino da Ravenna was professor at that time of rhetoric and Latin literature, and with scholars like Gasparino da Barzizza, Paolo Veneto and Pier Paolo Vergerio, he animated Padua with the spirit of the new movement. This activity, however, was entirely in pursuit of Latin letters.

With the advent of Chrysoloras to Florence in 1396, Greek took a considerable place among the studies of the Italians of the North. There were many Venetians at Padua, who through commercial relations with Greece had become intensely interested in Greek life and culture. "Under Venetian tutelage," says Rashdall, "Padua reached the zenith of her glory, becoming in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries one of the two or three leading universities in Europe. Venetian subjects were forbidden to study elsewhere than at Padua, and eventually a period of study there was required as a qualification for the exercise of public functions at Venice."[15] This was undoubtedly a great influence in preparing a favorable field for the cultivation of Greek at Padua.[16]

The University offered courses in theology, canon and civil law, arts and medicine. Other subjects such as mathematics could be studied under private teachers residing in Padua but not officially associated with the University.

Vittorino being registered under the faculty of arts attended the lectures of Barzizza and Ravenna in grammar and Latin letters.[17] He devoted himself also to dialectic and other parts of philosophy. According to Castiglione, Vittorino also applied himself with great ardor to the study of theology and canon law, becoming not only a dialectician of power and a superior philosopher but a good theologian.

[14] Rashdall, Universities of Europe, II, p. 1, 20.
[15] Ibid., II, P. I, 21.
[16] Woodward, 5.
[17] Ibid.

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With him studied Guarino da Verona, destined like himself to be a great humanist schoolmaster.[18]

Vittorino's teaching experience began at this time. He desired to continue his studies and was driven by his poverty to take pupils for instruction in the rudiments of grammar. After receiving the doctorate, he did not cease to be a student of the University. He turned to mathematics, then taught by Pelacani da Parma. He was too poor to pay for instruction, and to meet the expenses of the course he offered his services as "famulus" in the professor's household.[19]

After six months of the closest application, Vittorino came forth a greater mathematician than his instructor. His progress with the science was marvelous. It was due principally to his own extraordinary determination to succeed; for it cannot be imagined that Pelacani, who forced Vittorino to perform the most unbecoming menial tasks for a doctor, did more for him than his other pupils. Vittorino brought him no pecuniary recompense and Pelacani was notoriously avaricious. Eventually Vittorino's success as a teacher of the science forced Pelacani to leave Padua.[20]

The same ardor for the study of Greek that took Vergerio from the doctor's chair at Padua to the student's bench at Florence, that drew Guarino, Aurispa, and Filelfo to Constantinople and all the Florentines to the lectures of Chrysoloras, finally carried Vittorino to Venice to attend the school of Guarino da Verona, who had lately returned to Italy after a five-year's residence in Constantinople.

He spent about eighteen months with Guarino eagerly acquiring a knowledge of the great tongue from one who was then the best Greek scholar in Italy. In exchange, Vittorino imparted to Guarino, it is believed, a finer knowledge of Latin. Many writers speak of this delightful "cambio di merci" by the two famous scholars, once college-fellows, and now beginning distinguished careers as teachers. There are many evidences of their mutual love and esteem. Vittorino affectionately referred to Guarino as his master to whom he was deeply

[18] Sabbadini, 3.
[19] Symonds, II, 290; Woodward, 8; Rosmini, 20.
[20] Symonds, II, 290; Rosmini, 21.

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indebted. Guarino in his protestations of admiration and regard for Vittorino insisted on the immense profit he had derived from their intimate associations. Their friendship lasted throughout life.

2. *University Professor and Tutor.*—Returning to Padua, Vittorino like Barzizza and Guarino opened a private school where he received a limited number of students of the University and supervised their domestic life. This was no pecuniary venture with Vittorino. He regarded his position as one of grave responsibility. There were imminent dangers in the university city for young men in their period of formation and he desired to direct the moral along with the intellectual life of his students.

Vittorino was now widely reputed as a scholar and teacher. His incredibly rapid advance in knowledge caused him to be regarded as a prodigy. When he displayed in addition to his extensive learning great soundness of judgment and a deep religious character, not only the students and professors of the University resorted to him for advice and counsel, but the whole city itself (tutta la città).[21]

When the chair of rhetoric was vacated in 1422 by the resignation of Barzizza, Vittorino appeared as the choice of the students for the position. This also included the chair of philosophy. His young admirers urged him to accept so honorable, and as chairs went in those times, so lucrative an office. Vittorino almost refused, for he was then seriously considering to enter upon a religious life. Only the most ardent requests of his pupils, and the conviction that he could be of great public service as a conscientious teacher enabled him to accept the invitation.[22]

The result of his labors as a professor were advantageous to himself and to the University. Padua was increasing in numbers every day. Dwellings became inadequate for the multitude of scholars; for the institution had taken place with the most prominent schools in the humanistic movement. The humanist Barzizza, had been succeeded by one who promised

[21] "Veniva però consultato in Padova come un oracolo." Prendilacqua, in Rosmini, 30.

[22] Woodward, 20; Rosmini, 31.

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to bring his old University even wider fame. He was popular among the students in a day when their opinion and estimation of a teacher largely determined his success. Throughout the world of scholars and students, such an encomium of Vittorino as that given by Vespasiano da Bisticci was undoubtedly a common opinion of the new professor at this stage in his career. "Fu dottissimo in tutto e sette l'arti liberali, in greco non meno che in latino." Padua naturally profited by this fame.[23]

His work at the University obtained for Vittorino a singularly prominent position among scholars and particularly among those whose sympathies were with the new studies. In the world of culture which the humanities had invaded with fair promises of success, Vittorino became as widely known and esteemed.

Despite these happy results of his public efforts we must admit with Symonds that "the bias of Vittorino's genius inclined toward private teaching, and it is this by which he is distinguished among contemporary humanists."[24] In the "contubernium" his teaching faculties were best demonstrated, for there he attempted to give, what was impossible as a professor, a complete education.

The "contubernium" was Vittorino's home and he had grouped about him a certain number of chosen pupils. These were to be educated under his own personal supervision. He examined the students before admitting them and refused to accept those for whom he considered an education unprofitable or whose presence he considered harmful to others of his student family. In these instances he wrote to the parents and advised them on the selection of a more suitable career for their sons.[25]

The chief qualifications required for admission were a sound moral character and the earnest desire to learn. Rich and poor entered, the former paying enough for their instruction to overcome the expense incurred by the support of the latter, who received everything gratuitously. In his first

[23] Vite, II, 222.
[24] Symonds, II, 290.
[25] Rosmini, 32.

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school Vittorino began this highly commendable custom for which he was in Mantua most conspicuous, for there he had according to Vespasiano "molti scolari poveri, i quali teneva in casa per l'amore di Dio."[26]

The number of students remained fixed. Vittorino would not increase it upon any consideration. A large number, he found, generated confusion and disorder and rendered individual attention impossible; a small number of selected pupils made a ready field for emulation, then considered a valuable stimulant to greater efforts. The character of his education, intellectual, physical and moral, we shall describe at greater length in connection with Vittorino's long sojourn at Mantua.

In Padua Vittorino remained in the capacity of professor and tutor only a year, and his unexpected departure was a sad reflection on the state of morality in the University. Scandalous abuses were of daily occurrence. Drunkenness had become common, and all kinds of license and disorder prevailed. Guarino, in one of his letters, has described the condition of morals. Wanton revelry, he says, continues from morning until night. How different from the school of Socrates or the academy of Plato! "In illis namque disputari solitum aiunt, in his vero nostris dispotari, immo trispotari quaterque potari frequens patriae mos est. Academici de uno, de vero, de motu disserunt, hi nostri de vino, de mero, de potu dispotant."[27]

Vittorino lost hope in any reform, at least under the existing régime. He was disgusted at the flagrant immorality, and it is said that either unwilling to subject those for whom he was responsible to temptation, or unable to control the members of his household, he decided to resign and leave Padua.

With characteristic determination he closed school, resigned as professor of rhetoric and philosophy, and left his old university with which he had been associated for over a score of years.

In 1423 he is located in Venice and conducting a school on the same plan as in Padua. He had no difficulty in obtaining scholars. Venetian merchants paid highly to have their sons

[26] Vite, II, 223; Monnier, I, 242.

[27] Woodward, 9; Sabbadini, 38.

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numbered among the small and chosen group of Vittorino's disciples.

This is a happy period in Vittorino's career. "He had left privation once for all behind him." He possessed the means to obtain precious manuscripts that he long desired. Venice was the western gate for the trade of the East and presented great facilities for obtaining manuscripts from Greece. It was also a central location for communication with the scholars of Italy. Vittorino is overjoyed with his fortunate surroundings, but he "had barely time to settle in his new home, and to gather his pupils around him, when in 1423 an invitation reached him, the acceptance of which profoundly modified his prospects."[28]

3. *His Famous Academy.*—Prince Gian Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua, whom the humanists extolled as a Maecenas in letters and a Cæsar in arms, was at that time engaged in seeking a capable tutor for his family. He would not be outdone by any other house in the acquisition of a famous grammarian to grace his court. Acquainted with events in the literary world, he recognized that the choice for this position lay between two scholars then acknowledged to be teachers of merit, and promising to rank among the most erudite in cultured Italy. He first invited Guarino de Verona, then the more famous of the two, who at the time was head of a young humanistic school at Verona. The pupil of Chrysoloras had too many bright prospects at the time in his own native city, and he declined the generous offer.[29] Some believed that he recommended Vittorino to the Marchese as the best tutor in Italy. Others hold that Vittorino was suggested by a wealthy Venetian. However, the overtures to obtain Vittorino were made by the Marchese through a certain merchant at Venice, an acquaintance of Vittorino.[30]

The attitude of Vittorino toward the Marchese was an unusual one for a pedagogue to assume. There was hardly another humanist besides Guarino who could have afforded to refuse such an invitation. Indeed, most would have been

[28] Woodward, 22; Symonds, II, 291.
[29] Sabbadini, 107.
[30] Rosmini, 38.

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flattered by it. Vittorino hesitated. He would learn all details of the situation, and before acceptance would have a definite agreement with the Marchese. He abhorred court life, and when he reflected that the Gonzaghi were so powerful and opulent, he despaired of being able to educate them according to the discipline of his system. His biographers state that he was assured of the trust and confidence of the prince and full freedom in the government of the children.

Finally Vittorino acceded to the wishes of Gian Francesco. His address to the Marchese upon arrival at the Court, displays a spirit which felt the dignity of his office as teacher, and a soul full of independence and noble ideals. What interested the Marchese, and perhaps increased his generosity, was the preoccupation of Vittorino to know all about the children, the arrangement for their instruction, and his reticence concerning the stipend. He was allotted twenty seguins[31] a month, and the privilege to draw on the treasury at will.

Another evidence of the esteem in which Vittorino was held by the Marchese and his not less admirable spouse, Paola Malatesta da Rimini, was the excellent provision which they made for the education of the children. The Gonzaghi believed with Vittorino that school life and the consequent association and intercourse with a chosen number of pupils would be more profitable to their children than private instruction under a tutor. They approved of the preceptor's scheme to establish a school at Mantua after the models he had conducted at Padua and Venice. He forthwith started in operation under these most favorable conditions the school with which his name is ever associated, the first great school of the Renaissance.

The Gonzaghi children, three boys and a girl, formed the nucleus for the new academy. The leading families of Mantua sought to place their children under Vittorino's care. He was as solicitous as ever in the selection of scholars. Some of the humanists, famous instructors like himself, sent their children at times to Mantua. We have records of sons of Filelfo, Poggio and Guarino in attendance there. While some of the noble

[31] A gold coin no longer current—value about $2.25.

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candidates were denied admission, Vittorino frequently received the worthy poor with open arms. The school grew in number with the addition of professors and courses, and at times the registration showed the presence there of seventy pupils whose ages ran from four to twenty-seven years.

The school house itself has attracted the attention and elicted the admiration of educators in all succeeding centuries. A striking contrast to the ordinary school of the period in surroundings and equipment, it possessed many of the features for school work which the most successful modern systems of education strive to maintain.

The Gonzaghi had a villa adjoining their palace which had been for generations the recreation hall for the family and its friends. This was a spacious palace, and as contemporary writers say, worthy of a prince. Vittorino "had much to do before this dwelling could be converted from the pleasure house of a mediæval sovereign into the semi-monastic resort of earnest students. Through its open galleries and painted banquet chambers the young Gonzaghi lounged with favorite friends selected from the Mantuan nobility. The tables groaned under gold and silver plate, while perfumed lacqueys handed round rich and highly seasoned dishes, and the garden alleys echoed to the sound of lute and viol."[32] Its original name has been variously given. Some wrote of it as the "Casa Zoyosa," and others styled it "Casa Giojosa." After occupancy by Vittorino and some changes in the decorations, it became known as the "Casa Jocosa" a name which suggested a higher form of pleasure than those it originallv received. Rosmini seems to believe that Vittorino was delighted with the prospect of holding school in this magnificent structure, with its spacious and well aired rooms, its galleries and corridors, and accepted it without hesitation.[33] Others state that he had the paintings replaced by ones more suitable for children and much of the luxurious appurtenances removed, even from the beginning.[34] It is certain that without any great commotion and disturbance Vittorino freed the palace of all objectionable

[32] Symonds, II, 292; Monnier I, 241; Woodward, 31; Rosmini, 41.
[33] Rosmini, 42.
[34] Woodward, 32.

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features. The table became more simple and substantial, the service less courtly, and the palace stripped of all that was not required for the proper maintenance of his school.

The spirit of the institute when the reform had progressed did not cease to be joyous. Pleasure was found in enjoyments of the soul. So the "Casa Jocosa" retained its name with a higher and nobler signification attached. Its associations "were not less bright and cheerful than those of the older name of doubtful intention." "It was to be regarded as a house of delight." "La Giocosa was . . . surrounded on three sides by a large enclosed meadow, bordered by the river (Mincio); this was laid out with broad walks, lined with well-grown trees. The open grass-covered space was highly prized by Vittorino, who made much use of it as playing fields."[35]

4. *Educational Theory and Practice.*—Before proceeding to an examination of the educational system of Vittorino some of the influences may be mentioned which affected him in his preparation as a teacher. He was a humanist, despite the efforts of some to exempt him from the class. A humanist of the true and best type, like Barzizza, Vergerio, Traversari, and Guarino. He could not have come to his conception of education without having ardently espoused the new cause. Since encountering Giovanni da Ravenna during his early years at Padua, he had been thoroughly in sympathy with the restoration of ancient letters and culture.[36]

The most potent influences in his formation as a humanist were Barzizza, Vergerio and Guarino. Barzizza is everywhere referred to as one of the greatest Latinists of his time. He was more responsible for the scholarly cultivation of the classics at Padua than the renowned pupil of Petrarch. Having specialized on Cicero he came to be regarded as an authority on one of the leading studies of his age. He held Cicero before his pupils as the model for all elegant expression in conversation and writing. He studied his author with a practical aim to use his style and manner in daily intercourse.[37]

[35] Ibid.

[36] On this point I take issue with M. Monnier (I, 248) who contends that Vittorino's success can be chiefly attributed to the fact that he was not a humanist.

[37] Tiraboschi, VI, III, 997; Symonds, II, 107, 531; Woodward, 10.

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Scholars of the period constantly extol his great services to classic learning by his critical labors on the extant texts of Cicero. He labored indefatigably on Cicero's letters, and when he had restored them to a proper form proposed them as models for correct letter-writing. The success of his efforts is witnessed by the excellence of the epistolary style during the first half of the Quattrocento. Gasparino had set the fashion of acquiring purity of form by closest study of the undisputed models. In this restoration we believe that "What Salutato accomplished for the style of public documents, Gasparino da Barzizza effected for familiar correspondence. . . . Gasparino made a special study of Cicero's letters and caused his pupils to imitate them as closely as possible, forming in this way an art of fluent letter-writing knows afterwards as the 'ars familiariter scribendi.' Epistolography in general, considered as a branch of elegant literature occupied all the scholars of the Renaissance, and had the advantage of establishing a link of union between learned men in different parts of Italy. We therefore recognize in Gasparino the initiator after Petrarch of a highly important branch of Italian culture."[38]

Vittorino's relations with Barzizza were not merely those of an ordinary pupil to his master. He lived for a long time with Barzizza before conducting his own school and co-operated with the latter in his efforts in behalf of the revival.

Pier Paolo Vergerio exercised a great influence over Vittorino as a humanist and an educator. His presence at Padua during Vittorino's early years there has already been noted. With Barzizza he had labored to give Latin learning a high place in the curriculum, but when Chrysoloras appeared at Florence, Vergerio abandoned his professorship and became a student under the great teacher. Vittorino had enjoyed personal contact with him, had come to know his fine spiritual nature and to admire his absolute devotion to learning. His was a truly scholarly and Christian character.

Besides this personal contact Vergerio had affected Vittorino by his educational treatise: "De ingenuis moribus." This was one of the most important tractates on the humanistic concept of education. It wrought more practical effect on the

[38] Symonds, II, 107.

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education of the succeeding generations than any of the similar works of the time, such as, for instance, the admirable epistles of Aeneas Sylvius, Maffeo Vegio, or Lionardo D'Arezzo.

Its influence on the system employed by Vittorino is evident. Had the young Carrara of Padua, to whom the treatise is addressed, attended the Mantuan Academy, he would have beheld in practice the education that his humanistic monitor had established in theory.

The long and intimate acquaintance with Guarino da Verona must be mentioned as one of the causes which very perceptibly contributed to the shaping of Vittorino's educational ideal. Guarino in his own day merited the distinction accorded to a recognized leader in literary and educational endeavors. His translation of Plutarch's essay on the training of children placed him among the most influential revivers of the classic conception of education. He was saturated with the theme, and Vittorino's own enthusiastic spirit was deeply affected by their early associations and later correspondence.

The communication which Vittorino maintained with the scholars of his day allowed him a ready and close knowledge of the great literary events of the period. His deep interest in the discovery of the Institutes of Quintilian and the restoration of Cicero's works proceeded chiefly from the viewpoint of the educator. For while these happenings gave a great impulse to the humanistic movement Vittorino labored to adjust their best features to the new ideal in education.

The system which he devised may be seen in operation in this Mantuan school. It marked a distinct departure on new lines in teaching and school management. Although far from the perfection which Vittorino strove to attain, it embodied many of the pedagogical principles used in later times and frequently accredited to educators many decades removed from the Quattrocento.[39]

In the Casa Jocosa all the scholars were boarders, and Vittorino endeavored to make his school, if possible, as pleasant and enjoyable as an ideal home. He aimed at forming men and women with a development in mind, body and character that would enable them to occupy becomingly their

[39] Rosmini, 47.

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positions in life. Vittorino's academy was pre-eminently a preparatory or training school for life, as Monnier describes it "un institut de vie." Great attention was consequently given to the health of the students. The body was not held by them to be an enemy of the spirit, and good health Vittorino deemed a necessity for mental growth. Scholars were not treated en masse, or subjected to the same methods of teaching. The master knew his pupils intimately and regulated their work according to their tastes and capacities. His rule was, with Plato, to attract the child to study, to awaken his interest—not to force or drive him.[40] He preferred to receive the students when very young. Their character and powers of mind were then easily discernible; they had no prejudices and they had little to unlearn.

Although the fundamental branch of the humanistic educational system was letters, Latin and Greek did not entirely constitute the curriculum of studies. Arithmetic, geometry, algebra, logic, dialectics, ethics, astronomy, history, music and eloquence were all taught at Mantua and frequently by special teachers, for as the school grew in numbers and departments of study specially trained instructors in logic, and philosophy, masters in painting, music, dancing, and riding, copyists and tutors became associated with the teaching staff.[41]

Rosmini, who is interested in Vittorino from the pedagogical viewpoint, emphasizes the ability of the model teacher (ottimo precettore) to render school work a pleasant occupation even from the beginning. He describes in detail how the first knowledge in reading was imparted. Vittorino began like Quintilian with the alphabet, but he used highly colored prints to impress the likeness of the letters on the child's memory and to amuse him in making the combinations for words and sentences.[42] The spirit of enjoyment in these early tasks was to be elevated to a higher degree, and sustained throughout the future studies. The child was to enjoy his books, and to find

[40] Monnier, I, 242; Rosmini, 56.

[41] Rosmini, 64; Symonds, II, 294. We note here the differentiation of the sciences, and the evolution, on a small scale, of the college or university from the private school.

[42] Rosmini, 58; Quintilian, B, I, ch. I.

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in them as refreshing a delight as in his games. The individual attention given by Vittorino to his pupils was the chief means to this end. He regulated their lessons according to their natural inclinations and abilities, utilizing the child's curiosity to arouse and sustain interest.

In his affection or love for the pupils he showed no preference to any, unless it might be an especial attention to a less progressive pupil who needed encouragement.

To examine more closely the intellectual training given at Mantua, it must be noted at the outset, that the method of teaching what was then the most important of all subjects, the language of ancient Rome, was entirely new and almost revolutionary. Latin no longer occupied the position of a preparatory study to dialectics and theology. It was the historical language of Italy. Now in a process of restoration it promised to be anew the tongue of the civilized world. It became the vehicle for all polite expression in the school, for Italian, it is believed, was seldom adopted when the Latin could be conveniently used.

The humanists were at every moment revealing the historical glories of the mother tongue, and in the new school it was taught for its own intrinsic value. As it had been in the memorable past so it could be again the means to full mental development and culture. A novel method of study resulted from this new conception of the value of classic literature.

The custom of exposing the metaphorical, allegorical, and mystical meaning of a passage after the literal had been given, disappeared when the humanist proposed to ascertain after acquiring the literal sense and an idea of the historical background, what the passage without exaggeration or straining would naturally signify. The history of the work under study was to be given as vividly as possible. After a thorough grasp of a selection, the author's characteristics were pointed out and the points in construction or diction worthy of imitation were indicated. The method allowed great freedom and elasticity in the treatment of an author. It depended for success on the powers of illustration and description of the

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teacher. All the Latin poets and historians were read in this way.[43]

Vergil ranked first among the poets. Vittorino loved him intensely, esteeming him "in cura et diligentia" superior to Homer. "Trovava in questo poema (Eneide) i semi di molte scienze e molti arti. Vergilio insomma, sempre nobile, sempre preciso e vibrato, sempre poeta."[44] Terence, Plautus, Horace, Juvenal and Ovid were used, some of them less freely, but to good purpose. Vittorino taught selections from them which illustrated best their poetical genius.[45]

The list of prose writers included Cæsar, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Sallust, Quintus Curtius, Pliny, Celsus, Varro, Quintilian, Cicero and most probably Seneca. Each author had his special merit in style or matter. Cæsar displayed the dignified and graceful narrative style. The natural history of Pliny afforded useful knowledge and fine examples of literary art. Quintilian and Cicero formed the material for lectures on Roman oratory and the latter was the undisputed model as stylist, philosopher, orator and philologian. Vittorino was the first to make a profound critical study of Livy, whose eloquence and richness of diction he greatly admired. Giovanni Andrea in his edition of Livy pays this tribute to his beloved master.[46]

It should not be a matter of surprise that more Christian writers are not included among the authors read in the school. Vittorino seems to have understood that the majority of the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers were ex professo theologians, philosophers, historians and the like, and not stylists. His use of St. Chrysostom among the Greek authors shows that discrimination was made only for literary excellence.

The study of Greek was next in importance. Vittorino, as we have already observed, studied Greek under Guarino. Though less skilled in Greek than in Latin, Vittorino regarded

[43] This was by excellence the absorbing work of the humanist grammarian. With his sane method of criticism he had, consciously or unconsciously, grasped the idea of interpretation which guided the great old Latin commentators, such as Macrobius and Servius.

[44] Rosmini, 71.

[45] Woodward, 47.

[46] Tiraboschi, VI, 993.

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training in the older tongue as essential to the student, and in some cases allotted more time to it than to Latin. The science of teaching Greek in the Italian schools went far beyond a mere study of the rudiments, although it never reached the point of perfection maintained with Latin.[47]

The rudiments were taught as in Latin. The historians Xenophon, Arrian and Herodotus, were the first authors read. "Homer and Demosthenes occupy a place corresponding to Vergil and Cicero in Latin." The biographies of Plutarch were valued for their moral and historical teaching, Isocrates for his eloquence, Aristophanes, Sophocles and Euripides were read for particular values, and Aeschylus was Vittorino's favorite among the dramatists. Hesiod, Pindar and Theocritus are mentioned by Rosmini.[48] St. Chrysostom, whose style placed him on a level with the great pagan orators, was translated as an exercise in Latin prose composition.

From this array of authors and the number of Greek scholars engaged at various times to teach at Mantua, the activity in studying Greek would seem to be even greater than in Latin and the other branches. Perhaps the ardor with which the revival was undertaken is responsible for this impression. It was a newer subject than Latin, and its literary treasures were far less known. Vittorino was ever alert to obtain the best Greek masters for the school, and when not engaged in teaching they studied Latin, copied manuscripts, or edited Greek works.[49]

George of Trebizond, one of the most famous Greek scholars then in Italy, labored under Vittorino's direction in this way. His ability in his own language was unquestionably great, and he earned a reputation in Latin letters. His treatise on rhetorical style gained for him such distinction as to class him with the Ciceronians of the century.[50]

[47] Woodward, 50.

[48] Rosmini, 74.

[49] The Greeks, then coming to Italy in great numbers, seemed eager to take up relations with the powerful house of Mantua. Vittorino, as he disposed of these scholars in the various departments of his school, appears to us of a later day as a sort of state minister of education.

[50] Woodward, 52.

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Ten years later another eminent Greek appears at Mantua. Theodore Gaza, whom Vittorino obtained shortly after his arrival in Italy, brought glory to the Mantuan school as a student and teacher. His Greek grammar received high commendation from Erasmus and his Latin translations showed marked ability. He was of further value to Vittorino as an excellent copyist and corrector of Greek manuscripts.[51]

With information of this kind one can understand Woodward when he writes that "it may be safely affirmed that nowhere else in Italy was Greek so thoroughly and systematically taught." A school like Mantua was more potent in the dissemination of Greek learning than a university.[52]

With all this activity on the part of teachers and students who wrote and translated, nothing appeared from the pen of Vittorino. He remained the student while teacher and superior, desiring rather to give his store of erudition to the world through the writings of his pupils. While other humanists labored for fame with their writings, and sought the favor of princes with flattering and elegant epistles, Vittorino wrought his labor of love in the schoolroom.

The minute and thorough study of Greek and Latin authors aimed principally at the formation of a good style in speaking and in writing. The pupils were to be prepared for positions in public and professional life, and a proficiency in Latin composition was for them a necessary accomplishment.

The art of composition was taught the student very early in his course. The preliminary steps were to memorize certain formal phrases, and to read aloud selected passages for acquiring a vocabulary and a sense of rhythm. It would seem that translations of Greek passages furnished the first exercises. Later original compositions on set forms were demanded. The advanced students could versify with facility. The example of Carlo Gonzaga at the age of fourteen producing a poem on the pageant at Mantua is noteworthy.[53]

[51] Rosmini, 155, 256.

[52] Woodward, 54.

[53] Woodward, 55, mentions Carlo; Rosmini, 73, and Tiraboschi, VI, 995, give Giovanni Lucido.

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In endeavoring to develop a good style in writing, Vittorino was free from many of the formal methods of the time. His pupil must first plan a general outline of his subject, read the best authors on it, and when in full possession of his material write plainly and directly on it.[54] The epistolary style received great attention. His success in this department is attested by the number of famous writers he produced.

History as a special branch did not occupy a prominent place. Greek and Roman historians, it is asserted, were studied more for their literary than their historical value. They were manuals, nevertheless. Vittorino in his devotion to Livy would not listen to the charges alleged against him as an historian. Obviously the art of literary criticism had not yet developed, and these works did not receive our modern scientific treatment. Sallust, Curtius and Valerius Maximus with Plutarch were the favorite authors.[55]

There remains for consideration the study of philosophy. This included logic and ethics, or could be reduced to those two branches of the science. It is difficult to determine the order in which they were taught. Both were in all probability taught simultaneously and throughout many years of the school course. Ethics, for example, was taught to the young pupils in connection with Cicero, and it is recorded that logic was regarded as fundamental or preparatory to a study of natural or moral philosophy. At any rate, it is assured that Vittorino himself gave a special course to the older pupils in ethics, using Plato and Aristotle. This was for the completion and refinement of the course in letters, and aimed at an immediate preparation for higher courses in theology, law and medicine.

Logic had a consistent place in the humanistic system, as represented by the school of Mantua. It was not studied to acquire argumentative skill, for the art of disputation received very little attention. It was intended rather to develop the faculty of precise and orderly thinking, the power to detect sophisms and fallacies, and was of particular use in the formation of a teacher.

[54] Symonds, II, 296.

[55] Monnier, I, 240; Woodward, 58; Rosmini, 73.

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Letters in the foremost place, accompanied by the exact sciences and history, and supplemented by philosophy, constituted the apparatus for the intellectual development of the pupil. The teacher remained the principal factor. He indeed was the school. At that time the qualifications of a student were not guaranteed as much by a degree from a university, as by training under such a famous scholar as Guarino da Verona, or Vittorino da Feltre. The universities did not participate in the revival of letters nearly as much as the private schools of Italy.

It has already been stated that great attention was given to the physical development. After this brief treatment of the intellectual aspect of Vittorino's system, the physical may be here discussed. The intellectual training indeed seems to predominate, but the physical was not merely cultivated for its good effect on the mind. Many of Vittorino's pupils were destined for a military life and such a training was for them, imperative. Apart from this fact which really demanded consideration, Vittorino's ideal of culture prescribed such a course. He labored for a harmonious development of all the faculties of mind and body. Above all he never forgot that he was preparing his scholars for their life work, and he adopted his methods accordingly. With their health he was always particularly concerned. The location of the school afforded excellent opportunities for exercise and games in the open air. Certain exercises were obligatory and were performed in all kinds of weather. Excellence in games was highly prized, but Vittorino's aim was to develop hardiness and powers of endurance rather than mere athletic skill.

In this department one was often allowed to follow his own inclination in choosing his manner of exercise. Again Vittorino, mindful of the needs of a pupil who was destined for a certain career, prescribed the methods for his development.

There were exercises in which all participated together. The sham battle engaged most of the students, and as prizes were awarded the victors great enthusiasm entered into the contests.[56] All were directed in some form of exercise. Vit-

[56] Rosmini, 51.

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torino could tolerate no laziness nor inclinations to solitariness in his pupils. "Boys who sat poring over books, or haunting solitary places, lost in dreaming, found no favor in his eyes."[57]

Vittorino presided at table, and devised systems of diet as well as physical training which were "suited to their several temperaments, making it his one object to increase their vigor."[58] Simple and wholesome were the foods, such as could be procured easily. The master looked for temperance in all things, particularly in eating and in sleeping. He abhorred obesity as a loathsome disease to the body and an impediment to the cultivation of the higher faculties. The body, in short, was subjected to a Spartan-like training to acquire complete mastery and control. The scholars were prepared to bear fatigue, to suffer extremes of heat and cold, and the privations common to a life in camp.[59]

The preceptor taught here as in all of the departments by example. Small of stature, lean and sprightly, he participated in the field games, retaining even in his advanced years remarkable agility and grace.[60]

His practice of voice culture extended throughout the entire school course. Reading aloud was not only recommended for a better understanding of an author but as a means to vocal development, an aid to digestion, and a preventive against cold. It was a preparation for the orator, also the cultured gentleman, who was to be an engaging personality in private as well as in public discourse. Grace and elegance should characterize all his movements. Vittorino did not hesitate to give the greatest attention to these minute details, for he regarded physical defects almost as harmful as moral imperfections.[61]

In the summer vacation Vittorino accompanied the Gonzaghi children with some others to a country castle of the Marchese, situated at Goito, twelve miles from Mantua. Ambrogio Traversari, in his letters, has left us a charming picture of Vittorino in charge of his pupils there. He lived with them as usual, directed their games and accompanied them on walks

[57] Symonds, II, 293.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Rosmini, 52.
[60] Vespasiano II, 228.
[61] Monnier, I, 244.

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and excursions about the mountains appearing more as a tender father or guardian than as their instructor.[62]

Authors make no allusion to regular school work done at this time. There were exercises in declamation, and most probably in reading and composition. The physical development then supplanted the intellectual, or at least took first place.

Thus far the course of training at Mantua demands most laudable commendation. The intellectual inheritance of antiquity was made to give forth its best treasures and the ancient culture of the body had returned without the sensuality which characterized it in the past, and again in a later period of the Renaissance. An advance had been accomplished, because a new and better ideal of education had been conceived. We see it in operation at the Mantuan school. Its keynote was to take the best treasures from the inheritance of the past and adapt them to the Christian ideal of life. As a consequence the spiritual training was not neglected. For this very element of the instruction Vittorino has taken a peculiar prominence in the history of education. He ranks among the few humanists who in their devotion to pagan letters were able to maintain their Christian spirit. His place in educational activity can be likened to that of Petrarch and Dante in the literary movement.

Here again the example of his own superior life taught most effectively. As in mental and physical culture, so in moral discipline, he was the first to demonstrate the sublimity and practicability of his precepts.

Vittorino was an exemplary Catholic layman. He had an intelligent appreciation of his faith, and was devoted to the ritual and liturgy of the ancient Church. Every day out of devotion he recited the divine office.[63] It may be recalled that at Padua he had studied canon law and theology, and had entertained the desire to enter the cloister. The immorality of the university town had distressed him and eventually forced him to go elsewhere. Later, during his residence at Mantua he was conspicuous for the simplicity and holiness of his life,

[62] Rosmini, 75; Woodward, 66; Drane, II, 299; Tiraboschi, VI, 993.

[63] "Era osservantissimo della cristiana religione, diceva ogni dì tutto l'ufficio come i preti, digiunava tutte le vigilie de'dì commandati." Vespasiano, II, 223.

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the kindness and gentleness he showed to all, and particularly to the poor and afflicted. In short, it may be said of him as an index of his highly spiritual character, that with all his intense love for pagan literature and the new learning he would have absolutely abstained from its study, if any compromise with Christian principles was necessitated.

This attitude which bespoke a solidly Christian character cannot be too greatly extolled in a humanist, for it was a common misfortune of many devotees of the movement to fall victims to the moral and religious spirit of the ancient writers whom they so zealously cultivated.

Unquestionably Vittorino considered the moral traning as the most important part of his discipline. Placing virtue above knowledge, he considered the latter when divorced from the former as one of the great evils of society.[64] For this reason he was very careful in his entrance examination of candidates. Only virtuous boys were admitted. The good were to be strengthened in their innocence, and preserved from contamination. This spirit prompted all his regulations. So the texts for study were carefully examined, the lighter or recreative reading judiciously selected, and the physical exercises ordained to promote a healthy moral atmosphere. "Habits which brutalize the mind or debase the body, however sanctioned by the usage of the times, met with little toleration in his presence. Swearing, obscene language, vulgar joking and angry altercation were severely punished. Personal morality and the observance of religious exercises he exacted from his pupils. Lying was a heinous offense. Those who proved intractable upon these points were excluded from his school. Of the rest, Vespasiano writes, with emphasis, that 'his house was a sanctuary of manners, deeds and words.' "[65]

Every day had its regular religious exercises. Morning prayer prepared all to assist devoutly at Mass. Afterwards the office of the Blessed Virgin and other chosen psalms were recited. Vittorino was accustomed to suggest then a few thoughts for meditation.

[64] Rosmini, 82.

[65] Symonds, II, 296. Cf. Rosmini, 88.

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The dining hall reminds one of a monastery. Vittorino invoked the blessing before each meal, and as one of the students read aloud from a chosen author, all ate in silence. A prayer of thanksgiving closed the exercise.

Vittorino, who was a frequent communicant himself, desired that the students should approach the sacraments every month.[66]

It is needless to add how persistently this extraordinary teacher strove to cultivate in his pupils all the virtues becoming to an educated Catholic gentleman. He did not overlook the individual in this instance, but on the contrary attained his success in overcoming faults, and building up character, chiefly by private direction and exhortation.

In his manner of correction this careful discrimination was most noticeable. None could pardon the weak and the thoughtless more readily and none could deal more summary treatment to offenders who presumed too much upon his mercy and gentleness. His punishments were intended as remedies and were not administered immediately upon the discovery of the offense. The transgressor was given time to reflect and to apologize for his conduct. His chastisement of Carlo Gonzaga for the use of irreverent language before younger pupils showed that neither wealth nor rank could purchase immunity from the established discipline.

The consequent reconciliations, however, brought about by the unfailing tenderness of the master and the inevitable repentance of the pupil removed the ill effects of a corrective discipline which, in all its phases, could not be profitably advocated at the present time.

A remarkable accomplishment of this grammarian was his education of Cecilia Gonzaga. Ambrogio Traversari marvelled at her ability in writing Greek when only ten years of age.[67] She became one of the most cultured women of her time. To her Gregorio Corrar addressed his tractate, "De contemptu mundi." She had desired to become a religious, but met with opposition from her father who had chosen her a husband in the Duke of Urbino. The apostolic secretary de-

[66] Vespasiano, II, 224.

[67] Tiraboschi, VI, 991, 995; Vespasiano, II, 226; Symonds, II, 297.

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sired to comfort and strengthen her. After the Marchese's death she and her mother took the veil.

After this view of the school work at Mantua, the characteristic features of Vittorino's system may be here briefly recalled. In mental training he was ever mindful of individual capacity. His method of teaching the classics was free, elastic and enlivening. Latin and Greek were taught as parallel studies. Reading aloud and declamation he believed to be useful as helps to study and modes of relaxation to the mind. Composition in prose and verse brought out expression of the knowledge received and displayed the thinking powers of the pupil. The object of physical training was to build up strong and healthy bodies, and to prepare them for the needs of future life. The constant religious instruction and practice came as a guiding force to permit the cultivation of the best pagan learning and culture without detriment to Christian living.

5. *Humanist and Educator.*—It has been observed that Vittorino became associated with the humanists as a student of the University of Padua. The movement was then in its infancy. His love for the classics as a student, and later as a teacher, and his intimate acquaintance with the leaders of the revival can be remembered. When principal at Mantua he wrestled with remarkable ingenuity to subject the new inheritance to a system of teaching. In this way he produced new apostles of the humanistic school and propagated its principles in the most effective manner. Finally, the service rendered to scholarship by Vittorino's management of the library at Mantua would of itself give him a prominent place among the restorers of the humanities.

A very immediate and obvious service which he rendered to the literary Renaissance was to produce a number of famous Latinists. Many of his scholars like Francesco Prendilacqua,[68] Sassuolo da Prato,[69] Giovanni Andrea and George of Trebizond ranked with the first Latin stylists of their time.[70] Trebizond's "Ars rhetorica" had a profound influence on the

[68] Rosmini, 163; Tiraboschi, VI, 364.
[69] Rosmini, 250; Tiraboschi, VI, 993.
[70] Rosmini, 160; Tiraboschi, VI, 364.

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teaching of style.[71] Lorenzo Valla labored to abolish the antique grammar of the schools and prepared the way for Nicolò Perotti's work. The latter, who was archbishop of Manfredonia, published an epoch-making book in the science of grammar. He was the first to define grammar, and to divide it into its four familiar parts. His work long remained the best manual in Latin and was recommended at a later date by Erasmus.[72]

Ognibene de'Bonisoli da Lonigo, another pupil and subsequently principal at the school of Mantua, translated many Greek texts into Latin, commented on Persius, Ovid, Juvenal, Lucan and edited a valuable grammar which was based on Vittorino's method of oral teaching.[73]

Another apostle who greatly promoted the humanistic studies was Giovanni Andrea, bishop of Aleria, and librarian at the Vatican under Sixtus IV. He was the first to edit the works of Cæsar, Aulus Gellius, Livy, Lucan, Vergil, Ovid, parts of Cicero and the principal works of other Latin authors. As Woodward writes, "he enjoyed a distinction in this work which can again happen to no one."[74] Remembering furthermore, the famous names of Battista Pallavicino, Gregorio Corrar, Francesco Castiglione and the many other noted pupils of the "ottimo precettore" one understands how significantly the humanists compared Vittorino's school to the Trojan horse giving forth its hidden band of heroes.

Vittorino's wide influence in the literary world can be partially attributed to the judicious disposal which he made of the library. At his coming to Mantua he found an uncommonly good collection of books, gathered it is believed, by one of the older Gonzaghi at the suggestion of Petrarch.

Vittorino set about establishing a working library. The Marchese in this, as in all his undertakings, offered him every assistance. Many rare Latin texts were secured, and Vittorino often permitted copies to be made of them for others. Through Guarino and other friends who had been at Constan-

[71] Woodward, 86.
[72] Rosmini, 276; Woodward, 86; Tirab., VI, 1103.
[73] Woodward, Ibid.; Rosmini, 198; Tirab., VI, 1056.
[74] Woodward, 88; Tirab., VI, 993, 145, 163.

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tinople he had obtained a number of valuable Greek manuscripts. It would seem that Mantua enjoyed more of a reputation for Greek than for Latin works. This may be and most probably is due to the fact that so many Greek copyists had been identified with the school. Gaza, who has already been mentioned, brought great renown to Mantua because of his skill as a copyist and annotator.

Humanists eventually learned to look to Mantua for rare and valuable texts; and accounts remain of some of their visits to the library. Ambrogio Traversari in a letter to Nicolò dei Niccoli said that upon one of these visits he examined seventy volumes in the library.[75]

Vittorino was generous with his books. He gave them freely to pupils and friends. It is said that he was addicted to the doubtful habit of lending books. Indeed he strove in vain to obtain many of them afterwards, and the younger Marquis for years after Vittorino's death sought to regain them with as little success.

In the light of these notable services it seems only fitting to place Vittorino among the leaders of the humanistic movement and to esteem him as one of the really great figures in the literary Renaissance.

To determine his position in the history of education one must be mindful of the influence of the humanistic movement on the theory and practice of education and of Vittorino's part in that movement, from the educational point of view.

Humanism really brought about a great change in the science of pedagogy. It was not, however, a strictly educational movement. A literary movement, it has been aptly called the literary renaissance, the rebirth of the ancient classics, a resurrection of an older body of thought. It sprang into life suddenly and within a generation changed the standard of culture and learning. Many contributed to the success of the revival in letters; few were responsible for the advance in educational science. Vittorino was the pioneer of this class. He reduced an immense mass of erudition to a system and he demonstrated how successfully it could be taught.

[75] Hodoeporicon, 34, in Woodward, 70.

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Furthermore, he showed how this could be done without compromising the principles of Christianity.

In his model school he applied principles of pedagogy which created a new era in the history of education. His school was widely different from those of the middle ages. He insisted on pleasant surroundings, made study more attractive and, by attention to individuals, more profitable. He ranks among the first to inculcate the practice of reading aloud, and the parallel teaching of Latin and Greek. Finally, his method of physical culture was a novel and distinguishing feature. His generous effort to promote such an advance in the science of teaching is coming to be universally recognized and Vittorino da Feltre, the schoolmaster of Mantua, is given place among the pedagogues of history who have most profoundly affected the best modern educational systems.

P. J. McCormick.

St. Augustine's Church,
Bridgeport, Conn.

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THE "ASSERTIO VII SACRAMENTORUM" OF HENRY VIII. II.

Though I have found no records of them, yet one may fancy the feelings of Henry as he, in England, waited for news from Rome how his book had been received. Lingard, in his History of England, tells something of the famous presentation and of the inward history of the same. He says[1] that

"Clarke, dean of Windsor, carried the royal production to the pontiff, with an assurance, that as his master had refuted the errors of Luther with his pen, so was he ready to oppose the disciples of the heresiarch with his sword, and to array against them the whole strength of his Kingdom. Clement accepted the present . . . but Henry looked for something more pleasing to his vanity than mere acknowledgment. The Kings of France had long been distinguished by the appellation of 'Most Christian'; those of Spain by 'Catholic.' When Louis XII set up the schismatical synod of Pisa it was contended that he had forfeited his right to the former of these titles; and Julius II transferred it to Henry, but with the understanding that the transfer should be kept secret till the services of the King might justify in the eyes of men the partiality of the pontiff. After the victory of Guinegate Henry demanded the publication of the grant; but Julius was dead; Leo declared himself ignorant of the transaction, and means were found to pacify the King with the promise of some other, but equivalent distinction. Wolsey had lately recalled the subject to the attention of the papal court; and Clarke, when he presented the King's work, demanded for him the title of 'defender of the faith.' This new denomination experienced some opposition, but it could not be refused with decency; and Leo conferred it by a formal bull on Henry, who procured a confirmation of the grant from the successor of Leo, Clement VII."

Thus according to Lingard, the title was in a way the gift of three popes.

Another very interesting and somewhat different account is that given by Roscoe.[2] He says:

[1] IV, 446.
[2] Leo X, II, 231.

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"This work Henry dedicated to Leo X, and transmitted a copy to Rome with the following distich:

'Anglorum Rex Henricus, Leo Decime, mittit
Hoc opus, et fidei testem et amicitiae.'

It was presented to the pontiff in full consistory, by the ambassador of the King, who made a long and pompous oration; to which the pope replied in a concise and suitable manner. The satisfaction which Leo derived from this circumstance, at a time when the supremacy of the Holy See was in such imminent danger, may be judged of by the desire which he showed to express to the King his approbation of the part he had taken. After returning him ample thanks, and granting an indulgence to every person who should peruse the book, he resolved to confer upon him some distinguishing mark of the pontifical favour and accordingly proposed in the consistory to honour him with the title of Defender of the Faith. This proposition gave rise, however, to more deliberation, and occasioned greater difficulty in the Sacred College than perhaps the pope had foreseen. Several of the Cardinals suggested other titles, and it was for a long time debated whether, instead of the appellation of Defender of the Faith, the sovereigns of England should not, in all future times, be denominated the Apostolic, the Orthodox, the Faithful, or, the Angelic.[3] The proposition of the pope, who had been previously informed of the sentiments of Wolsey on this subject, at length, however, prevailed, and a bull was accordingly issued, conferring this title on Henry and his posterity; a title retained by his successors to the present day, notwithstanding their separation from the Roman Church; which has given occasion to some orthodox writers to remark that the kings of this country should either maintain that course of conduct in reward for which the distinction was conferred, or relinquish the title."[4]

Pallavicini in his History of the Council of Trent[5] says: " Il composa donc un livre savant contre beaucoup des propositions de Martin Luther, le fît presenter au pontife en consistoire, le second jour d' octobre, par son ambassadeur . . . Ce fut pour Léon le sujet d' une grande joie." He further tells us that among the titles suggested as a reward for Henry were "Apostolic," "Orthodox," "Faithful," "Angelic" (An-

[3] Pallavic. Concil. de Trente, lib. II, cap. I, sec. VIII, p. 177.
[4] Seckendorf, 1, 183. (Lutheri Op.)
[5] Book II, ch. I, part 7.

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glican), "Most Faithful," "Glorious." He adds that on the twenty-sixth of October, 1521, the Consistory agreed on the title "Defender of the Faith." "Thereupon a bull was drawn up on this subject, also a brief which was to be joined to the bull, and these two pieces were approved in a consistory October 26, 1521."[6] Pope Clement confirmed the title in a bull of March 5, 1523.[7] [8]

[6] Part I, Bk. II, ch. I.

[7] Schaff, Christian Church, ch. VI, § 70.

[8] I subjoin, from the work described below, the translation of Clark's oration, the Pope's reply, and his Bull to Henry:

The King's Orator.—"Oration of Mr. John Clark, Orator for Henry VIII., King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; on his exhibiting this Royal Book, in the Consistory at Rome, to Pope Leo X."

"Most Holy Father,"

What great trouble from the Hussites! What from Luther's works! especially from "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church"; in refuting which many grave and learned men have diligently laboured.

"Henry VIII, most affectionate son of Your Holiness, and of the sacred Roman Church, hath written a Book against this work of Luther's, which he has dedicated to Your Holiness, . . . which I here present, but before You receive it, most holy Father, may it please You, that I speak somewhat of the devotion and veneration of my King towards Your Holiness, and this most Holy See; as also, of the other reasons which moved him to publish this work." . . .

Luther rends the seamless Coat of Christ, makes the Pope a mere priest, condemns all ministers, and calls Rome Babylon, makes the Pope a heretic and himself (Luther) equal to St. Peter. He burnt the decrees and statutes of the Fathers and published his Book of the Babylonian Captivity. It condemns Pope, hierarchy and "the Rock" and the Church: abolishes most sacred practices: institutes sacraments after his fancy, reducing them to three, if not to none at all. What ills are yet to be added to those started by the Hussites? My King moved the Emperor to exile Luther. "My . . . England . . . hath never been behind in . . . due obedience to the Roman Church; either to Spain, France, Germany or Italy; nay, to Rome itself; so no nation more impugns this monster." . . . "King Henry, Your Holiness' most devoted son, undertook this pious work himself," . . . the most learned clergy of this realm have endeavored to remove all doubts, "so that amongst us the Church of God is in great tranquillity," no differences, no disputes, no ambiguous words, murmurings or complaints are heard amongst the people." . . .

"The reason that moved my most serene King," who has defended with the sword the Catholic Faith and Christian Religion, to undertake this work, is his piety: . . . "his accustomed veneration to Your Holiness; Christian piety in the cause of God; and a royal grief and indignation of seeing religion trodden under foot"; also "the desire of glory" might have induced him "to discover by reason the Lutheran heresies" . . . "This raging and mad dog is not to be dealt with by words, there being no hopes of his conversion, but with drawn swords, cannons, and other habiliments of war."

And this "work of his, though it had the approbation of the most learned of his Kingdom; yet he resolved not to publish until Your Holiness (from whom

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Humanly speaking, what a boon this book of Henry's, and all that it stood for in the eyes of the world, must have been to the Pope! Protestantism was about to break out in Germany, and this embassy from England must have indeed cheered the drooping spirits of the Sovereign Pontiff. This is well put by Speed.[9] "But with what acceptance his Holiness received King Henrie's booke, his own oration solemnly made, at the delivery thereof unto M. John Clarke the presenter, and King's ambassador, in his Consistory, and in the presence of his Cardinals, sufficiently doth show, the translation whereof we have inserted as we find it in the Originall it selfe."

[9] Hist. of Great Britain, p. 992.

we ought to receive the sense of the Gospel, by your quick and most sublime judgment) deem it worthy to pass through the hands of men. May therefore Your Holiness take in good part and graciously accept this little Book."

Reply of Leo X.—"Nothing could have been sent more acceptable to Us." We praise and admire that most Christian King, who, having the knowledge, will and ability of composing this excellent book," "has rendered himself no less admirable to the whole world by the eloquence of his style, than by his great wisdom." May the Creator bless him, and we shall do "anything that may tend to the honour and dignity of his Majesty and to his and his Kingdom's glory."

The Pope's Bull.—"Leo X. Bishop and Servant of the servants of God: To our most dear Son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of England, and Defender of the Faith, sends greeting, and gives his Benediction."

"As the other Roman Bishops have bestowed particular favors upon Catholic Princes" for constancy in Faith, and unspotted devotion to the Church in tempestuous times: So also We, for your Majesty's most excellent works. Our beloved son John Clark did, in our Consistory, in presence of our venerable Brethren, Cardinals of the Church, present Us a Book which your Majesty . . . did compose as an antidote against the errors of divers heretics, often condemned by this Holy See, and now again revived by Martin Luther. "Having found in this book most admirable doctrine We thank God and beg you to enlist like workers. We, the true successor of St. Peter, presiding in this Holy See, from whence all dignity and titles have their source, have with our brethren maturely deliberated on these things; and with one consent unanimously decreed to bestow on your Majesty this title, namely, 'Defender of the Faith' . . . We likewise command all Christians, that they name your Majesty by this title. . . . Having thus weighed . . . your singular merits we could not have invented a more congruous name. "And you shall rejoice in Our Lord, showing the way to others, that if they also covet to be invested with such a title, they may study to do such actions, and to follow the steps of your most excellent Majesty, whom, with your wife, children, and all who shall spring from you, we bless.

"Given at St. Peter's in Rome, the fifth of the Ides of October; in the year of our Lord's Incarnation 1521, and in the ninth year of our Papacy."

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In Brewer's edition of the "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, Foreign and Domestic,"[10] there are the following entries (III, pt. II) concerning the presentation of the King's book to the Pope:

Campeggio to Wolsey: "Is overcome with joy at reading the King's 'aureus libellus.' All who have seen it say that though so many have written on the same subject, nothing could be better expressed or argued, and he seems to have been inspired more by an angelic and celestial than by a human spirit. We can hereafter truly call him 'Lutheromastica.' I send also congratulatory letters to the King. You will hear the account of the war in Italy from the King's ambassador and the Pope's nuncio with you."

Clark to Wolsey: "The Pope has appointed next week for receiving the King's book in open consistory. Would have sent a copy of his proposed oration, but was prevented by the hasty departure of the currier.

"Rome 25 Sept. 1521. "Hol. My Lord Cardinal's grace."

John Clark: "His speech in the consistory on presenting the King's book.

"The King has written this book to counteract the pernicious and wide-spread heresies of Martin Luther, and commissioned the speaker to offer it to his holiness. Enlarges on the virulence of Luther and his disrespect for the Pope, his making himself equal to St. Peter, and his contempt for the authority of the Fathers. Luther has broken the rule of continence and reduced the sacraments to 3, 2, 1, would probably reduce them to nothing some day. Points to the misery of Bohemia caused by the Hussite heresy, as a warning. The new enemy equals all heresiarchs in learning, exceeds all in wickedness of spirit.

"The Pope, however, has done his best to stifle the flames, aided by learned men in all countries, of which England, though most remote, is not the least devout. There, among other fast friends of the Holy See, the most conspicuous is Wolsey, a member of that college, who has caused the Pope's rescript against Luther to be published everywhere, and Luther's book to be burned, called an assembly of learned men to write against him, and supported them at his own cost for some months. In more simple times error was plucked up by the roots, and the quiet of the Church was undisturbed. Many wonder how a prince so much occupied was led to attempt a work that demanded all the energies of a veteran man of letters; but having

[10] Vol. III, part II.

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already defended the Church with his sword, Henry felt it needful to do so with his pen, now that she is in much greater danger. Not that he thought it glorious to contend with one so despicable as Luther, but he wished to show the world what he thought of that horrible portent, and to induce the learned to follow his example, by which Luther might be compelled himself to retract his heresies. The King, however, has no hope of convincing him; he should be assailed with those weapons which, if the time permitted, the King would use against the Turks.

"Finally the King desires the work not to be published otherwise than with the approval of the Pope, from whom we ought to receive the sense of the gospel.

"The Pope's answer saying that he thanked God the Holy See had found such a prince to defend it."

The following items are entered in the Index of the "State Papers":

"11 Oct. 1521. Fidei Defensor. Bull of Leo X, conferring upon the King, in full consistory the title of 'Fidei Defensor.'

Rome 5 id Oct. 9 pont 1521. Signed by the Pope and Cardinals. Vellum, mutilated.

Wolsey's Speech on presenting the bull for the title of Defender of the Faith. "When John Cl(ark), the King's ambassador at Rome, presented the King's book against Luther to the late Pope, Leo X, in presence of the College of Cardinals, it was beautiful to hear with what exultation the Pope and Cardinals broke out into the praises of Henry, declaring that no one could have devised a better antidote to the poison of heresy, and that Henry had with great eloquence completely refuted Luther by reason, Scripture, and the authority of the Fathers. He had thus devoted his learning to the support of religion and shown an example to Christian princes. As an imperfect acknowledgment of this service, the Pope, with the unanimous assent of the Cardinals, a little before his death, ordained, by letters under the hands of himself and them, that Henry should henceforth be called 'Defender of the Faith' and ordered a bull to be sent, which Wolsey now presents, congratulates Henry on the honor, and himself on having induced him to undertake the work." (Lat. pp. 2, mutilated.)

The reader may be curious as to the fate of the papal Bull that was conveyed to Henry with such "fulsome parade and

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pomp.'"[11] It is still in the British Museum as also an autograph letter[12] from the Pope praising Henry and his work in the highest terms.[13] Lowndes[14] says that the Rome edition of 1521 had four leaves prefixed, declaring "Librum hunc invictiss. Angliæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris contra Mart. Lutherum legentibus, decem annorum et totidem XL. Indulgentia apostolica auctoritate concessa est."

The following introductory is reprinted from an English Catholic work, entitled The Sacraments Explained, printed after 1764, and probably at London. It contains, as an appendix, the original English version of the "Assertio" printed at London in 1521 by Richard Pynson, who also printed at the same time the original Latin and a French version. Both versions were made by royal command (Thomson, Const. of Henry VIII, I, 381).

"*Advertisement.*—All readers of English history know that Luther started and Henry established 'those fatal confusions, animosities and devastations . . . in these three Kingdoms.' Wealth, sloth, looseness of morals, ignorance made a reformation of the manners of some of the clergy desirable. Luther's first intention to reform abuses of churchmen was good, but later he set himself above the whole Church to reform religion itself. The German princes helped Luther with arms, and Catholics repelled force by force. Henry 'had well studied philosophy and theology,' but his style is abusive, imitating that of his adversaries. 'Luther was inflamed by the censures of the University of Paris'; still more by that of Henry. Henry was a 'devout Roman Catholic' till the Pope refused him a divorce. 'However his Defence of the seven sacraments is a work of considerable merit. Its orthodoxy we cannot doubt of. . . . The work . . . may not only be very profitably perused, but is also extremely curious when we consider its author's very remarkable and inconsistent character. The London edition, from whence the present is taken, has been carefully corrected throughout, in the orthography and punctuation, and the text, obscure in some parts, has been elucidated. . . . This edition is vastly preferable to all former ones, in the English tongue. . . . The

[11] Worsley, Dawn of the Reformation, p. 160.
[12] See Pope's letter to Henry.
[13] English Catholic Truth Society, Pamphet 'Popery on every coin.'
[14] Biograph. Manual, IV, p. 1039.

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publication of a work, hitherto so extremely scarce, will be satisfactory to the curious."

Two little documents, prefixed by the King to his book, serve as a royal "Captatio Benevolentiae."

The King's Epistle Dedicatory.—"To our most Holy Lord Leo X, Chief Bishop, Henry, King of England, France and Ireland, wisheth perpetual happiness.

"Most Holy Father,

"You will wonder at a man of war and affairs writing against heresy, but love for the faith and respect for you urge me, and God's grace will aid me. 'Religion bears the greatest sway in the administration of public affairs and is likewise of no small importance in the commonwealth,' . . . and so we have spent much time in the contemplation thereof, and now we 'dedicate to Your Holiness what we have meditated therein. . . . If we have erred in anything, we offer it to be corrected as may please Your Holiness.' "

The King to the Reader.—"Though of limited ability, I feel it our duty to defend the Church and Catholic Faith to the best of my power. I arm myself with a two-fold armor, celestial and terrestrial, to overcome him who perverts Scripture, the Sacraments, ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies . . . the infernal wolf, who tries to disperse the flock of Christ with his Babylonian Captivity. If Luther do not repent and 'if Christian princes do their duty, these errors and himself, if he perseveres therein, may be burned in the fire.' "

SYNOPSIS OF THE ASSERTIO.[15]

CHAPTER I. *Of Indulgences and the Pope's Authority.*

"Indulgentiae sunt adulatorum Romanorum nequitiae."

"Luther attacks not only the abuses but the doctrine of indulgences: 'they are nothing but mere impostures, fit only to destroy people's money, and God's faith.' . . . As he denies 'indulgences to be profitable in this life, it would be in vain for me to dispute what great benefits the souls in Purgatory receive by them . . . whereby we are relieved from Purgatory itself.' . . . 'The words of Christ remain firm, . . . "Whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." By which words, if it is manifest that any priest has power to absolve men from sins, and take away eternal punishment due

[15] Occasionally the King puts at the head of a chapter, by way of objection, certain assertions of Luther.

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thereunto, who will not judge it ridiculous, that the Prince of all priests should be denied the taking away of temporal punishment?

"What concerns it me what that man admits or denies, who alone rejects all things which the Holy Church has held during so many ages?"

CHAPTER II. *Of the Pope's Authority.*

"Papatus est robusta venatio Romani Pontificis.

"First, he (Luther) denied the Pope's supremacy to be of divine right, or law, but allowed it to be of human right. But now, (contrary to himself) he affirms it to be of neither of them. . . . He now embraces what he then detested. . . . He preached that excommunication is a medicine and to be suffered with patience and obedience: he himself being (for every good cause) awhile after excommunicated, was so impatient of that sentence that (mad with rage) he breaks forth into insupportable contumelies, reproaches and blasphemies. . . . He cannot deny that all the faithful honor and acknowledge the Sacred Roman See for their mother and supreme. . . . The Indies themselves . . . do submit to the See of Rome. If the Bishop of Rome has got this large power, neither by command of God nor the will of man, but by main force, I would fain know of Luther when the Pope rushed into the possession of so great riches. . . . By the unanimous consent of all nations, it is forbidden to change, or move the things which have been for a long time immovable. . . . Since the conversion of the world, all churches in the Christian world have been obedient to the See of Rome. . . . Though the Empire was translated to the Grecians, yet did they still own, and obey the supremacy of the Church, and See of Rome, except when they were in any turbulent schism. St. Jerome . . . openly declared . . . 'that it was sufficient for him that the Pope of Rome did but approve his faith, whoever else should disapprove it.' He (Luther) is 'endeavoring to draw all others with him into destruction, whilst he strives to dissuade them from their obedience to the Chief Bishop, whom, in a three-fold manner he himself is bound to obey, viz., as a Christian, as a priest, and as a religious brother . . . Luther refuses to submit to the law of God, but desires to establish a law of his own.' "

CHAPTER III. *The Defence of the Seven Sacraments.*

"The preceding two chapters of Luther are but a flourish to his real work. 'Of seven sacraments he leaves us but three; . . . of the three he takes away one immediately after in the same book, . . . he says "that if he would speak according to Scripture, he would have but one sacrament and three sacramental signs." ' "

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CHAPTER IV. *The Sacrament of the Altar.*

"'Let us begin where he began himself, with the adorable Sacrament of Christ's Body. The changing of the Name thereof, calling It the sacrament of bread, shams' Luther's intentions. As 'St. Ambrose . . . says . . . "Though the form of bread and wine is seen upon the altar, yet we must believe that there is nothing else but the Body and Blood of Christ."' Luther's consubstantiation, who was 'determined with himself to draw the people to worship the bread and leave out Christ's Body.'

"Luther reopened the old sore of the Bohemian trouble—i. e., that the people should receive Communion under both forms. Luther's charge that the clergy forcibly took away the chalice from the laity against their will is disbelieved by Henry. If Luther objects to the change from the primitive way of giving Communion, he should object also to children not receiving at all, and to our receiving in the morning instead of after supper. And what authority in Scripture has he to put water in the wine, if not tradition? The change is made by the Holy Ghost. 'He that pretended to stand for the communicating under both kinds recommends the quite contrary, to wit, that it may be lawful for them never to receive under any kind.' Luther also inculcates that 'the substance of true bread and true wine remain still after Consecration.' 'He esteems this to be his greatest and chiefest argument, to wit, "That Scripture is not to be forced . . . but to be kept in the most simple signification that can be." . . . But,' says he, 'the Divine Words are forced if that which Christ calls bread, be taken for the accidents of bread; and what He calls wine for the form of wine . . . the evangelists so plainly write that Christ took bread and blessed it.' . . . 'We confess He took bread and blessed it; but that He gave bread to His disciples, after He had made It His Body, we flatly deny: and the evangelists do not say He did.' Luther says 'Take, eat, this, that is, this *bread,* (says He, which He had taken and broken) is My Body.' This is Luther's interpretation: but not Christ's words, nor the sense of His words. 'If the rod' (of Aaron) 'could not remain with the serpent, how much less can the bread remain with the Flesh of Christ?'

"'Christ does not say, "Hoc est Sanguis Meus," but "Hic est Sanguis Meus," . . . for though wine is of the neuter gender, yet Christ did not say "hoc," but "*hic* est Sanguis Meus." And though bread is of the masculine gender, yet, notwithstanding, he says, "*Hoc* est Corpus Meum," not "hic," that it may appear by both articles that He did not mean to give bread or wine, but His own Body and

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Blood.' So 'bread is not in the Eucharist,' concludes Henry. If the Acts speak of the Eucharist as bread, it is because It *was formerly*, or still *appeared* as bread; just as Aaron's rod, though changed to a serpent, is still called a rod. Christ said 'This is My Body,' not 'My Body is in this,' or 'With this which you see, is My Body.' Luther says the word 'transubstantiation' has risen up inside the last 300 years. Henry replies that 400 years ago 'Hugo de Sancta Victore writ a Book of the Sacraments,' and said ' "By the word of Sanctification the true substance of bread and wine is turned, or changed into the true Body and Blood of Christ, only the form of bread and wine remaining, and the substance passing into another substance." '

"Eusebius Emissenus, dyed about 600 years since, . . . said 'Now the invisible Priest converteth, by his secret power, the visible creatures into His own Body and Blood, saying, "Take and eat, this is My Body." ' St. Augustine: 'We honour (says he) invisible things, viz., the Flesh and Blood in the form of the bread and wine.' St. Gregory Nissenus says, 'That before the consecration it is but bread; but when it is consecrated by mystery, it is made, and called the Body of Christ.' Theophilus . . . says 'The Bread is not a figure only of the Body of Christ, but is changed into the proper Body of the Flesh and Blood of Christ. . . . Our Lord, condescending to our weakness preserves the forms of the bread and wine, but changes the bread and wine into his own true Flesh and Blood.' St. Cyril . . . says 'God condescending to our frailties, lest we should abhor flesh and blood on the holy altars, infuseth the force of life into what is offered, by changing them into the truth of His own proper Flesh.' St. Ambrose . . . said 'Although the form of bread and wine is seen, nevertheless we are to believe that there is nothing else after the consecration but the Body and Blood of Christ.' So the Fathers teach, not consubstantiation, but transubstantiation.

"Luther 'denies it (the Mass) to be a good work,' though 'he sees and confesses himself, that the opinions of the holy Fathers are against him, as also the Canon of the Mass, with the custom of the universal Church, confirmed by the usage of so many ages, and the consent of so many people. . . . He strives . . . to excite the commonalty against the nobility.' He says that we ought to receive the 'Communion with faith alone . . . The more clear, pure, and free from the stain of sin our consciences are, in the worse capacity are we to receive. . . . Mass is no sacrifice: it is only profitable to the priest, not to the people; that it is nothing available either to the dead or the living.'

"The king expounds the Mass and shows 'Christ to be the eternal Priest: . . . on the cross He consummated the sacrifice which He began

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in the supper . . . the consecration in the supper and the oblation on the cross is celebrated, and represented together in the sacrament of the Mass.' He then shows that the Mass said by priests is a good work, 'The Mass of every priest helps those to salvation who, by their faith, have deserved.' . . . The Mass is a sacrifice, for the priests do not only perform what Christ did in His last Supper but also what He has afterwards done on the cross. We must accept not only the words of Scripture but also the tradition of the Church. The Mass is a true sacrifice to God despite Luther's objection that it is received by the priest; for so were all of Moses' sacrifices received by priests. St. Ambrose and St. Gregory are quoted to prove the Mass a sacrifice, and Augustine who says 'The Oblation is every day renewed, though Christ has but once suffered.' . . . 'Other Sacraments are only profitable to particular persons receiving them; this, in the Mass, is beneficial to all, in general.' Moreover, even 'the wickedness of the minister, be it never so great, is not able to lessen, or avert the benefit of It from the people.' It is to be adored, and also received, at least once a year. Henry sums up this chapter and shows that Luther tries to draw people and even clergy from receiving Communion."

Chapter V. *Of Baptism.*

" 'He (Luther) has treated of baptism itself after such a manner, that it had been better he had not touched it at all.' Have faith and baptism and then no matter what sins you commit. 'He says, "The baptized man . . . cannot lose his salvation, though willing to do it, by any sin whatever, except infidelity." ' Penance is not necessary, though St. Jerome said, 'Penance is the board after shipwreck.' Next Luther says that faith without the sacrament suffices. The two theories of the casuality of sacramental grace are contradicted by Luther: he makes faith a cloak for a wicked life: he would undo all authority and order. 'Why does he thus reproachfully raise himself against the Bishop of Rome? . . . to demolish Christ's Church, so long founded upon a firm rock; erecting to themselves a new church, compacted of flagitious and impious people.' "

Chapter VI. *Of the Sacrament of Penance.*

"Forgiveness is no new doctrine as Luther would imply, but a very old and common practice indeed."

Chapter VII. *Of Contrition.*

"Luther says that 'after they are loosed by the word of man here on earth, they are absolved by God in heaven.' If God 'has promised

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forgiveness only to those who are as contrite as the greatness of their crimes requires, then Luther himself cannot (as he commands all others to be) be assured, and out of doubt that his sins are forgiven him. If God has promised pardon to such as are less contrite . . . attrites, by that Luther agrees with those he but now reprehended. But if God has promised it to such as have no manner of sorrow for their sins, He has surely much more promised it to such as are attrite. . . . If he admits but only contrition, that is, a sufficient grief, then can nobody he assured that he is absolved. Besides Luther's motives for contrition are not even as good as those always inculcated.' ''

CHAPTER VIII. *Of Confession.*

''Luther says public sins are to be confessed: he is not clear on private sins. Ecclesiasticus, St. John Chrysostom, Numbers, St. James, Isaias, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and custom all prove confession of secret sins by 'the divine order of God. . . . Confession was instituted, and is preserved by God Himself, not by any custom of people, or institution of the Fathers. Now Luther is condemning the reservation of some sins . . . so as not to discern jurisdiction from Order. Luther says Christ's words, conferring the power of forgiving sins, apply to the laity: Augustine, Bede, Ambrose, the whole Church deny it: which do you believe?' ''

CHAPTER IX. *Of Satisfaction.*

''Luther says satisfaction is a renewal of life, and asserts that the Church does not teach this. He asserts that faith without good works suffices: 'God does nothing regard our works.' Henry exorts Luther to repent and make satisfaction for his undervaluing Penance: and indeed denying it to be a sacrament at all.''

CHAPTER X. *Of Confirmation.*

''Luther denies this to be a sacrament. Tradition, Henry shows, is authority for our faith. Then Henry expounds the sacrament of Confirmation.''

CHAPTER XI. *Of the Sacrament of Marriage.*

''Mariage . . . is . . . denied by Luther to be any sacrament at all. Luther says 'Marriage was amongst the ancient Patriarchs, and amongst the Gentiles, and that as truly as amongst us, yet was it not a sacrament with either of them.' Divorcement was not lawful in former times amongst the people of God. Henry, quoting from Ephesians, declared 'He tells you ''that the man and wife make one body, of which the man

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is the head; and that Christ and the Church make one body, of which Christ is the head.'' ' Adam's words 'A man shall leave father and mother, and cleave to his wife,' show the dignity of marriage . . . a 'great sacrament in Christ and His Church.' Moreover, says Henry, 'Observe that the Apostle's business, in that place, to the Ephesians, is not about teaching them how great a sacrament Christ joined with the Church is, but about exorting married people how to behave themselves one toward another, so as they might render their marriage a sacrament, like, and agreeable to, that so sacred a thing, of which it is a sacrament.' Luther's saying the Greek *word* is mystery does not change the sense of the *thing* named, 'seeing it is taught so to be, by the circumstance of the whole matter. . . . There is no sacrament but what is a mystery.' Augustine and Jerome disagree with Luther. . . . 'Augustine, above a thousand times, calls it the sacrament of marriage.' 'The Apostle says ''This sacrament is great, but I speak in Christ and the Church.'' What sacrament is that, that is great in Christ and the Church? Christ and the Church cannot be a sacrament in Christ and the Church; for none speaks after this manner. It is therefore a necessary consequence that this sacrament, which He says is great in Christ and the Church, is that conjunction of man and wife which he has spoken of.' Luther denies that matrimony gives any grace. The Apostle calls it 'a bed unspotted,' and Henry argues that 'marriage should not have an immaculate bed, if the grace, which is infused by it, did not turn that into grace, which should be otherwise a sin.' The Apostle saith 'If any brother hath a wife, an infidel, and she consent to live with him, let him not put her away. And if any woman hath a husband, an infidel, and he consent to dwell with her, let her not put away her husband. For the man, an infidel, is sanctified by the faithful woman; and the woman, an infidel, is sanctified by the faithful husband; otherwise your children should be unclean, but now they are holy.' Do not these words of the Apostle show that in Marriage, . . . the sanctity of the sacrament, sanctifies the whole marriage, which before was altogether unclean? When it is said of the first marriage, 'God blessed them (Adam and Eve) did he give no grace to their souls?' . . . 'What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.' . . . There must be understood sure something more holy than the care of propagating the flesh, which God performs in marriage; and that, without all doubt, is grace; which is, by the Prelate of all sacraments, infused into married people in consecrating marriage.' So reasoning and tradition both prove marriage to be a sacrament.''

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CHAPTER XII. *Of the Sacrament of Orders.*

"Luther denies Orders to be a sacrament. 'There is no difference of priesthood between the laity and priest. All men are priests alike . . . the sacrament of Orders is nothing else but the custom of electing a preacher in the Church . . . whose wicked doctrine all men may see tends directly to destruction of the faith of Christ, by infidelity.' 'The Church,' says Luther, can discern the word of God from the word of men.' Luther's fundamental reduced ad absurdum. Did not the Apostle warn Timothy 'Impose not hands lightly upon any man?' Were not Aaron and his sons made priests of the Old Law? Luther reviles St. Dionysius, who calls Orders a sacrament. Testimonies of St. Jerome, St. Gregory and St. Augustine as to Orders being a sacrament, and of a permanent character. Luther showed to be wrong in saying laymen are equal to priests, for priests only can consecrate. Luther had even said: 'That the people without the bishop, but not the bishop without the people, can ordain priest.' Why then, says Henry, does the Apostle warn Timothy '"Neglect not the grace which is in thee, and which has been given thee by prophecy, by the imposition of the hands of the presbytery?" And in another place, to the same, "I admonish thee that thou stir up the grace of God that is in thee, by the imposition of my hands."'"

CHAPTER XIII. *Of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.*

"'If ever Luther was mad at any time, . . . he is certainly distracted here, in the Sacrament of Extreme Unction,' says Henry. 'You see how he here endeavors in two ways to weaken the words of the Apostle. First he will not have the Epistle to have been writ by the Apostle. Secondly, though it was by him written, yet will he not have the Apostle to have authority of instituting sacraments. . . . They are the chief weapons by which he intends to destroy this sacrament. But Luther is confuted by St. Jerome and by Luther himself. When Extreme Unction should be administered. It is a sign of grace for the soul: not necessarily to give health to the body. This Unction,' he says, 'is no sacrament, because it does not always heal the body.' Luther has reason to deny St. James' Epistle; for it denies Luther's teaching. But Luther goes further and denies and defies the whole Church. 'I advise all Christians, that, as the most exterminating of plagues, they shun him, who endeavors to bring into the Church of Christ such foul prodigies, being the very doctrine of Anti-Christ. For, if he, who endeavors to move a schism in any one thing, is to be extirpated with all care, with what great endeavor is

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he to be rooted out who not only goes about to show dissension, to stir up the people against the chief Bishop, children against their parents, Christians against the Vicar of Christ?' Though he shows signs of death, yet he will not let the pious Vicar of Christ act as the good Shepherd and save him from the wolfe of hell. If Luther had spoken privately to the Pope of the errors he condemned, the Pope had doubtless blessed him. But no! He publicly exposed and pointed to the shame of his father. 'After which he was summoned to Rome, that he might either render reasons for his writings, or recant what he had inconsiderately written, having any security imaginable offered him, that he should not undergo the punishment which he deserved, with sufficient expenses offered him for his journey. But . . . he refused to go. And . . . made his appeal to a General Council, yet not to every council, but to such as should next meet in the Holy Ghost; that in whatsover council he was condemned, he might deny the Holy Ghost to be present therein. The most conscientious shepherd has at length been forced to cast out from the fold, the sheep suffering with an incurable disease, lest the sound sheep be corrupted by contact.'

"Henry wishes Luther might repent, and exhorts all Christians to unity: 'Do not listen to the insults and detractions against the Vicar of Christ, which the fury of this little monk spews up against the Pope . . . this one little monk, . . . in temper more harmful than all Turks, all Saracens, all infidels everywhere.' "

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BOOK REVIEWS.

Le Dogme de la Rédemption. Essai d'étude historique par l'Abbé J. Rivière. Paris: Lecoffre, 1905. Pp. 519.

In these days of subjective theories of salvation when Christianity is reduced to a mere attitude of inner piety and the continuity between faith, history, and dogma is broken, it is refreshing to read a volume which traces the history of the doctrine of the Redemption and endeavors to show the living bond of unity that runs through Christian thought from the days of the Apostle of the Gentiles to those of the prince of the Schoolmen, St. Thomas. Such a volume is the one under review, and it deserves praise for its timeliness and scientific character. Professor Stevens' "Christian Doctrine of Salvation" has already been reviewed in these pages. A Catholic appreciation of the same subject should attract and receive the attention it deserves both for its method of treatment and for its spirited defence of the Catholic dogma—we may almost call it such—of the Redemption. We go to Europe to-day for what is euphemiously called "color" by the novelists. The same may be said for the shades of theological opinion.

The author begins by a succinct description of the doctrine in question which he endeavors to disassociate from certain misconceptions that have become set and fixed by dint of repetition. Among these is the persistent idea that the conception of salvation needs to be made moral, and rescued from the legal formulas which retarded its spiritual appreciation and perverted its meaning in the course of history. However, the moral element is always present in Christian thought, even though covered with the lava of legal metaphor, oratorical simile, and extravagant description. It requires only painstaking investigation to dig it out, and yet somehow investigators are too anxious to proclaim a discovery that lies near the surface, too reluctant to dig deeper and find that their own "new" ideas are only fossilized remains after all.

The idea of satisfaction for sin to the offended majesty of God has nothing in common with the extravagant doctrine that Christ was literally compelled to be a bondsman in our stead, literally accursed of God, and by a rigorous necessity of law made to pay the price for the sum of our offending. The death of Christ was a moral act of love which reconciled us to God; and the tragedy of Calvary was an effect of God's love for man, not the cause of God's beginning to love

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us at a definite period of history. Catholic theology has always had the beautiful conception of the infinite merit of the least of Christ's actions. It placed the initiative of the whole work of the Redemption in the free act of God conditioned only by our cooperation in the reception of its fruits. Yet we are constantly warned against the juridical, external view of salvation as if Catholic doctrine had no other view by which to nourish souls. Even Sabatier commits the strange fault of espousing the fundamentals of the Catholic view while apparently engaged in refuting it.

Ritschl, Harnack, Sabatier, and rationalists generally, reduce the influence of Christ's death to a subjective impression made upon the mind of the believer. There is no objective efficacy to it whatsoever, no mystery of supernatural solidarity, but only the human experience of a sense of fellowship with Christ. All else is pagan accretion due to the assimilation of foreign elements. Naturally this new line of attack—the attack from history—has much to do with shaping the author's counter exposition.

The expiatory character of Christ's death is dwelt upon by the New Testament writers. St. Paul is emphatic on this point, developing the objective, legal, and moral aspects of the Lord's death with an insistence at times which has misled some of his critics to think that the Pauline conception of salvation was legalistic. Time was when critics discovered "thought-centers." Modesty now forbids any such claim when there is question of so many-sided a thinker as St. Paul, who in common with the other New Testament writers, especially St. Peter and St. John, brings out into relief an essential relation between the death of Christ and the pardon of sins. The tradition of the primitive Christian community is reflected in these writings. It is easier to suppose St. Paul an echo of the tradition of the first faithful than to imagine him as creating that tradition, more especially as he himself says distinctly in one passage that "he received it." It is not possible to explain away these testimonies to belief in the objective significance of Christ's death.

The author's treatment of the Gospel data is very strong. He establishes the authenticity of the texts which attribute a saving influence to the Lord's death and shows that the relation between the Lord's life and death was foreseen and foretold and not an afterthought in the minds of disciples looking backward. The pardon of sins and the messianic necessity of the Savior's death received parallel development in the Gospel. These two ideas were united in the narrative of the Lord's supper by Christ Himself, and although we cannot say that the words "ransom," "sacrifice" indicate any of the special theories of expiation then in vogue, it is sufficient to know that

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Christ preached an objective relation between his death and the remission of sin to have the Gospel origin of the dogma of the Redemption assured and justified. This first part of the author's treatment of his subject is an excellent piece of work and as timely as it is thorough.

Having established the continuity between Christ's preaching and the views expressed by the New Testament writers, the author in a detailed study of over one hundred pages reconstructs the thought of the Greek Fathers and shows the faultiness inherent in the methods of Ritschl and Sabatier who select such texts as serve the interests of the preconceived view which they are anxious to establish historically. All is not so simple as these writers would have us believe. Two lines of thought run parallel, and seem at times to merge, from St. Irenæus to St. John Damascene. The speculative view which considers salvation as a supernatural restoration of the race to a divine and immortal life is developed side by side with the realistic view which regards salvation rather as the expiation of our sins by the death of Christ. Neither view is absorbed by the other, and the rationalistic attempt to reduce the realistic theory of salvation to insignificance is seen to be not history, but the prejudice of system-building.

The author then turns his attention to the Latin Fathers, and destroys the favorite antitheses drawn between them and the Greeks by such lovers of contrast as Harnack and Ritschl. The opposition between Latin and Greek theology is thus historically discredited, Latin thought is restored to its original complexity, and rescued from the simple formulas into which rationalist historians attempt to condense it. The result is, due allowance being made for the genius of race, that no hard and fast line can be drawn between Latin and Greek conceptions of the nature of salvation. The realistic view is common to both, is preferred by the Latins, and is fully analyzed by neither, but rather incidentally treated for the most part and descriptively portrayed.

The Middle Ages elaborated a philosophy of the Redemption. St. Anselm's "Cur Deus Homo" with its theory of satisfaction was epoch-making. Its dialectical rigor was somewhat softened by the "Meditations" in which St. Anselm escaped from the meshes of his own dialectic, and let the moral conscience have its say. Catholic, and not Germanic in origin, as so many claim who do not take into account the difference between origination and systematic development, the Anselmic theory of Satisfaction has been made the target for much hostile criticism, all because, in the last analysis, it gave too great a prominence altogether to secondary ideas, and made the juristic conception of salvation central. Abelard's rejection of the realistic view of redemption only served to have the traditional doctrine more forcibly

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reëxpressed. In fact, by an immanent logic Christian faith was exploring its own foundations and tending more and more to secure accurate expression. St. Thomas with clear insight relegated the idea of substitution to a secondary place in the conception of the Redemption and located the essence of the latter in a sublime act of obedience and love. Around this moral center the rich material of tradition was regrouped and the idea of satisfaction, new in name but old in reality, became the accepted formula.

The question of the "Ransom from Satan" is gone into by the author at great length under its juridical, political, and poetical forms. The idea had a long life in Christian thought and only the theological criticism of the Middle Ages succeeded in dislodging it from its position of prominence and finally in destroying it altogether. It was never an exclusive view with any of the fathers, and in this salient fact lies the answer to the rationalist critics who endeavor to make of it a convenient resumé of patristic thought. History cannot be so simplified.

Several points strike the judicious reader as he lays down this capital volume. The author is not one of those who cites a few texts from here and there to prove unanimity, a method of procedure which invites an opponent to hunt for the contrary material. He does not "select" his material according to any preconception of his own, but exposes the thought of the Fathers in all its complexity and apparent variance. As a result, he crushes his adversaries by showing what poor reapers they are in the field of history, and at the same time demonstrates the permanence and identity of one fundamental idea touching the salutary character and efficacy of Christ's death from the very days of the Lord's preaching to the Middle Ages. Instead of looking for antitheses and creating artificial opposition between the different phases of theological thought, he studies the main current from the first summary ideas of ransom and sacrifice to those of penal substitution and satisfaction. The latter term, despite its brusque appearance, furnished to the dogma of the Redemption its scientific formula.

We are accustomed to the notion that dogmas develop under the influence of contradiction, opposition, and external influence. The interesting fact about the dogma of the Redemption is that heresy did not play its accustomed part in maturing the expression of dogma. By an inner logic of its own Christian thought accomplished its own development in this instance, perhaps the only instance in which neither opposition nor formal definition shaped the course of thought.

The author is to be congratulated on his labors. It is sufficient praise to say that he has given us a volume in which to find solid

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answers to the accusations of Ritschl, Harnack, and Sabatier made in the name of history and in the name of history denied by our author. But this is negative and polemical. What is much better, he has shown us how to study and defend our faith with the newer methods of the day. In methods, at least there is no special virtue in being an antiquarian.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

La Metaphysique des Causes d'après Saint Thomas et Albert le Grand. Theodore de Regnon, S.J. Deuxième edition avec une preface de M. Gaston Sortais. Retaux: Paris, 1906. Pp. xix + 663.

Those of our readers who are acquainted with the first edition of this thorough piece of work will gladly welcome the second. Father de Regnon taught the physical sciences for years in the Ecole Polytechnique of Paris, and when he turned metaphysician it was to make use of the fruits of his previous studies ripened by meditation and reflection, not to dictate terms to science. In the present volume, as well as in those on the Trinity and on the Molinist controversy he employs a wealth of imagery and illustration drawn from the natural sciences, which gives a color to his presentation rarely met with in writers on such abstruse topics. History, philosophy, the facts of familiar experience are all laid under contribution. The result is a charming, suggestive, concrete style which makes it pleasant as well as profitable for the student to follow a master who does not forget to point out the beautiful while ostensibly engaged in laying bare the true.

The purpose of the volume is to prepare the student to understand and appreciate the Theodicy of Saint Thomas. This purpose is admirably fulfilled. The relations of science to metaphysics, the nature and interplay of the four causes, the meaning of the scholastic principles and axioms, are explained in a concrete, living way that is so original as to be rare. The physicist constantly crops out in the metaphysician, and comes to the latter's aid. The result is a continuity of thought, and even of expression, between the two which is a picture of the author's own subjective experience as student and teacher.

It would be invidious to single out one topic as better treated than another. Suffice it to say that the student who reads this volume will have far more concrete notions of "actus," "potentia," "perfectio," "motio," "mutatio" and the whole galaxy of scholastic phrases than he could possibly acquire in the drily written manuals on these subjects.

A charming introduction from the pen of M. Gaston Sortais affords a glimpse into the character and career of Father de Regnon, and

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mentions a cloud of witnesses all freely testifying to the influence which the author's teaching and writing exerted upon them. Those who read this volume, or any of the others from De Regnon's facile pen, will add like testimony. EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Nouvelle Théologie Dogmatique. IX—Fins Dernières. R. P. Jules Souben. Beauchesne: Paris, 1906. Pp. 96.

Other volumes of this series have already been reviewed in these columns. The volume to hand contains an exposition of "The Last Things." The author's treatment of his subject is the same as the preceding volumes, familiar, easy, and positive. He has endeavored to avoid the beaten paths followed by the usual manuals, and to adopt a modern method of exposition. He exposes the traditional views, criticizes the "new thought," and suggests when he does not develop, problems. The style is clear, flowing, full of interesting historical material, and accessible to the general reader unskilled in the technicalities of scholastic speech. EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Students will find a very clear and orderly presentation of Catholic doctrine in the theological tracts of Professor Van Noort, published by Van Langenhuysen, Amsterdam. These include: Tractatus de Vera Religione, De Ecclesia, De Deo Creatore, De Deo Redemptore, De Sacramentis. These tracts were written for seminary students, and follow in the main the propositional or thesis form of presentation. Account is taken of modern critical views, an alphabetical index accompanies each volume, and bibliographical references are abundant. Heavy black and italicized type serve to fix the essential points in the memory. The volumes are written for beginners, who will not fail to profit by the clear-cut definitions and plain treatment of the traditional theological views.

Westminister Lectures (Second series). Edited by the Rev. Francis Aveling, D.D. London: Sands and Co., 1906.

Science and Faith. By Rev. Francis Aveling, D.D. Pp. 63.

Miracles. By Gideon W. B. Marsh. Pp. 71.

The Divinity of Christ. By Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J. Pp. 39.

The Higher Criticism. By Rev. William Barry, D.D. Pp. 59.

Evil: Its Nature and Cause. By Rev. A. B. Sharpe, M.A. Pp. 70.

The Secret of the Cell. By B. C. A. Windle, M.D. Pp. 51.

This second series is a worthy continuation of the first. There will be found in it the same exactness of doctrine, the same clearness

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of exposition, with special emphasis placed upon the positive and constructive elements without, however, neglecting the objections, and the same care taken to adapt this exposition to the requirements of the modern mind.

In "Science and Faith" Dr. Aveling after exposing the nature and method of faith and science, shows how science can never come into contact with true faith, and that the would-be contradictions are put forth in the name of pseudo-scientific theories, "which if they were true would reduce every possibility of a rational faith to an absurdity." This lecture, like Dr. Aveling's former ones, is conspicuous for its logical and clear presentation. We do not think, however, that this lecture corresponds exactly to its title. It proves directly and conclusively the legitimacy of philosophy and metaphysics rather than the legitimacy of faith. Though effective against positivism, it does not destroy the fundamental arguments of rationalism. But perhaps Dr. Aveling has thus limited his theme purposely, leaving to the following lectures the task of prolonging and concluding his well-begun argumentation.

The lecture on "Miracles" by Gideon W. B. Marsh is excellent. We approve the author when he maintains that a miracle does not violate or suspend the forces of nature—an assertion which has been and is the occasion of much objection against the doctrine of miracles —but transcends the forces of nature. His discussion of the objections of Hume is also very remarkable.

Fr. Rickaby in his lecture on the "Divinity of Christ" explains the testimony of the Synoptics in favor of the divinity of Our Lord. It was not his intention to enter into the details of scientific criticism concerning the Gospels. Within the limits set, his lecture is clear, strong and convincing.

To those who have read the "Tradition of Scripture" the lecture of Dr. W. Barry on "Higher Criticism" will not teach anything new. But they will admire the power of synthesis which has enabled the author to summarize, in a brilliant and solid, simple and instructive manner, the nature, conditions, principles and results of higher criticism.

Rev. A. B. Sharpe has treated of "Evil: Its Nature and Cause" according to the scholastic method with a modern mind. This accounts for the clearness and interest of the lecture. The definition of evil and its various kinds, the problem of evil and the Providence of God, and the objections to the Catholic doctrine are exposed in a very precise way. We shall not reproach the author with not having

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solved all the difficulties in such a difficult problem. It seems to us, however, that in the solution of the problem he has not kept a sufficient account of the future life. Is not the immortality of the soul the supreme justification of God's Providence?

In "The Secret of the Cell," B. C. A. Windle studying the phenomena of the activity of the cell shows the insufficiency of all purely physico-chemical theories to explain those phenomena, and the necessity of a vital principle superior to all chemical forces. We do not hesitate to say that this lecture is very remarkable in both the scientific exposition of the facts and their philosophical interpretation.

We can never have too much praise for such a collection as that of the Westminster Lectures. We only regret that the editor does not enlarge his program so that he might give us more volumes each year. Then might we have in English a series corresponding to the French collection, "Science et Religion," which would be of immense profit to all.

G. M. SAUVAGE, C.S.C.

Considerations sur l'Etat Present de l'Eglise de France par Mgr. Latty, Evêque de Chalons. Paris: Poussielgue, 1906. Pp. 109.

Recalling an anonymous pamphlet edited fifteen years ago under the title, "Le Clergé français en 1890" of which he himself is probably the author, Mgr. Latty summarizes the chief points there contained. In this pamphlet the author remarked first that between the public life of France and the French clergy there were very few relations. He pointed out that, in spite of its culture and discipline, the clergy of France had neither science enough nor virtue enough. The lack of science he attributed to the bad organization of studies, and the insufficiency of virtue to the insufficiency of science. Seeking the fundamentals of the situation, the author assigned as cause the weakness of the exterior organization of the French clergy, a weakness due, in his mind, to the regimen imposed upon the Church in France by the Concordat, making the clergy a part of the state-machine and so disturbing its autonomy, straining its action, and finally preventing the existence of a clergy, an episcopate or a Church of France.

And Mgr. Latty writing a sequel to this pamphlet gives a history of the attempts at reformation, all of which have failed. These were the ecclesiastical congresses of Rheims and Bourges, meetings without authority, suspected by many at the time and now only historical; the study of social questions by some members of the clergy, but the "abbés démocrates" from the same lack of authority could not coordinate their efforts, and they, moreover, fell into the pitfall of Ameri-

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canism. The Catholic universities have excellent professors, but there is not life enough in them and they are not sufficiently adapted to the intellectual and moral needs of the times. There were serious improvements in the seminary courses, but they were at the same time exposed to the danger of hypercriticism. And thus none of the attempts has succeeded, not indeed from any lack of energy in their prosecution, but from a want of concert, of *esprit de corps,* of organization in the clergy. Now there is no doubt, says Mgr. Latty, that this defect in organization is due to conditions created and imposed by the Concordat and Organic Articles. In spite of its injustice, the Law of Separation seems then a means to liberty. Separated from the state, the Church of France will be directly united with the Sovereign Pontiff, the priests with the bishops, the faithful with the priests, and thus, instead of reaching the people through the State, the Church will be in immediate connection with them. Now is the time for the Church of France to reconstitute, reorganize itself, and live.

It cannot be denied that this pamphlet is actual, or that there is in it a clear view and a courageous declaration of some of the fundamental causes of the present situation of the Church in France. The hostile influence of Freemasonry and of the public powers has indeed helped in bringing about that situation, yet it must be said that it is only a partial cause, and when we come to explain this cause itself we must ask, what has created or permitted its influence? It seems that the clergy has for a long time lived outside, I do not say of the political, but of the public life of France, and that it has on important questions opposed the legitimate aspirations of the people, and by a spirit of exaggerated conservatism and attachment to venerable and glorious, but outworn, institutions has put itself in opposition to the ideas and aspirations of the nation.

It would be interesting, were this the place, to show that at no time has this spirit of exaggerated conservatism been so dangerous as in the nineteenth century in France, when there was a decided evolution in both the social and the political ideas of the French people.

Just what has been the part of the Concordat in the situation of the French clergy is difficult to determine. But it is certain that the great majority of the bishops and priests are aware of the religious, social and intellectual needs of the hour, and it seems that they will be in a better position to meet them after the Separation than they have been heretofore. The organization which has been needed for so many years will be made possible by the fact that the bishops will now be able to assemble.

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To those who consider these circumstances and know of the intelligence and abnegation of the French clergy and the spirit of sacrifice of the French Catholic people, the future, despite the dark prospect of the present, with its unavoidable difficulties must appear bright and full of hope.

G. M. SAUVAGE, C.S.C.

Les Objections Contemporaines Contre l'Eglise (2e Serie). Par Mgr. Gibier Evêque de Versailles. Paris: Lethielleux. Pp. 575.

Before being called to a place in the episcopacy, the Abbé Gibier was pastor of St. Paterne's church at Orléans. He had made this parish a model, with its schools, *patronages* and various associations. He had instituted for the Sunday a special mass for men. It was at this mass, that for several years he gave numerous lectures on the constitution of the Church, her struggles and her benefits. It was this work of intelligent and courageous zeal which recommended him to the choice of Pius X, and merited for him the honor of becoming the first bishop directly nominated by the Pope under the régime of Separation.

The present volume deals with the objections made against the Church. It studies what the adversaries of the Church call her defects, weaknesses, obscurantism, disorders, cruelties, her wealth, and the alleged superiority of the Protestant over the Catholic nations. It does not pretend to be a work of historical criticism. There will be found in it, however, a broad and serious knowledge of historical questions. It is not a book of scientific erudition, though it possesses all desirable exactness, and this exactness is at the service of a vigorous common sense which knows admirably how to put a question in its true light and to the true point. In this way the difficulty is settled, because most of the objections made against the Church consist in a false or incomplete view of events. This is the great merit of the book, and this merit makes it very practical. And we may add the observation that the book is full of facts and reflections which are set down in a manner suited to give them their full meaning and value.

G. M. SAUVAGE, C.S.C.

What Need is There of Religion: a plain statement of the reasons for religion and its practice. By Rev. Bernard J. Otten, S.J., Professor of Philosophy in St. Louis University. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 1906.

We commend this pamphlet for its precision and clearness. Having described man as a microcosm, Fr. Otten then proves him to be a creature. Being a creature, man is in absolute dependence on

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the Creator, and must, therefore, be essentially religious, religion consisting in the free and practical acknowledgment of man's dependence on God. The laws of divine worship and the laws of morality are equally elements of religion; without religion there is no morality.

The problem, as is easily seen, is treated especially from a metaphysical point of view. In principle, as well as in method, the author is thoroughly scholastic. This is the secret of the precision which is remarked throughout the booklet. Yet we believe that his treatment would have been more effective if besides, and in connection with, the metaphysical arguments which are fundamental, the author had given more place to psychological and moral considerations.

G. M. SAUVAGE, C.S.C.

Larger Catechism: Part second of the abridgment of Christian Doctrine intended for higher classes, and prescribed by His Holiness Pius X for all the dioceses of the province of Rome. Translated by the Rt. Rev. Thomas Sebastian Byrne, D.D., Bishop of Nashville.

This catechism includes: (1) the catechism properly called divided into five parts: The Symbol of the Apostles, Prayer, the Commandments of God and the Commandments of the Church, the Sacraments, the principal Virtues, and other things necessary for the Christian to know; (2) instructions on the feasts of Our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin and of the Saints; (3) a short story of Religion, and (4) some prayers and practical instructions on the several acts of Christian piety.

We remark with special pleasure that there is given in this catechism some elementary teaching of Liturgy, which will enable Christian people to follow the feasts and ceremonies of the Church and to understand the teaching which it is their purpose to impart.

L'Argentine au XX^e^ Siècle. Par Albert B. Martinez et Maurice Lewandowski, avec une introduction par Charles Pellegrini, Ancien President de la Republique Argentine. Paris: Armand Colin, 1906. 12°, pp. xxi + 432.

At a moment when everything seems to indicate a new period in the life of the South American republics, it is interesting, and to an extent necessary, to study the political and economic situation in those states. In their book Messrs. Martinez and Lewandowski give a very complete view of the economical life of the Argentine Republic, of its organization, resources, and recent progress from the economical, com-

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mercial, industrial and financial points of view. To have an idea of this progress it will be sufficient to remark that the total value of exports in live stock has increased from 60,000,000 piasters in 1900 to 185,000,000 in 1905, and from 73,000,000 to 150,000,000 in agricultural products. There is there a vast field open to colonization and immigration, so much encouraged by the Republic at the very moment the United States is ready to make it more difficult. The book says nothing of the religious or political elements in the Argentine Republic, but is written from a purely economical point of view; within these limits, however, it furnishes a very precise idea of the actual situation and a very hopeful picture of the future of Argentina.

Mrs. Fitzherbert and George IV. by W. H. Wilkins (illustrated). New York: Longmans, 1905. 8°, pp. 461.

Mr. Pierce Egan, the elder, in his once well-known "Life in London," hails "his excellent majesty, George IV" as "the accomplished gentleman, the profound and elegant scholar and the liberal and enlightened prince." These epithets in the dedication of a book devoted to sports of an unquestionable nature represented only the point of view of a small coterie of Londoners, and this voluminous book shows it almost too much in detail. That George IV was badly educated is evident enough, that he was hated by his father, always half mad, and taught to lie by a mother, who was as stupid as she was, in a narrow way, very unscrupulous, and that he fell into the hands of an evil group in an evil time, are no excuses for the cowardly part he played in his relations with Mrs. Fitzherbert. He had perception enough to know that she was a high-principled and pure woman; he knew, too, that, when he attempted to gain her by a mock marriage, he was about to ruin the creature whom he pretended to love and respect. Mrs. Fitzherbert was a Catholic, allied to all that great family of English "cousins" which includes the Howards and the Welds. Her reputation was, even in the most corrupt of societies, admitted by the *roués* of the coffee houses to be unimpeachable. She was beautiful, free—a rich widow—and young. In November, 1784 —she was born in 1756—the Prince of Wales had so persecuted her with his attentions that she resolved to leave London. The Prince sent for her. If she would not marry him, he would kill himself! Mrs. Fitzherbert agreed to go to Carlton House, but she insisted on the presence of the Duchess of Devonshire. The four friends of the Prince who accompanied the ladies were Lord Ouslow, Lord Southampton, Mr. Edward Bouverie, and Keats, the surgeon. These men

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did not approve of a secret marriage. Under the Act of Parliament recently passed, through the efforts of George III, the aiders and abettors of a marriage of a member of the royal house and a Roman Catholic were liable to severe penalties. They wanted to deceive the lady and leave the Prince free.

Mrs. Fitzherbert was shown the Prince "covered with blood and with some brandy and water near his bedside." The blood horrified her, and the brandy and water,—according to her own statement,—emphasized her conviction of the sincerity of the Prince. The frightened lady promised to become his wife. A ring borrowed from the Duchess of Devonshire was put by him upon her finger, a deposition, signed by the witnesses, made, and Mrs. Fitzherbert was allowed to depart. The next morning she left England, protesting against the conduct of the Prince's friends. But the Prince persisted. He gave her no peace, and it is evident that her heart was with him, though her common sense, her principles, and every dictate of wisdom were against him.

In 1785 the Reverend Robert Burt, a young clergyman of the Church of England, consented to perform the ceremony of marriage for the Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert. He was promised "£500 paid down and future preferment," and the marriage took place in Mrs. Fitzherbert's house, in London. "When the service was concluded, the Prince of Wales wrote out a certificate of marriage with his own hand and signed it," writes Mr. Wilkins. Mrs. Fitzherbert also signed it, and the two witnesses added their names—John Smythe and Henry Enington. This certificate (her marriage lines), was given into the keeping of Mrs. Fitzherbert. Many years later the witnesses' signatures were cut out of the certificate in a moment of panic, at their earnest request, by Mrs. Fitzherbert herself, with her own scissors, to save them from the peril of the law. "This document was placed, with others corroborating it and proving her marriage without a doubt, in Messrs. Coutt's bank. From 1833 until the other day, when King Edward allowed Mr. Wilkins to use them, they were kept in secret. The old Catholic families of England,—the great families of "cousins,"—felt that the truth about her relations with the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV, should be revealed, to save the honor of their relative. The documents are all before us, and the only mystery in the case now is why such a pure-minded, unselfish and high-principled woman should have married an emotional, self-indulgent, utterly selfish and extremely sensual cad. That he had certain amiable qualities, and that she, of a Tory family, was brought up to believe in the divine right of kings are the only reasons one, at this distance, can find in her conduct.

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The marriage brought only sorrow and mortification to Mrs. Fitzherbert. Fox, deceived by the Prince, denied it publicly. Later, he married the Princess Caroline of Brunswick. "It's no use, Moira," he said to Lord Moira, on his way to the wedding, "I shall never love any woman but Fitzherbert." On the day before this marriage, he had galloped past Mrs. Fitzherbert's house; she, of course, made no sign. When she—his wife validly, if not according to the laws of England—heard of the ceremony at the Chapel Royal, she fainted. The disgraceful sequel to the marriage of the Princess Caroline is a part of history; she seemed to have had no illusions about the Prince. In 1796 he separated from her, and made every effort to renew relations with Mrs. Fitzherbert, who knew that she was the true wife of the Prince. She laid the case, through Father Nassau, before the Roman tribunal. A brief was the result. "This document," says Mr. Wilkins, "declared that the Supreme Pontiff had considered the case of Maria Fitzherbert. He pronounced her to be the wife of the Prince of Wales according to the law of the Church; she was, therefore, free to rejoin her husband if he was truly penitent of his sins and sincere in his promises of amendment." The Prince was only too glad that Mrs. Fitzherbert's scruples were destroyed, and one of the ironies of this ironical time was the attitude of a probable King of Protestant England taking advantage of a Papal brief, and grateful that it had been obtained! At the age of fifty-five, she found that she could no longer endure the vagaries of the Prince, a final separation took place, and she had no place in the meritricious splendors of the Regency. King George IV made himself infamous in his attempts to get rid of Queen Caroline who, in spite of her Lutheran casuistry, always declared that Mrs. Fitzherbert was his true wife. Notwithstanding her equivocal position, Mrs. Fitzherbert always retained the respect of English society,—a respect which she deserved and which this volume, which was hardly needed to clear her honor, intensifies. It is probable that Mrs. Fitzherbert stipulated for the presence of a clergyman of the Church of England at her marriage because, until the second Relief Act of 1791, even the marriage of Catholics had to be celebrated in the presence of a clergyman of the Established Church to be legally binding. It would have been a very serious offence for a priest to have been present, and the consequences to the Prince would have been even more serious. That the Prince acted as he did showed that he regarded the marriage as entirely valid,—an opinion from which he never seems to have departed.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

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Praelectiones de Judiciis Ecclesiasticis, in Scholis Pont. Sem. Rom. habitae a Michaele Lega. Volumen I. Editio altera auctior et emendatior. Rome: Desclée, 1905. Pp. 135.

Institutiones Juris Publici Ecclesiastici, by Felix Cardinalis Cavagris. Editio quarta accuratior. Rome: Desclée, Lefebvre et Cie, 1906. 3 vols. Pp. xx + 496, 426, 320.

Fontes Juris Canonici Selecti . . . Collegit Prof. Dr. Andreas Galante. Innsbruck: Libraria Academica Wagneriana, 1906. Pp. 677.

The Law of the Church. A Cyclopædia of Canon Law for English-speaking Countries. By Ethelred Taunton. St. Louis: Herder, 1906. Pp. 652.

1. Those who are acquainted with canonical literature know that Monsignor Lega's exhaustive work on ecclesiastical trials is the most modern and most complete treatment of the subject that we have, and that it is indispensable for all those who have to do in any way with matters of contentious jurisdiction. This second and improved edition is sure to receive a cordial welcome.

The first volume is a thorough discussion of the law relating to civil processes, containing, however, much that is applicable in criminal trials. The method followed is one that might with advantage be adhered to in all legal treatises,—not only is there a richness of positive doctrine, but (and this is the most valuable characteristic of the work before us) the student is made familiar with legal principles and the manner of applying them, and learns that the most important part of a canonist's equipment is the sensus juridicus or legal discretion without which mere knowledge of the law is of little value.

The success which attended the original publication of Monsignor Lega's work a few years ago, and the early call for a second edition, are conclusive evidence of its value. The new edition of the other volumes will appear shortly.

2. Any word of eulogy would be superfluous concerning this work, which has, since the date of its first publication, held the highest rank in the department with which it deals. The fourth edition differs but in few particulars from its predecessors, and this means that the reader will find here an authoritative and complete treatment of all questions touching the public law of the Church.

The most notable change in this new edition is the insertion in the second volume of a very interesting discussion of the relations between

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Church and State in France from the Napoleonic Concordat down to the recent Separation Law.

3. At first glance it might seem that nothing would be easier than to collect in one volume a number of documents bearing upon some department of science. But in reality such a work, when its purpose is to afford help and service to students, is one that calls for no small amount of scholarship and critical ability. Especially is there required a high degree of learning and judgment when, as in the case of the present work, the compiler is obliged to compress within the narrow limits of one volume the important documents of nineteen centuries. It is, then, no slight tribute to the ability of the distinguished Innspruck professor to say that his work is both valuable and interesting, and that it evidences an unusual acquaintance with the sources of canon law and with the literature that has grown up around them.

Some idea of the contents can be gathered from the fact that there the author has assembled pertinent chapters from the Fathers, from the Corpus Juris Canonici, from the Civil Law, from particular and general councils, from various penitentials, from pagan writers like Pliny and Tacitus, from the Liber Pontificalis and the Liber Diurnus. The Doctrina XII Apostolorum is given in full, as are also eight complete chapters from the Didascalia. We also find the famous Pax Wormatiensis, the Pactum Venetum and other concordats, and the interesting "Damnatio el Excommunicatio Elisabeth Reginae Angliae ejusque Adhaerentium." Every century is represented down to the latest years of the pontificate of Leo XIII. Among the documents attributed to this Pontiff, a special local interest attaches to the nomination of Archbishop Martinelli as Apostolic Delegate to the United States, found on page 563.

A feature of the book which is especially commendable and which will enhance its value in the judgment of all students of canon law is the brief but well chosen bibliography which is prefixed to each title.

4. To the dictionaries of Canon Law which we already possess in other languages, and which leave little to be desired in either accuracy or completeness, Father Taunton now adds an English dictionary. There is no doubt that his work will appeal to the large number of readers who are prevented by one reason or another from seeking information in books written in Latin or French or German. It must not be thought, however, that Father Taunton's claim to a favorable reception rests solely on the familiar language in which he has chosen to write; he has put at the easy disposal of a large and

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interested public a great deal of useful knowledge; he has given to his treatment of many topics a new value and color by the introduction of legislation peculiar to America, to England, and to English dependencies; the evidences of long and laborious research appear on every page; and the entire work breathes a reverence and sympathy for law which go far towards the success of any work on Canon Law. This dictionary is sure to win recognition as a serious and conscientious contribution to our English literature on the subject.

Fully sensible as we are of the many good qualities of this work, we cannot avoid remarking that the careful reader will feel inclined more than once to wish for the early appearance of a second edition in which certain defects and inaccuracies which have crept into the first issue may be revised.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

The Relation of Diplomacy to Foreign Missions, by the Hon. John W. Foster, Sewanee. Tennessee: The University Press, 1906. 8°, pp. 15.

This brochure, the author of which is our best known authority on American diplomacy, contains an unusual amount of interesting and valuable information, and might well serve as a chapter in a work on the relations of Church and State in the United States.

The missionary, who is perhaps most frequently thought of as a cause of international contention, has really played a most helpful part in diplomatic affairs in the East. He has often been the principal agent in the negotiation of treaties and an indispensable assistant in securing the success of embassies; he has frequently been attached to legations in the capacity of interpreter or even of secretary; and in one case a Protestant missionary served as minister of the United States to China.

In the negotiations which resulted in the first treaty ever made with China by a Christian nation—by Russia in 1689—the Catholic missionaries were essential participants both as interpreters and as advisers. All through the eighteenth century, in fact, Catholic priests were indispensable members of every diplomatic mission that visited Pekin, and it is interesting to learn that when the famous Lord Macartney embassy was sent to China in 1792 to open political relations with the Emperor, it was necessary to seek interpreters in the seminary at Naples. In later times Protestant missionaries have been employed in the service of England, Germany and the United States. Our government, in particular, has been under repeated obligations to representatives of the American Board of Foreign Missions. In 1844, for example, Dr. Parker and Dr. Bridgeman were made secretaries of

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the embassy of the Honorable Caleb Cushing, and the success of his mission was due in large measure to their acquaintance with Chinese language and character. It was Dr. Parker who acted as Minister to China from 1844 to 1857. In 1858 the American minister reported to his government that but for the aid of the Reverend Dr. Williams he could not have advanced a step in the discharge of his duties.

It is not surprising that the United States and European nations, mindful of these services, should have been solicitous to secure the fullest freedom and protection for missionaries and their converts, and that this solicitude should have found expression in international agreements. Some of the results of governmental activity in behalf of missionaries have been rather curious. For instance, the zeal of the French government for Catholic missionaries in the Turkish Empire has resulted in a generous concession of privileges which have all been communicated to Protestant missionaries under the "favored nation" clause. Again, in the fourteenth article of the treaty of 1903 between the United States and China it is provided that "the principles of the Christian religion as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic religions are recognized as teaching men to do good and to do to others as they would have others do to them"; the profession and teaching of these religions are secured against annoyance and persecution; and Catholic and Protestant converts (even Chinese subjects) are exempted from taxes and contributions for the support of religious customs and practices contrary to their faith.

The significance of the matters touched by Mr. Foster in this brochure is evident. Here is a phase of our constitutional law which deserves more consideration than has yet been given it by any writer on the relations of Church and State in the United States. It reveals the civil authority, not indifferent to religious interests, but concerning itself professedly with the defence of Christianity, and even willing to manifest this concern not only in behalf of its own citizens, but also of those subjects of the Chinese Empire who have affiliated themselves with the Catholic Church or with Protestantism.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

Views of Dante. By E. R. Rivard, C.S.V. Chicago: The Henneberry Co., 1904. 8°, pp. 205.

Fr. Rivard's chapters on the study of Dante betray a scientific acquaintance with the text of the great poet, the labors of his best commentators, and the extensive and valuable literature which has sprung up about the Divina Commedia in the last fifty years. His book is well worthy of a place in the catalogue of special reading

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that ought to be provided for all students of the development of modern literature. It is an earnest and scholarly production, sincerely Catholic in tone and expression. An introduction by Bishop Spalding lends the work a more than ordinary interest. It would be well if the substance of the teaching confided to these pages were mastered by the graduating class in each of our academies and colleges. One could thus be certain that they would carry with them into the gross hard world of our day some living sparks of high religious idealism, something of that "passion for the spiritual beauty and loveliness of unseen worlds so poetically sung of by the poet-prophet of the Ages of Faith," to quote the words of our author. This work has a practical utility in the pages of "suggestions for study" that have been added at the end; the subjects seem well-chosen and are exhibited with clearness and brevity. In another edition there ought to be added an index, that indispensable element of any book destined for constant and serious service. Possibly, too, a more extensive bibliography, classified, and with a brief word or two of explanation for each important work, would aid notably the good cause of the popularization of Dante in those circles that are specially called to some knowledge of him, but that too often rank him with "old, forgotten, far-off deeds and things of long ago." Why is there not a vigorous Dante Society among American Catholics, with its suitable journal, and its publications, learned and popular? The priest-graduates of the American College at Rome, that now counts yearly a hundred students, could of themselves furnish a band of capable and enthusiastic pioneers. Add to this that they are usually men of excellent philosophical and theological training, with memory and imagination fed by foreign travel and larger social intercourse, intimately acquainted with the lives and manners of the people of Dante, lives and manners that have suffered but little substantial change from the day when the grim old Ghibelline cast a last look on his "bel San Giovanni," and went forth on those wanderings whence were to issue the hundred divine chants that embody, as no other work, the history, philosophy, art and religion of the world's most historic and influential race.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Writings of Saint Francis of Assisi, newly translated into English with an introduction and notes. By Father Paschal Robinson, of the Order of the Friars Minor. Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press, 1906. 12°. Pp. xxxii + 208.

At the sight of the critical editions of St. Francis's writings which

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have appeared within the last two years, the first impression is likely to be one of regret. Little has been added to the traditional edition of the works of the Saint, and much has been taken out. We know from the first legends and annals of the Order that St. Francis wrote a great deal, but much of this has not come down to us. Among the lost writings of St. Francis, Father Paschal mentions in his Appendix: the primitive rule of the Friars, of which that known as the "First Rule" is only a later development; the rule of the Poor Ladies (second order); the original rule of the Brothers and Sisters of Penance (third order); letters to Cardinal Hugolino and to the Brothers in France and at Bologna; hymns, canticles, etc. We may well wonder how such precious writings have disappeared, particularly when we think with what care the founder of the Franciscan order respected and preserved all writings of whatsoever description. He would pick up pieces of parchment which he found on the streets or on the roads and put them in a decent place (p. 82), because, he said, these fragments might contain the name of Our Lord, or at least the letters which form this Sacred Name. When he dictated letters, he would not suffer any syllable nor any letter to be erased, even though it might have appeared superfluous or out of place (I Cel. 82). More than this, in the writings which we possess, we see frequent references to the care with which they should be preserved, copied, or even memorized by the brothers (pp. 63, 86, 108, 124, 129).

Unfortunately the sons of St. Francis did not always exercise the same care concerning their Father's writings; nor were they ever faithful to his advice. For those who know all the internal struggles which divided the order after the death of St. Francis, it is no surprise to hear of the disappearance of these precious documents. If the first lives of St. Francis were done away with because they supplied the Spirituals with an arm against the Mitigants, we need not wonder that the latter also tried to keep out of sight writings which contained their own condemnation. It is true the tenor of the decree of the chapter of 1266 mentioned only the legends of St. Francis, but we know positively from the authority of Ubertino da Casale that "serious attempts were made in certain quarters toward the close of the thirteenth century to suppress altogether part of the Saint's writings," in which his intention regarding the observance of the rule was too clearly expressed (p. 179).

Wadding, the Irish Franciscan annalist, was the first who attempted to collect the works of St. Francis for publication (Anvers, 1623). Great credit is due to him for the edition which, until two years ago, has served as the basis for all the subsequent editions of

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St. Francis's works. In fact, these have been merely translations or copies of Wadding's great work. His edition contains most of the matter included in Father Paschal's book, and a great deal besides which has since been recognized as spurious, or which at least offers doubts as to its authenticity. For instance Wadding put among St. Francis's authentic works the rule of the religious of St. Clare which, in that form, dates from 1253, and that of the Third Order from 1283. He has also incorporated in his edition of St. Francis's works the Monastic Conferences, compiled from various sources; maxims and sayings of St. Francis, taken from the various legends; and the two beautiful poetical compositions "In foco l'amor mi mise" and "Amor de caritate," now generally attributed to Jacopone da Todi.

Paul Sabatier was one of the first to call attention to the neglect in which St. Francis's works has been left by his biographers, and the need of a critical edition of these works, and he himself proceeded to show from a study of early manuscripts which of St. Francis's writings must be considered as genuine. A few years after Dr. Walter Goetz published in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (Vol. XXII) and later separately, a critical examination of the contents of Wadding's edition of St. Francis's works.

But it was only in 1904 that Father Leo Lemmens, president of the college of St. Bonaventure at Quaracchi,—and, soon after him, Dr. Boehmer, professor in Bonn, published critical editions of St. Francis's writings. Though they were working independently their conclusions were substantially the same. Father Lemmens left out of his edition the Canticle of the Sun which Boehmer edited. On the other hand Boehmer regards as of doubtful origin the Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, which is accepted by the Quaracchi editor. It is hard to say why Boehmer considers the Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer as doubtful, as it is contained in as many manuscripts as the "praises" which they often accompany, and only once is it attributed to another than St. Francis (p. 137). But it would seem at first sight that Boehmer is right in excluding the letter "To the rulers of the people" which is "known to us only by the testimony of the Ven. Francis Gonzaga O.F.M.," Minister General of the Order from 1579 to 1587 (p. 175), and the prayer "Absorbeat," the authenticity of which rests practically on the sole testimony of Ubertino da Casale (p. 145). These two writings are accepted as genuine by Father Lemmens and after him by Father Paschal. The letter "To all the Custodes" published by both Father Lemmens and Dr. Boehmer, as also by Sabatier (Tractatus de Indulgentia, p. 135) and translated by Father Paschal (p. 127), seems to rest on rather flimsy grounds,

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as it is contained in a single manuscript of the fourteenth century (p. 127) and, as Father Van Ortroy has remarked (Analecta Bollandiana, Vol. XXIV, Fasc. 3), resembles very much the instruction "to all clerics on the reverence for the Lord's body and on the cleanliness of the altar" (p. 23).

Father Paschal has followed the Quaracchi edition in his translation into English of St. Francis's writings. He added to the original edition the Canticle of the Sun, the authenticity of which is denied by I. Della Giovanna, but affirmed by Sabatier and most critics. We find also in Father Paschal's book more abundant critical notes and references, which was rather a weak feature in the Quaracchi edition, particularly when compared to Boehmer's edition. An excellent introduction on the literary and historical aspects of Francis's writings and a not less useful appendix on his lost, doubtful and spurious writings, will prove of the greatest interest to the student of Franciscan history.

Hence this little book will be of the greatest assistance not only to the pious reader who will delight in the sweet piety of the sweetest of all saints, but also to the lover of history and particularly to the biographer of St. Francis.

It is true that these writings add to the legends little that is new, no new facts, no new dates; but they reveal better than facts and dates the personality of the Saint. This feature is the more important as, at times, it may be hard to discover and follow the mind of St. Francis in legends which were all more or less connected with the burning controversies raised during Francis's very lifetime concerning his mind and ideal.

It must be said, however, that the rules in the form in which we have them now were not exclusively the work of St. Francis. He himself tells us in his Testament (p. 83) that he "caused" the original rule "to be written in few words and simply." We know that Cæsar of Spires contributed quotations from the Bible and from the Fathers to what is now known as the First Rule. The Ministers of the Chapter of 1223 and the Cardinal Protector of the order had a share in the redaction of the Second Rule. Nor need we wonder at that. Francis was not an organizer and had little idea about composing the rule of a religious order; he thought that the Gospel was the best rule of conduct for men who wished to follow Our Lord. But Cardinal Hugolino, Elias, and other ministers saw the need of a compact organization and consequently of a more precise rule. St. Francis would not hear of the rules of St. Benedict, of St. Augustine, of St. Bernard; yet he had to yield more than once to the necessity of cir-

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cumstances and to the advice of men more experienced than he in the direction of a large body of subjects. Yet the ideas expressed in the rule are his, and though some details may show a more learned mind and a more practical hand, it represents his spirit and his ideals.

May we venture to say however that we shall obtain a truer idea of St. Francis and his original spirit if we turn to those works which are more exclusively his, like his Testament, his letters, his prayers, his poetical compositions? No one can read the Testament without being impressed by the fact that there we have before our eyes St. Francis's mind concerning the foundation of his order. In it he recalls the ideal which the Lord had revealed to him and which he and his first companions had professed so fervently, an ideal of poverty and simplicity which he was determined to carry out to the last breath of his life.

His letters give us an insight into his feelings, cares and hopes, his sympathy for the poor, the sinners, his love for all, his anxious desire to bring all to God and to happiness. If he had been able, he would have gone to all nations of the earth and to the very thrones of kings to tell all of the wonderful things that God had revealed to him. This is well characteristic of the Middle Ages. "Then was the time when men believed that if they had a good idea or a deep feeling on any subject, the world at large had but to learn of this idea or feeling and it would immediately adopt it" (p. 96). Hence St. Francis's letters "To all the faithful," "To the rulers of the people." In other letters he urges his brothers to love and revere the Blessed Sacrament, and to observe the rule faithfully. Sometimes his advice is of a more private nature and is demanded by circumstances, as in his letter to a certain minister or in that to Brother Leo. But whatever may have been the impelling motive, each one of these letters reveals to us St. Francis's conception of things, imaginative rather than logical, consisting, not of dry reasons and proofs, but of strong appeals and even threats which may appear strange coming from our amiable Saint, or again of pictures that strike the imagination, and even little dramas that represent truth in the most vivid way, as e. g. his description of the death of the rich man (pp. 106–108).

In reading his prayers and his poetry we go still deeper into his heart and understand better what made him the popular hero of his time; his sweetness, tenderness, his mystic and symbolical mind, poetical spirit, chivalric dispositions,—traits that were all characteristic of the thirteenth century and made him a representative man. In these writings St. Francis appears to us with his troubadour character, delighting in sweet poetry as well as in the Bible, sending out

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his brethren not only as Apostles of the Gospel, but as Knights of the Round Table and Jongleurs of the Lord. Armed with the Canticle of the Sun, they go around singing and asking for their reward that their hearers may love God and do penance. There St. Francis was more at ease than in the making of a rule for a great organization. His theme was always the same: love and poverty. He had only a few truths to reveal to the world, but these truths he would repeat everywhere and in every way. If it is true that the character of a people is best expressed not in its history nor in its doctrinal treatises, but in its poetry, so perhaps St. Francis's mind and character best appear in his poetry and poetical prayers. Such beautiful pages as the Prayer to Lady Poverty and on Perfect Joy have been left out of the new critical editions, but there remains enough that speaks volumes on their author. The Words of Praise, of which we possess the autograph, the Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and the Praises that follow, the Salutation of the Virtues and the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, above all the Canticle of the Sun, written in the Italian of St. Francis's time, all depict to us the inmost characteristics of his mind. They show us in Francis the Poet-Saint.

Whoever reads the works of St. Francis cursorily may not appreciate these beauties. But a careful reading will not fail to reveal his beautiful personality which one cannot learn to know without being forced to wonder, to admire, and to love.

LEO L. DUBOIS.

"Sequil" to the Real Diary of a Real Boy: or Things whitch aint Finished in the First. By Henry A. Shute. Boston: The Everett Press, 1904.

This book, presumably as genuine a record of boyish adventure as its predecessor, will not take rank with the pretentious treatises on the "child-mind" which modern pedagogical literature offers; but it gives a glimpse into the psychology of youth which is worthy of serious consideration from all who are interested in the care and education of boys. Its humor, which depends entirely on the difference between the boy's point of view and that of his elders, is a plea, if not for more leniency, at least for greater sympathy in dealing with the escapades of youth, and a proof of the necessity for providing boys with some legitimate field for the exercise of their superabundant vitality.

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LETTER OF PIUS X TO THE FRENCH HIERARCHY ON THE LAW OF ASSOCIATIONS.

EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA.

SS. D. N. Pii div. PP. X ad Archiepiscopos Episcopos universumque clerum et populum Galliae.

Dilectis Filiis Nostris Francisco Mariae S.R.E. Presb. Card. Richard Archiepiscopo Parisiensi, Victori Luciano S.R.E. Presb. Card. Lecot Archiepiscopo Burdigalensi, Petro Hectori S.R.E. Presb. Card. Coullie Archiepiscopo Lugdunensi, Iosepho Guilelmo S.R.E. Presb. Card. Laboure Archiepiscopo Rhedonensi, Ceterisque Venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Atque Universo Clero et Populo Galliae PIUS PP. X.

Venerabiles Fratres et dilecti Filii salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Vehementer Nos esse sollicitos et praecipuo quodam dolore angi, rerum vestrarum causa, vix attinet dicere; quando ea perlata lex est, quae quum pervetustam civitatis vestrae cum Apostolica Sede necessitudinem violenter dirimit, tum vero indignam miserrimamque Ecclesiae in Gallia conditionem importat. Gravissimum sane facinus, idemque, ob ea quae civili societati allaturum est aeque ac religioni detrimenta, omnibus bonis deplorandum. Quod tamen nemini arbitramur inopinatum accidisse, qui quidem postremis temporibus, quemadmodum sese adversus Ecclesiam rei publicae moderatores gererent, attenderit. Vobis certe nec subitum accidit nec novum, Venerabiles Fratres; quibus ipsis testibus, christiana instituta plagas tam multas tamque magnas, alias ex aliis, accepere publice. Vidistis violatam legibus christiani sanctitudinem ac stabilitatem coniugii; dimotam de scholis de valetudinariis publicis religionem; abstractos a sacra studiorum et virtutum disciplina clericos et sub arma compulsos; disiectas spoliatasque bonis religiosas Familias, earumque sodales ad inopiam plerumque redactos rerum omnium. Illa etiam decreta nostis: ut aboleretur consuetudo vetus vel auspicandi, propitiato Deo, legumlatorum ac iudicum coetus, vel ob memoriam mortis Christi lugubria induendi navibus; ut sacramentis in iure dicendis forma speciesque abrogaretur religiosae rei; ut in iudiciis, in gymnasiis, in terrestribus maritimisque copiis, in rebus denique omnibus ditionis publicae, ne quid esset aut fieret, quod significationem aliquam christianae pro-

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fessionis daret. Iamvero ista quidem et id genus cetera, quum ab Ecclesia sensim rem publicam seiungerent, nihil fuisse aliud apparet, nisi gradus quosdam consulto iactos ad plenum discidium lege propria inducendum: id quod ipsi harum rerum auctores profiteri plus semel et prae se ferre non dubitarunt.—Huic tanto malo ut occurreret Apostolica Sedes, quantum in se habuit facultatis, totum eo contulit. Nam ex una parte admonere atque hortari gubernatores Galliae non destitit, etiam atque etiam considerarent, hunc quem instituissent discessionis cursum, quanta esset incommodorum consecutura moles; ex altera autem suae in Galliam indulgentiae benevolentiaeque singularis illustria duplicavit documenta; non absurde confisa, se ita posse, qui praeerant, tamquam iniecto officii gratiaeque vinculo, retinere in declivi, atque ab incoeptis demum abducere.—At huiusmodi studia, officia, conata et Decessoris et Nostra recidisse ad nihilum omnia cernimus; siquidem inimica religioni vis, quod contra iura catholicae gentis vestrae ac vota recte sentientium diu contenderat, expugnavit. Hoc igitur tam gravi Ecclesiae tempore, ut conscientia Nos officii sanctissimi iubet, Apostolicam vocem tollimus, et mentem animumque Nostrum vobis, Venerabiles Fratres et dilecti Filii, patefacimus: quos quidem universos omnes semper consuevimus peculiari quadam caritate prosequi, nunc vero, uti par est, eo vel amantius complectimur.

Civitatis rationes a rationibus Ecclesiae segregari oportere, profecto falsissima, maximeque perniciosa sententia est.—Primum enim, quum hoc nitatur fundamento, religionem nullo pacto debere civitati esse curae, magnam infert iniuriam Deo: qui ipse humanae societatis non minus quam hominum singulorum conditor et conservator est; proptereaque non privatim tantummodo colatur necesse est, sed etiam publice.—Deinde, quidquam esse supra naturam, non obscure negat. Etenim actionem civitatis sola vitae mortalis prosperitate metitur, in qua consistit causa proxima civilis societatis: causam ultimam civium, quae est sempiterna beatitudo extra hanc brevitatem vitae hominibus proposita, tamquam alienam reipublicae, plane negligit. Quod contra, ad adeptionem summi illius absolutique boni, ut hic totus est fluxarum rerum ordo dispositus, ita verum est rempublicam non modo non obesse, sed prodesse oportere.—Praeterea descriptionem pervertit rerum humanarum a Deo sapientissime constitutam quae profecto utriusque societatis, religiosae et civilis, concordiam requirit. Nam, quoniam ambae, tametsi in suo quaeque genere, in eosdem tamen imperium exercent, necessitate fit, ut causae inter eas saepe existant eiusmodi, quarum cognitio et diiudicatio utriusque sit. Iamvero, nisi civitas cum Ecclesia cohaereat, facile ex illis ipsis causis concertationum oritura sunt semina, utrinque acerbissimarum; quae iudicium

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veri, magna cum animorum anxietate, perturbent.—Postremo maximum importat ipsi societati civili detrimentum; haec enim florere aut stare diu, posthabita religione, quae summa dux ac magistra adest homini ad iura et officia sancte custodienda, non pottest.

Itaque Romani Pontifices huiusmodi refellere atque improbare opiniones, quae ad dissociandam ab Ecclesia rempublicam pertinerent, quoties res tempusque tulit, non destiterunt. Nominatim Decessor illustris, Leo XIII, pluries magnificeque exposuit, quanta deberet esse, secundum christianae principia sapientiae, alterius societatis convenientia cum altera: inter quas "quaedam, ait, intercedat necesse est ordinata colligatio, quae quidem coniunctioni non immerito comparatur, per quam anima et corpus in homine copulantur." Addit autem: "Civitates non possunt, citra scelus, gerere se tamquam si Deus omnino non esset, aut curam religionis velut alienam nihilque profuturam abiicere. . . . Ecclesiam vero, quam Deus ipse constituit, ab actione vitae excludere, a legibus, ab institutione adolescentium, a societate domestica, magnus et perniciosus est error."[1]

Iamvero, si contra omne ius fasque agat quaevis christiana civitas, quae Ecclesiam ab se segreget ac removeat, quam non est probandum, egisse hoc ipsum Galliam, quod sibi minime omnium licuit! Galliam dicimus, quam longo saeculorum spatio haec Apostolica Sedes praecipuo quodam ac singulari semper amore dilexerit; Galliam, cuius fortuna omnis et amplitudo nominis et gloriae religioni humanitatique christianae cognata semper fuerit! Apte idem Pontifex: "Illud Gallia meminerit, quae sibi cum Apostolica Sede sit, Dei providentis numine, coniunctio, arctiorem esse vetustioremque, quam ut unquam audeat dissolvere. Inde enim verissimae quaeque laudes, atque honestissima decora profecta . . . Hanc velle turbari necessitudinem idem foret sane ac velle de auctoritate gratiaque nationis Gallicae in populis non parum detrahi."[2]

Accedit autem quod haec ipsa summae necessitudinis vincula eo sanctiora iubebat esse sollemnis pactorum fides. Nempe Apostolicam Sedem inter et Rempublicam Gallicam conventio eiusmodi intercesserat, cuius ultro et citro constaret obligatio; cuiusmodi eae plane sunt, quae inter civitates legitime contrahi consueverunt. Quare et Romanus Pontifex et rei Gallicae moderator se et suos quisque successores sponsione obstrinxere, in iis quae pacta essent, constanter permansuros. Consequebatur igitur, ut ista pactio eodem iure, ac ceterae quae inter civitates fiunt, regeretur, hoc est, iure gentium; ideoque dissolvi ab alterutro dumtaxat eorum qui pepigerant, nequaquam

[1] Epist. Enc. Immortale Dei data die 1 Nov. an. MDCCCLXXXV.

[2] In alloc. ad peregr. Gallos hab. die XIII Apr. an. MDCCCLXXXVIII.

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posset. Apostolicam autem Sedem summa semper fide conditionibus stetisse, omnique tempore postulasse, ut fide pari staret eisdem civitas, nemo prudens suique indicii homo negaverit. Ecce autem Respublica pactionem adeo sollemnem et legitimam suo tantum arbitrio rescindit; violandaque religione pactorum, nihil quidquam pensi habet, dum sese ab Ecclesiae complexu amicitiaque expediat, et insignem Apostolicae Sedi iniuriam imponere, et ius gentium frangere, et ipsam commovere graviter disciplinam socialem et politicam; siquidem nihil tam interest humani convictus et societatis ad secure explicandas rationes populorum mutuas, quam ut pacta publica sancta inviolateque serventur.

Ad magnitudinem autem iniuriae, quam Apostolica Sedes accepit, accessionem non mediocrem factam esse liquet, si modus inspiciatur, quo modo Respublica pactum resolvit. Est hoc ratum similiter iure gentium atque in moribus positum institutisque civilibus, ut non ante liceat conventa inter civitates solvi, quam civitas altera, quae hoc velit, alteri se id velle clare aperteque ipsi legitime denuntiarit. Iamvero his voluntatis huiusmodi apud Apostolicam ipsam Sedem legitima, non modo denuntiatio, sed ne ulla quidem significatio intercessit. Ita non dubitarunt gubernatores Galliae adversus Apostolicam Sedem communia urbanitatis officia deserere, quae vel minimae cuique minimique momenti civitati praestari solent; neque iidem veriti sunt, quum nationis catholicae personam gererent, Pontificis, Summi Ecclesiae catholicae Capitis, dignitatem potestatemque contemnere; quae quidem potestas eo maiorem ab iis verecundiam, quam civilis ulla potestas postulabat, quod aeterna animorum bona spectat, neque ullis locorum finibus circumscribitur.

Sed iam ipsam in se legem considerantibus, quae modo promulgata est, novae Nobis multoque gravioris querelae nascitur causa. Principio Respublica quum revulsis pactionis vinculis ab Ecclesia discederet, consequens omnino erat, ut eam quoque missam faceret et concessa jure communi frui libertate sineret. At nihil minus factum est: nam plura hic videmus esse constituta, quae, idiosum privilegium Ecclesiae irrogando, eam civili imperio subesse cogant. Nos vero cum graviter molesteque ferimus, quod hisce sanctionibus civilis potestas in eas res invasit, quarum iudicium et arbitrium unius est sacrae potestatis; tum etiam eoque magis dolemus, quod eadem, aequitatis institiaeque oblita, Ecclesiam Gallicam in conditionem ac fortunam coniecit duram incommodamque maxime, atque eam sacrosanctis ipsius iuribus adversissimam.

Nam primum huius decreta legis constitutionem ipsam offendunt, qua Christus Ecclesiam conformavit. Scriptura enim eloquitur et tradita a Patribus doctrina confirmat, Ecclesiam mysticum esse Christi

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corpus pastorum et doctorum auctoritate administratum,[3] id est societatem hominum, in qua aliqui praesunt ceteris cum plena perfectaque regendi, docendi, ivdicandi potestate.[4] Est igitur haec societas, vi et natura sua, inaequalis; duplicem scilicet complectitur personarum ordinem, pastores et gregem, id est eos, qui in variis hierarchiae gradibus collocati sunt, et multitudinem fidelium, atque hi ordines ita sunt inter se distincti, ut in sola hierarchia ius atque auctoritas resideat movendi ac dirigendi consociatos ad propositum societati finem; multitudinis autem officium sit, gubernari se pati, et rectorum sequi ductum obedienter. Praeclare Cyprianus Martyr: "Dominus noster, cuius praecepta metuere et servare debemus, Episcopi honorem et Ecclesiae suae rationem disponens, in Evangelio loquitur, et dicit: Ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, etc. Inde per temporum et successionum vices Episcoporum ordinatio et Ecclesiae ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus Ecclesiae per eosdem praepositos gubernetur"; idque ait "divina lege fundatum"[5] Contra ea, legis huius praescripto, administratio tuitioque cultus publici non hierarchiae divinitus constitutae relinquitur, sed certae cuidam defertur consociationi civium: cui quidem forma ratioque imponitur personae legitimae, quaeque in universo religiosi cultus genere sola habetur civilibus uti instructa iuribus, ita obligationibus obstricta. Igitur ad consociationem huiusmodi templorum aedificiorumque sacrorum usus, rerum ecclesiasticarum tum moventium tum solidarum possessio respiciet; ipsi de Episcoporum, de Curionum, de Seminariorum aedibus liberum, licet ad tempus, permittetur arbitrium; ipsius erit administrare bona, corrogare stipes, pecuniam et legata percipere, sacrorum causa. De hierarchia vero silentium est. Statuitur quidem, istas consociationes ita conflandas esse, quemadmodum cultus religiosi, cuius exercendi gratia instituuntur, propria disciplina ratioque vult; verumtamen cavetur, ut si qua forte de ipsarum rebus controversia inciderit, eam dumtaxat apud Consilium Status diiudicari oporteat. Perspicuum est igitur ipsas consociationes adeo civili potestati obnoxias esse, nihil ut in eis ecclesiasticae auctoritati loci relinquatur. Quantopere haec omnia sint Ecclesiae aliena dignitati, contraria iuribus et constitutioni divinae, nemo non videt: eo magis quod non certis definitisque formulis, verum tam vagis tamque late patentibus perscripta lex in hoc capite, ut iure sint ex eius interpretatione peiora metuenda.

[3] Ephes. IV, II seqq.

[4] Matth. XXVIII, 18–20; XVI, 18–19; XVIII, 18; Tit. II, 15; II Cor. X, 6; XIII, 10, et alibi.

[5] S. Cypr. Epist. XXXIII (al. XXVII), ad Lapsos, n. i.

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Praeterea nihil hac ipsa lege inimicius libertati Ecclesiae.—Etenim, si prohibentur sacri magistratus, ob interiectas consociationes quas diximus, plenam muneris sui exercere potestatem; si in easdem consociationes summa vindicatur Consilio Status auctoritas, eaeque parere alienissimis a iure communi statutis iubentur, ita ut difficile coalescere, difficilius queant consistere; si data divini cultus exercendi copia multiplici exceptione minuitur; erepta Ecclesiae studio vigilantiaeque, custodia templorum Reipublicae attribuitur; ipsum coercetur Ecclesiae munus de fide ac morum sanctitate concionandi et severiores irrogantur clericis poenae; si haec et talia sanciuntur, in quibus multum etiam libido interpretandi possit, quid hic aliud agitur, quam ut Ecclesia in humili abiectaque conditione locetur, et pacificorum civium, quae quidem est pars Galliae multo maxima, per speciem conservandi publici ordinis, sanctissimum ius violetur profitendae, uti velint, religionis suae? Quamquam Civitas non comprimenda solum divini cultus professione, qua totam vim rationemque definit religionis, Ecclesiam vulnerat; sed eius etiam vel virtuti beneficia intercludendo aditus ad populum, vel actionem multipliciter debilitando. Igitur satis non habuit, praeter cetera, Ordines submovisse religiosorum, unde in sacri ministerii perfunctione, in institutione atque eruditione adolescentis aetatis, in christianae procuratione beneficentiae praeclara adiumenta suppetebant Ecclesiae: nam humanis eam opibus, id est necessario quodam ad vitam et ad munus subsidio, intervertit.

Sane, ad ea quae conquesti sumus damna et iniurias, hoc accedit, ut ista de discidio lex ius Ecclesiae sua sibi habendi bona violet atque imminuat. Etenim de patrimonii, magnam partem, possessione, probatissimis quibusque titulis quaesiti, Ecclesiam, alte iustitia reclamante, deturbat; quidquid rite constitutum sit, addicta pecunia in divinum cultum aut in stata defunctorum solatia, tollit atque irritum iubet esse; quas facultates catholicorum liberalitas christianis utique aut variis christianae beneficentiae institutis sustinendis destinarat, eas ad instituta laicorum transfert, ubi plerumque aliquod catholicae religionis vestigium frustra quaeras: in quo quidem patet, una cum Ecclesiae iuribus, testamenta voluntatesque apertas auctorum everti. Quod vero per summan iniuriam edicit, quibus aedificiis Ecclesia ante pactum conventum utebatur, ea posthac civitatis aut provinciarum aut municipiorum fore, singulari Nobis est sollicitudini. Nam si consociationibus divino cultui exercendo usus templorum, ut videmus, gratuitus nec definitus conceditur, concessum tamen huiusmodi tot tantisque exceptionibus extenuatur, ut reapse templorum arbitrium omne civiles magistratus obtineant. Vehementer praeterea timemus

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sanctitati templorum: neque enim cernimus abesse periculum, ne augusta divinae maiestatis domicilia, eademque carissima memoriae religionique Gallorum loca, profanas in manus quum deciderint, profanis ritibus polluantur. In eo autem, quod Rempublicam lex officio solvit suppeditandi annuos sacrorum sumptus, simul fidem sollemni pacto obligatam, simul iustitiam laedit gravissime. Etenim nullam dubitationem hoc habet, quod ipsa rei gestae testantur monumenta, Rempublicam Gallicam, quum pacto convento sibi suscepit onus praebendi Clero unde vitam decenter ipse agere, ac publicam religionis dignitatem curare posset, non id fecisse comitatis benignitatisque gratia; verum ut eam, quam pròximo tempore Ecclesia passa esset publice direptionem bonorum, saltem ex parte aliqua sarciret. Similiter eodem convento, quum Pontifex, concordiae studens, recepit, se successoresque suos nullam molestiam exhibituros iis, ad quos direpta Ecclesiae bona pervenissent, sub ea conditione constat recepisse, ut per ipsam Rempublicam perpetuo esset honestae et Cleri et divini cultus tuitioni consultum.

Postremo, ne illud quidem silebimus, hanc legem, praeterquam Ecclesiae rebus, vestrae etiam civitati non exiguo futuram damno. Neque enim potest esse dubium, quin multum habitura sit facultatis ad eam labefactandam coniunctionem et conspirationem animorum, quae si desit, nulla stare aut vigere queat civitas; et quam, his maxime Europae temporibus, quisquis est in Gallia vir bonus vereque amans patriae, salvam et incolumem velle debet. Nos quidem exemplo Decessoris, a quo exploratissimae erga nationem vestram caritatis eximiae cepimus hereditatem, quum avitae religionis tueri apud vos interitatem iurium niteremur, hoc simul spectavimus semper et contendimus, communem omnium vestrum pacem concordiamque, cuius nullum vinculum arctius quam religio, confirmare. Quapropter intelligere sine magno angore non possumus, eam auctoritate publica patratam esse rem, quae, concitatis iam populi studiis funestarum de rebus religiosis contentionum faces adiiciendo, perturbare funditus civitatem posse videatur.

Itaque, Apostolici Nostri officii memores, quo sacrosancta Ecclesiae iura a quavis impugnatione defendere ac servare integra debemus, Nos pro suprema, quam obtinemus divinitus, auctoritate, sancitam legem, quae Rempublicam Gallicanam seorsum ab Ecclesiae separat, reprobamus ac damnamus; idque ob eas quas exposuimus causas: quod maxima afficit iniuria Deum, quem sollemniter eiurat, principio declarans Rempublicam cuiusvis religiosi cultus expertem; quod naturae ius gentiumque violat et publicam pactorum fidem; quod constitutioni divinae et rationibus intimis et libertati adversatur Ecclesiae; quod

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iustitiam evertit, ius opprimendo dominii, multiplici titulo ipsaque conventione legitime quaesitum; quod graviter Apostolicae Sedis dignitatem ac personam Nostram, Episcoporum Ordinem, Clerum et Catholicos Gallos offendit. Propterea de rogatione, latione, promulgatione eiusdem legis vehementissime expostulamus; in eaque testamur nihil quidquam inesse momenti ad infirmanda Ecclesiae iura, nulla hominum vi ausuque mutabilia.

Haec ad istius detestationem facti vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, Gallicano populo, atque adeo christiani nominis universitati edicere habuimus.—Equidem molestissime, ut diximus, afficimur, mala prospcientes quae ab hac lege dilectae nationi impendent; maximeque commovemur miseriis, aerumnis, laboribus omne genus, in quibus fore vos, Venerabiles Fratres, Clerumque vestrum cernimus. Attamen, ne his tantis curis affligi Nos frangique patiamur, prohibet divinae benignitatis providentiaeque cogitatio, atque exploratissima spes, nunquam fore ut Ecclesiam Iesus Christus ope praesentiaque sua destituat. Itaque longe id abest a Nobis; ut quidquam formidemus, Ecclesiae causa. Divina est virtutis eius stabilitas atque constantia, eaque satis, opinamur, tot saeculorum exoerumento cognita. Nemo enim unus ignorat, asperitates rerum hac temporis diuturnitate in eam incubuisse et plurimas et maximas; atque, ubi virtutem non humana maiorem deficere necesse fuisset, Ecclesiam inde validiorem semper auctioremque emersisse. Ac de legibus in perniciem Ecclesiae conditis, hoc ferme usuvenire, historia teste, scimus, ut quas invidia conflaverit, eas postea, utpote noxias in primis civitati, prudentia resolvat: idque ipsum in Gallia haud ita veteri memoria constat contigisse. Quod insigne maiorum exemplum utinam sequi inducant animum, qui rerum potiuntur: matureque religionem, effectricem humanitatis, fautricem prosperitatis publicae, in possessionem dignitatis libertatisque suae, omnibus plaudentibus bonis, restituant.

Interea tamen, dum opprimendi exagitandi libido dominabitur, filii Ecclesiae, si unquam alias, oportet, induti arma lucis,[6] pro veritate ac iustitia, omni qua possunt ope nitantur. In quo vos, magistri auctoresque ceterorum, profecto, Venerabiles Fratres, omnem eam studii alacritatem, vigilantiam, constantiamque praestabitis, quae Galliae Episcoporum vetus ac spectatissima laus est. Sed hoc potissime studere vos volumus, quod maxime rem continet, ut omnium vestrum in tutandis Ecclesiae rationibus summa sit sententiarum consiliorumque consensio. Nobis quidem certum deliberatumque est, qua norma dirigendam esse in his rerum difficultatibus operam vestram arbitremur, opportune vobis praescribere; nec dubitandum, quin

[6] Rom. XIII, 12.

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praescripta vos Nostra diligentissime executuri sitis. Pergite porro, ut instituistis, atque eo etiam impensius, roborare pietatem communem; praeceptionem doctrinae christinae promovere vulgatioremque facere; errorum fallacias, corruptelarum illecebras, tam late hodie fusas, a vestro cuiusque grege defendere; eidem ad docendum, monendum, hortandum, solandum adesse, omnia denique pastoralis caritatis officia conferre.—Nec vero elaborantibus vobis non se adiutorem strenuissimum praebebit Clerus vester; quem quidem, viris affluentem pietate, eruditione, obsequio in Apostolicam Sedem eximiis, promptum paratumque esse novimus, se totum vobis pro Ecclesia sempiternaque animorum salute dedere. Certe autem, qui sunt huius Ordinis, in hac tempestate sentient sic se animatos esse oportere, quemadmodum fuisse Apostolos accepimus, "gaudentes . . ., quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Iesu contumeliam pati."[1] Itaque iura libertatemque Ecclesiae fortiter vindicabunt, omni tamen adversus quempiam asperitate remota: quin imo, caritatis memores, ut Christi ministros in primis addecet, aequitate iniuriam, lenitate contumaciam, beneficiis maleficia pensabunt.

Iam vos compellamus, catholici quotquot estis in Gallia; vobisque vox Nostra tum testimonio effusissimae benevolentiae, qua gentem vestram diligere non desinimus, tum in calamitosissimis rebus quae imminent, solatio sit.—Hoc sibi destinasse pravas hominum sectas, cervicibus vestris impositas, imo hoc denuntiasse insigni audacia se velle, nostis: delere catholicum in Gallia nomen. Eam nempe contendunt extrahere radicitus ex animis vestris fidem, quae avis et maioribus gloriam, patriae prosperitatem verendamque amplitudinem peperit, vobis levamenta aerumnarum ministrat, pacem tuetur tranquillitatemque domesticam, viam munit ad beatitatem adipiscendam sine fine mansuram. In huius defensionem fidei summa vi incumbendum vobis putatis esse scilicet; sed hoc habete, inani vos nisu laboraturos, si dissociatis viribus propulsare hostiles impetus nitemini. Abiicite igitur, si quae insident inter vos, discordiarum semina: ac date operam, ut tanta omnes conspiratione voluntatum et agendi similitudine coniuncti sitis, quanta esse decet homines, quibus una eademque est causa propugnanda, atque ea causa, pro qua quisque non invite debeat, si opus fuerit, aliquam, privati iudicii iacturam facere.—Omnino magna generosae virtutis exempla detis oportet, si, quantum est in vobis, vultis, ut officium est, avitam religionem a praesenti discrimine eripere: in quo benigne facientes ministris Dei, divinam peculiari modo benignitatem vobis conciliabitis.

[1] Act. V, 41.

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At vobis ad patrocinium religionis digne suscipiendum, recte utiliterque sustinendum, illa esse maxima arbitremini: christianae sapientiae praeceptis vosmetipsos conformari adeo, ut ex moribus atque omni vita professio catholica eluceat; et arctissime cum iis cohaerere, quorum propria est religiosae rei procuratio, cum sacerdotibus nimirum et Episcopis vestris et, quod caput est, cum hac Apostolica Sede, in qua, tamquam centro, catholicorum fides et conveniens fidei actio nititur. Sic ergo parati atque instructi, ad hanc pro Ecclesia propugnationem fidenter accidite; sed videte, ut fiduciae vestrae tota ratio in Deo consistat, cuius agitis causam: eius idcirco opportunitatem auxilii implorare ne cessetis. Nos vero, quamdiu ita vobis erit periclitandum, vobiscum praesentes cogitatione animoque versabimur; laborum, curarum, dolorum participes; simulque prece atque obsecratione humili ac supplici apud Auctorem Statoremque Ecclesiae instabimus, ut respiciat Galliam misericors, eamque tantis iactatam fluctibus celeriter deprecante Maria Immaculata, in tranquillum redigat.

Auspicem divinorum munerum ac testem praecipue benevolentiae Nostrae, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres ac dilecti Filii, Apostolicam benedictionem amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die XI Februarii anno MDCCCVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

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PIUS X. TO THE FRENCH HIERARCHY.

To His Venerable Brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops of France, Pius X, Pope.

Venerable Brethren, Health and the Apostolic Benediction.

We are going to discharge to-day a very grave obligation of Our office, an obligation which We assumed towards you when We announced, after the promulgation of the law creating a rupture between the French Republic and the Church, that We should indicate at a fitting time what it might seem to Us ought to be done to defend and preserve the religion of your country. We have allowed you to wait until to-day for the satisfaction of your desires, by reason not only of the importance of this great question, but also, and above all, by reason of the quite special charity which binds Us to you and to all your interests because of the unforgettable services rendered to the Church by your nation.

"Therefore, after having condemned, as was our duty, this iniquitous law, We have inquired with the greatest care whether the articles of the said law would leave Us any means of organizing religious life in France in such a way as to protect from injury the sacred principles on which the Holy Church reposes. To this end, it appeared good to Us both to take the counsel of the assembled episcopate and to prescribe for your general assembly the points which ought to be the principal objects of your deliberations. And now, knowing your views, as well as those of several Cardinals, and after having maturely reflected and implored by the most fervent prayers the Father of Light, We see that We ought to confirm fully by Our Apostolic authority the almost unanimous decision of your assembly."

It is for this reason that, with reference to the religious associations as the law establishes them, We decree that it is absolutely impossible for them to be admitted without a violation of the sacred rights pertaining to the very life of the Church.

Let Us put aside, therefore, these associations which the knowledge of Our duty forbids Us to approve.

It might appear opportune to examine whether it is lawful to make trial in their place of some other sort of associations at once legal and canonical, and thus to preserve the Catholics of France from the grave complications which menace them.

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Of a certainty nothing so engrosses and distresses Us as these eventualities, and would to Heaven that We had some hope of being able, without infringing the rights of God, to make this essay, and thus to deliver Our well-beloved sons from the fear of such great trials.

But as this hope fails Us while the law remains what it is, We declare that it is not permissible to try this other kind of associations as long as it is not established in a sure and legal manner that the Divine constitution of the Church, the immutable rights of the Roman Pontiff and of the Bishops, and their authority over the necessary property of the Church, particularly over the sacred edifices, shall be irrevocably vested in the said associations in full security. To desire the contrary is impossible for Us. It would be to betray the sanctity of Our Office without bringing peace to the Church of France.

It remains, therefore, for you, venerable brothers, to set yourselves to the work, to employ all means which the law recognizes as within the rights of all citizens to organize religious worship. In a matter so important and so arduous you will never have to wait for Our assistance. Absent in body, We shall be with you in thought and in heart. We shall aid you on every occasion with Our counsel and with Our authority.

Assume with courage the burden We impose upon you under the inspiration of Our love for the Church and for your country. Trust in everything else to the provident goodness of God, Whose help We are firmly convinced will, when He so chooses, not fail France.

It is not difficult to foresee the nature of the recriminations the enemies of the Church will make against Our present decree and Our orders. They will endeavor to persuade the people that We have not had the interests of the Church of France solely in view; that We have had another design foreign to religion, that the form of the Republic in France is hateful to Us, that in order to overthrow it We are seconding the efforts of the parties hostile to her, that We refuse to France that which the Holy See has without difficulties accorded to her nations. These recriminations, with others of the same sort, which, as can be foreseen from certain indications, will be disseminated among the public in order to excite irritation, We denounce now and henceforth with the utmost indignation as false; and it is incumbent upon you, venerable brothers, as upon all good men, to refute them in order that they may not deceive simple and ignorant people.

With reference to the special charge against the Church of having been more accommodating in a similar case outside France, you should explain that the Church has acted in this way because the situations

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were quite different, and, above all, because the divine attributes of the Hierarchy were, in a certain measure, safeguarded. If any State has separated from the Church, while leaving to her the resource of the liberty common to all and the free disposal of her property, that State has without doubt and on more than one ground acted unjustly; but nevertheless it could not be said that it has created an absolutely intolerable situation for the Church. But it is quite otherwise to-day in France. There the fabricators of this unjust law wished to make it a law, not of separation, but of oppression. Thus they affirmed their desire for peace and promised an understanding; and they are now waging an atrocious war against the religion of the country. They hurl the firebrands of the most violent discords, and thus incite the citizens against each other, to the great detriment, as every one sees, of the public welfare itself.

Assuredly they will tax their ingenuity to throw the blame for this conflict and for the evils resulting therefrom upon Us. But whoever loyally examines the facts of which We have spoken in the Encyclical "Vehementer Nos" will be able to see whether We have deserved the least reproach. We, who, after having patiently supported injustice upon injustice in Our love for the proud French nation, finally find Ourselves bound over to transgress the last holy limits of Our Apostolic duty, and We declare that We will not transgress them, or rather We ask whether the fault does not lie entirely with those who in hate of the Apostolic name have gone to such extremities.

Therefore, if they desire to show Us their submission and their devotion, let the Catholic men of France struggle for the Church in accordance with the directions We have already given them—that is to say, with perseverance and energy, and yet without acting in a seditious and violent manner. It is not by violence, but by firmness, that, fortifying themselves in their good right as within a citadel, they will succeed in breaking the obstinacy of their enemies. Let them well understand, as We have said and as We repeat, that their efforts will be useless unless they unite in a perfect understanding for the defence of religion. As they now know Our verdict on the subject of this nefarious law, they should whole-heartedly conform to it, and whatever the opinions of some or others of them may have been hitherto during the discussion of the question, We entreat all that no one shall permit himself to wound any one whomsoever on the pretext that his own way of seeing is the best. What can be done by concord of will and union of forces, let them learn from their adversaries, and just as the latter were able to impose on the nation

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the stigma of this criminal law, so Our people will be able to eliminate and remove it.

In this hard trial of France, if all those who wish to defend with all their power the supreme interests of their country, work as they ought to do in union among themselves, with their Bishops, and with Ourselves for the cause of religion, far from despairing of the welfare of the Church of France, it is to be hoped on the contrary that that Church will be restored to her pristine prosperity and dignity. We in no way doubt that the Catholics will fully comply with Our directions, and conform with Our desires. Also, We shall ardently seek to obtain for them, by the intercession of Mary the Immaculate Virgin, the aid of the Divine goodness. As a pledge of this celestial gift and in testimony of Our paternal benevolence, We grant with all Our heart the Apostolic Benediction to you, venerable brothers, and to the whole French nation.

Given at Rome, St. Peter's, on August 10, the Feast of St. Lawrence the Martyr, in the year 1906, the fourth of Our Pontificate.

PIUS PP.X.

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JOINT PASTORAL OF THE FRENCH BISHOPS TO THEIR PEOPLE.

To the Clergy and Faithful of France, Health and Benediction in Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Dearly Beloved Brethren,

We have all received with the deepest gratitude the Encyclical Letter which our Holy Father Pope Pius X has addressed to us to guide us in the grave situation in which the Church of France now finds herself.

It was with confidence that we awaited this word of the successor of Peter, to whom Our Lord has confided the care of feeding the lambs and the sheep, that is, of leading the pastors and the faithful in the ways of truth and salvation.

We made haste to communicate to you this word of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. It is making, all the world over, a deep impression and we have received it with filial obedience.

All your Bishops are closely massed together round the Sovereign Pontiff, in the midst of the sad trials of the present time, having along with him but one heart and one soul of love for the Church and for France.

And your priests are solid to a man with their Bishops, in absolute and generous obedience to the Supreme Pontiff, and declare aloud their readiness for all sacrifices in order to continue to devote themselves to your souls.

Our Most Holy Father Pius X, in addressing to us this Encyclical Letter, has fulfilled the charge which he received from God, to preserve intact the deposit of truth and the constitution of the Holy Catholic Church.

That constitution has for its essential base the authority of the hierarchy divinely established by Jesus Christ. The Church is a society governed by pastors, of whom the Pope is the head, and to whom alone belongs the right of rule in all that concerns the exercise of religion. Now the Law of Separation pretends to impose on the Church in this country, by the sole authority of the civil power, a new form of organization. It declares that in the exercise of divine worship it no longer recognizes anyone but associations of citizens, combining and regulating themselves according to their own will,

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according to the statutes of their own making, which they would always be free to modify at will. If, in one of the articles of this Law, the necessary principle of the Catholic hierarchy seems to be implicitly contained, it is only indicated in vague and obscure terms, whilst it is but too clearly thrown over in another article which, in case of disputes, places the supreme decision in the hands of the Council of State, that is to say of the civil power. It would therefore be thrusting a lay constitution on the Church, and Pius X has condemned, and, indeed, could not but condemn it. He has decreed that "with reference to the Associations for Public Worship as the law establishes them, it is absolutely impossible for them to be formed without a violation of the sacred rights pertaining to the very life of the Church."

In his desire to save the Catholics of France from the grave difficulties that threaten them, the Holy Father has examined whether there was any way of reconciling the *associations cultuelles* with Canon Law: "Would to Heaven that We had some hope of being able, without infringing the rights of God, to make this essay, and thus to deliver Our well-beloved sons from the fear of such manifold and such great trials. But as this hope fails Us while the law remains what it is, We declare that it is not permissible to try this other kind of association as long as it is not established in a sure and legal manner that the Divine constitution of the Church, the immutable rights of the Roman Pontiff and of the Bishops, as well as their authority over the necessary property of the Church and particularly over the sacred edifices shall be irrevocably placed in the said associations in full security."

In truth, dearly beloved brethren, so long as the Law stands as it is, and whatever efforts may be made to establish legal associations placed under the authority of the Pope and of the Bishops, it would still remain that this authority would only be sovereign so long as it should please the members to recognize it; and if they wished to withdraw themselves from it, it would belong to a lay tribunal, in the last resort, to judge of the legitimacy of their pretensions. It would be lawful for it to hand over to the abettors of revolt against the Church the proprietorship of her property and the use of her churches.

It would, therefore, be a huge self-deception to think and to say that in rejecting these Associations the Pope has "not had the interests of the Church of France solely in view, that he has had another design foreign to religion, that the form of the Republic in France is hateful to him." Pius X. denounces "with the utmost indignation

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as false . . . these recriminations with others of the same sort which will be disseminated among the public in order to excite irritation." We, dearly beloved brethren, join our protests to those of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. No, it is not with political interests that we are preoccupied. For many years past we have conformed to the directions of the Holy See, which has called upon us to unite for the sole purpose of defending the Catholic religion and to accept the form of government which France has chosen. It is now a long time since one of our number did not hesitate to declare: "If one desires impartially and in good faith to regard the state of opinion in our country two things may be stated as certain: France has no wish to change her form of government, neither has she any wish for religious persecution."[1] And to-day all of us repeat and declare unanimously that what we demand is that anti-Christian laws should not, contrary to the will of France, be made into the very constitution of the Republic.

The venerable Cardinal Guibert, at the close of his long and holy career, in 1886, and when the first attack was being made upon the Christian schools and other religious congregations, addressed to the Head of the State these grave and patriotic words which it is now useful to recall: "In continuing upon the course upon which it has entered, the Republic can do much harm to religion . . . but it will not succeed in killing it. The Church has known other perils, she has gone through other storms, and still she lives in the heart of France. . . . It is not the clergy, it is not the Church that can be accused of working for the ruin of the political establishment of which you are the guardian; you know that revolt is not an arm on which we are accustomed to rely. The clergy will continue to suffer in patience; they will pray for their enemies and beseech God to enlighten and inspire them with juster views; but those who have desired this impious war will, by it, bring about their own destruction, and there will be great ruin before our beloved country again sees prosperous days. The passion for destruction of which more than one sign makes us fear the not distant awakening, will create dangers far graver than pretended abuses with which the clergy are charged. And God grant that in this dreadful storm, in which passions let loose will no longer find any moral barrier in their way, we may not see the fortunes of our country darkened and its independence jeopardized. Come to the end of a long life (added the venerable old man), I wish, before going to render an account of my stewardship

[1] Reply of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris to the Catholics who consulted him on their social duty, March 2, 1891.

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to God, to clear myself of any responsibility for such misfortunes. But I cannot close this letter without expressing the hope that France will never allow herself to be stripped of the sacred beliefs which have made her strength and her glory in the past, and have secured her the first place among the nations.'"[1]

And we too, dearly beloved brethren, wish to clear ourselves of any responsibility in view of the calamities with which our country is threatened. The Law of Separation, such as it is, would deprive France not only of its title of a Catholic nation, but of the real freedom for the practice of the religion which has been its life and greatness for so many centuries, and by which alone in the future its order and peace can be secured. As Catholic Bishops and Frenchmen, how can we give our coöperation to the carrying out of such a Law? Pius X, dearly beloved brethren, invites us to take all the means which "the law recognizes as within the rights of all citizens to arrange for and organize public worship." And we shall give you, at the proper time, the instructions necessary for that purpose, according as occasion may arise.

We would fain hope that our country may still be spared a religious war. The Catholics of France demand that they may not have for the practice of their religion imposed upon them, in the name of a law which professes to assure them "liberty of conscience and to guarantee them freedom of worship" a constitution which they cannot conscientiously accept; that it be remembered that in no case or country can the legal organization of Catholic worship be regulated except in accord with the supreme Head of the Church; and that if people are determined on the separation of Church and State at all costs, we should at least be left in the enjoyment of the property that is ours and of the liberties of the common law, as in other countries that are really free. We cannot believe that such demands will fall without a hearing. "In this hard trial of France, if all those who wish to defend with all their power the supreme interests of their country work as they ought to do in union among themselves with their Bishops and with Ourselves for the cause of religion, far from despairing of the welfare of the Church of France, it is to be hoped, on the contrary, that she will be restored to her former prosperity and dignity. We in no way doubt that the Catholics will fully comply with Our directions, and conform with Our desires: and We shall ardently seek to obtain for them by the intercession of Mary, the Immaculate Virgin, the aid of the Divine goodness."

[1] Letter of Cardinal Guibert to the President of the Republic, June 22, 1896.

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Union of hearts, filial obedience, a generous spirit of sacrifice, and recourse to fervent prayer: such is the action which is traced for us by the Sovereign Pontiff, and which we desire to see realized.

Forgetting all past differences, all of you, dearly beloved brethren, along with your bishops and priests, will have but one heart and one soul in the maintenance and defence of our holy religion, whilst we follow the rules laid down by supreme authority with perseverance and energy, but without sedition or violence. If an attempt should be made to form, contrary to the will of the Head of the Church, associations which could be Catholic in nothing but name, none of you under any pretext whatever will give them your names.

Your pastors are determined to suffer deprivation and poverty rather than betray their duty; and you will understand that all the faithful are bound to come to their assistance, and to contribute, each one according to his means, towards the upkeep of divine worship and the maintenance of its ministers.

And in conclusion, seeing that our cause is the cause of God, without whose help all our efforts would be powerless to make it triumph, we shall betake ourselves to prayer with redoubled instancy and fervor. And we shall beseech the Heart of Jesus, "who loves the Franks," through the intercession of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, who has showered upon our country the marks of her predilection, to grant that this country, which is so dear to us, may remain staunch to her Christian calling, and may, under the ægis of her ancient faith, run the course of her glorious destiny.

This our present letter is to be read from the pulpit of every church in France on Sunday, September 23.

Given at Paris at our General Meeting on September 7, 1906.

FRANÇOIS CARDINAL RICHARD,
Archbishop of Paris.

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ALLOCUTION OF PIUS X IN THE CONSISTORY OF FEBRUARY 21, 1906, AGAINST THE LAW OF SEPARATION.

Gravissimum apostolici muneris officium impleturi, vos hodierno die ad Nos convocandos censuimus.—Multa profecto acerba aeque atque iniusta, per calamitosissimam hanc tempestatem, Ecclesiae quotidie inferuntur ac Nobis, qui, quantumvis immeriti, illius regimen, Christi vice, tenemus. At memores tamen eiusdem Christi patientiae, certisque illius promissis tuti, adversa quaeque miti animo tolerare nitimur, ut sicut ille ambulavit et Nos ambulemus in spe gloriae filiorum Dei.—Sed enim, tam grave atque vehemens Ecclesiae ac Nobis impositum nuperrime est vulnus, ut illud nequeamus silentio premere, nec, si velimus, nisi neglecto officio, liceret. Praecipitis plane, Venerabiles Fratres, de ea lege velle Nos loqui, iniuriae plena atque in perniciem catholici nominis excogitata, quae paullo ante de seiuganda civiltate ab Ecclesia in Galliis sancita est. Equidem in encyclicis litteris, quas paucis ante diebus ad Galliarum Episcopos, Clerum ac populum dedimus, fusius iam ostendimus, quam ea invidiosa sit, ac Dei atque Ecclesiae infesta iuribus. Sed ne muneris apostolici quotamcumque praeterivisse partem videamur, propositum est ea quae ediximus, in amplissimo conspectu vestro strictim persequi, graviterque confirmare.

Enimvero quî eam non reprobare legem possimus, quam ipsa, quam praefert, inscriptio malitiae convincit ac damnat? Agitur, Venerabiles Fratres, de civitatis ab Ecclesia invehendo discidio. Lex igitur tota quanta est in aeterni summique Dei contemptu nititur, cum nullum deberi Illi a civitate honorem pietatis contendat. Atqui non singularium modo hominum dominus ac dominator, sed gentium etiam ac civitatum Deus est: quem proinde agnoscere, vereri, colere ipsas nationes, quique illis praesunt, opertet publice.—Quae si quidem oblivio ac discessio iniuriose adversus divini Numinis maiestatem ubique fieret; in Galliis vero ingrate magis longeque perniciosius. Nam si veteres Gallorum laudes pro veritate quis aestimet, eas partem longe maximam ex religione profluxisse fatebitur atque ex perpetua, quae inde oriebatur, cum Sede hac Apostolica necessitudine.

Accedit, civitatis cum Ecclesia coniunctionem solemni in Galliis pactorum fide fuisse firmatam. At vero, quod nulli civitatum fere usuvenit, tametsi dignitatis perexiguae, id factum est cum Apostolica

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Sede, cuius tanta est in orbe auctoritas et amplitudo. Etenim pactio illa, solemnis adeo ac legitima, nullo servato urbanitatis officio, nullâ, quod tamen iure gentium cavetur atque in civilibus institutis est positum, nullâ, inquimus, solvendae conventionis significatione, unius tantum partis arbitrio, violata fidei religione, rescissa est.

Nunc autem si porro legis ipsius decreta spectamus, ecquis non videt eius rogatione constitutionem ipsam labefactari, qua Christus acquisitam sanguine Ecclesiam conformavit? Nimirum nulla in ea Romani Pontificis, nulla Episcoporum incidit mentio: e contra administratio tota publicique cultus tuitio civium consociationibus defertur, quas unas in universo religioso genere Respublica civilibus instructas iuribus agnoscit. Quod si inter ipsas controversiam contigerit oriri, illa non Episcoporum iudicio, non Nostro, sed ab uno *Status Consilio* cognoscenda est ac dirimenda.

Quid insuper, hac lege lata, de libertate Ecclesiae censendum sit, Venerabiles Fratres, in memoratis encyclicis litteris uberius exposuimus. Heic autem ut pressius dicamus: prohibentur, ex parte altera, Antistites sacrorum christianum populum pro plena muneris potestate regere; ex altera, christiano populo profitendae libere, uti debet, religionis suae sanctissimum ius adimitur: actio vero Ecclesiae in hominum consociationem multiplici ex capite debilitatur aut omnino intercipitur.

Quae profecto violatio iurium ac libertatis diminutio postremam inde accessionem habet non levem quod, uno legis imperio, frustra reclamante iustitia frustra obsistente pactorum fide, Ecclesia de patrimonii sui legitima possessione deturbatur. Respublica vero omni solvitur officio annuos suppeditandi religionis sumptus, quos pacto convento, ad sarciendam publicae direptionis iniuriam, suppeditandos susceperat.

His igitur vobiscum pro gravitate rei communicatis, apostolici memores officii, quo sanctissima Ecclesiae iura tutari omni ope ac propugnare tenemur, sententiam Nostram de lege hac, in amplissimo etiam coetu vestro, solemniter proferimus. Eam videlicet, suprema auctoritate qua Christi vice fungimur, uti Deo optimo maximo iniuriosam, divinae constitutioni Ecclesiae infestam, schismati faventem, Nostrae ac legitimorum pastorum auctoritati adversam, bonorum Ecclesiae direptricem, iuri gentium oppositam, Nobis et Apostolicae Sedi invidiosam, Episcopis, clero et catholicis Galliarum universis infensissimam, damnamus et reprobamus; simulque edicimus et declaramus, eamdem legem nunquam nulloque in eventu adversus perpetua Ecclesiae iura esse valituram.

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Nunc vero ad catholicam Gallorum gentem patet cor Nostrum: cum afflicta affligimur, cum flente flemus. Nullus esto, qui, quod tam acerbe simus habiti, caritatem Nostram erga illos deferbuisse putet. Religiosorum familias, suis extorres aedibus et patriâ, sollicite cogitamus: adolescentium agmina, christianam institutionem desiderantia, paterna trepidatione prosequimur: Episcopos fratres Nostros et clerum omnem in tribulatione positos et graviora metuentes, in oculis ferimus: fideles ea lege opressos diligimus: universos denique paterno amantissimoque corde complectimur. Praeclara, per aetates omnes, Galliarum in Religionem sanctissimam merita nullorum audacia ac nequitia obliterabit unquam: spes autem est, mitescente tempore, praeclariora fore.—Interea filios dilectissimos vehementissime hortamur ne, per asperitates et angustias rerum, fracto demissove sint animo. Vigilent, stent in fide, viriliter agant, maiorum sententiae memores: *Christus amat Francos.* Aderit illis semper Apostolica haec Sedes, quae primigenam Ecclesiae filiam providentiam caritatemque suam desiderare nunquam permittet.

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DISCOURSE OF PIUS X (FEBRUARY 21, 1906) TO THE NEWLY CONSECRATED FRENCH BISHOPS.

Pastorali animo Nostro, acerba aegritudine iampridem affecto, opportunum sane solatium et quasi ivcunditatem affert, hodierna die, conspectus vester; ipsis enim vos amantissimis Pauli Apostoli verbis consalutare libet: Fratres mei carissimi et desideratissimi, gaudium meum et corona mea (Philipp. IV, 1). Gaudium quidem, quia una Nobiscum ad sustinendos apostolici ministerii labores vocati, adiutricem Nobismetipsis operam strenue naviterque, Deo bene ivvante, praestabitis. Corona item; namque doctrinae laude, pietate, ceterisque virtutibus, quibus quisque vestrum praefulget, splendidum Ecclesiae Dei ornamentum affertis.—Ergo sic state in Domino, carissimi, et gaudete. Hoc enim divinae proprium est Providentiae efficere, ut quos ipsa animarum pastores instituat, ii etiam appareant et emergant divinitus confirmati, et tamquam induti ab alto incredibili quadam virtute, quae nullo unquam hominum impetu vel rerum vicissitudine frangi possit aut debilitari.—Verum quidem est, episcopale officium, angelicis humeris formidandum, innumeris sane, quovis tempore, tum laboribus tum curis tum anxietatibus obnoxium esse; in praesenti autem plura extare, quae huius ministerii muneribus augeant gravitatem. Est enim in luce atque in oculis omnium posita, cunctisque explorata et cognita, luctuosa Ecclesiae ac religionis conditio. Magna nimirum tristitiae caussa, tam esse multos, quos errorum pravitates atque in Deum protervia longe abducant agantque praecipites; tam multos, qui ad quamlibet religionis formam se aeque habentes, divinam iam exuere fidem videantur; neque ita paucos etiam inter homines catholicos esse, qui nomine quidem religionem retineant, re tamen debitisque officiis, nequaquam colant.—Multo autem gravius angit et vexat animum calamitosa malorum pernicies, inde potissimum orta, quod passim in temperatione civitatum non solum ullo iam loco censetur Ecclesia, sed virtuti eius, multis modis saluberrimae, dedita opera, repugnatur: qua in re apparet magna quidem et iusta vindicis Dei animadversio, qui recedentes a se nationes miserrima mentium caecitate sinit hebescere.

Quapropter, si tot tantisque prementibus malis, apostolici ministerii onus modo vobis imponere per Christi Iesu verba compellimur: Ecce ego mitto vos, sicut oves in medio luporum (Matth. X, 16); ea

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vos semper memineritis vehementer hortamur, quae hoc ipso loco idem Christus Apostolos suos edocuit. Estis oves; sed quum ovium propria sit lenitas, videte quibus velut armis in ipso Religionis vestraeque dignitatis osores constanter uti debeatis, videlicet benignitate, caritate, patientia. Estote, subdidit Ille, simplices sicut columbae. Verum eiusmodi simplicitas, uti perspicuum est, calliditates omnes, simulationes ac dolos, quae Ecclesiae hostibus communia sunt, nimisque apta ad nocendum auxilia, prorsus excludit. Nec tamen Magister optimus id reticuit: Estote prudentes, sicut serpentes; nempe in omnibus assidue vigilantes; versutas adversariorum artes caute metuentes; providentes sedulo ne ulla causa speciesve ad calumniam vel offensionem ex actibus vestris arripi queat; iustitiam denique, fidem et innocentiam, non modo cum bonorum iactura, sed et cum vitae ipsius despectu tuentes magnanimi.

Summopere autem oportet, ut Ecclesiae pastores solliciti sint eum inter se omni studio omnique ope servare animorum consensum, cuius vi nullus seorsim velle possit quod universim omnes felici quadam necessitate non velint. Neminem enim latet, eiusmodi animorum voluntatumque consensionem maximum veluti praesidium ac vere robur nostrum efficere, ex eaque, uberi copia, quae maxime necessaria sunt ad ministerii nostri munia perficienda, adiumenta manare.—Christus enim ita Ecclesiam constituit, ut ex unitate ipsa, qua invicem membra connectuntur, usquequaque fortis evaderet; ideoque in Scripturis sanctis Ecclesia exercitui comparatur ad bellum instructo, et terribilis commendatur ut acies ordinata castrorum: quum ex adverso, teste Augustino, triumphus daemonum est dissensio christianorum; luculenteque ex oraculo Christi: Omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolabitur (Luc. XI, 17). Et reapse, quum acerrimi Ecclesiae fideique hostes in id potissimum animum intendant, ut mira haec unitas dissolvatur, nihil est quod infectum deserant ad oves a pastoribus disiungendas; atque eo nequitiae procedunt, ut ipsos inter pastores dissidia optent exurgere.

Haec itaque vobis ante omnia cordi sit, tam excellentium bonorum effectrix, unitas. Stemus simul, auspice summo Pastorum Principe, ut invalescentes quotidie Crucis inimicos felicius concordi oppugnatione profligemus, et sacrosanctum Fidei depositum, facto velut agmine, quaquaversus circumvallemus.—Neque dubitamus, quin inclita Gallorum gens, communium rerum misere nutantium cogitatione permota, Ecclesiae pastoribus ex animo adhaerescens, iisque, ut par est, obtemperans, id pro viribus actura sit, ut nempe patribus illis maioribusque suis, generosis Ecclesiae catholicae filiis, sese plane dignam exhibeat.

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Quod si in trepidis afflictisque christiani nominis rebus unicum aerumnarum ac sollicitudinum perfugium in Omnipotenti Deo quaerendum, ut laboranti Ecclesiae suae praesens opituletur, eique depugnandi virtutem et triumphandi potestatem impertiat; hoc superest, ut Dei ipsius opem certatim omnes imploremus, precatoresque ad Eum adhibeamus gloriosissimam Virginem Mariam, caelitesque Galliae Patronos.—Communibus ipse votis benignus annuat; ipse optatissimo tranquillae libertatis munere Ecclesiam soletur; ipse cunctis Galliae catholicis, quos paterna caritate complectimur, veram ex fide solidamque pacem et prosperitatem restituat.

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THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

The third annual meeting of the Catholic Educational Association of the United States was held at Cleveland, Ohio, on July 10, 11, 12. The arrangements for the meeting had been well prepared, and the local committee of Cleveland, appointed by Rt. Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, left nothing undone to insure the success of the meeting. The attendance was better than at any previous meeting of the association, the proceedings were characterized by deep interest and earnestness on the part of the members, and the conference made a lasting impression on all who were present. The questions presented were viewed from the practical side, and there was a determination shown to grapple with the problems that confront Catholic educators. In regard to the value and the necessity of the association there was a general unanimity of opinion. The union of the Catholic educational interests of the country is now looked upon as an accomplished fact, and Catholic educators at Cleveland realized and felt as they never did before, the value and the significance of this fact. There was no disposition shown to minimize difficulties. The conference sought for the truth, and considered conditions as they are. There was also an inspiring spirit of courage and determination manifested. The Catholic Educational Association recognizes the fact that there is a Catholic educational system in the country, and that it should be developed on its own principles. This system is the strong bulwark of religion and social order, and it should be recognized by Catholics and by non-Catholics as one of the great elements of strength in the American Republic. The Catholic Educational Association is a conscious expression of this feeling.

The association is the result of a movement which began in 1897 with the meeting and organization of the Seminary Conference under Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, D.D., at that time Rector of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. The following year, the College Association was formed, and it has held annual meetings since that time. The Parish School Conference was organized as an outgrowth of the College Conference, and in 1904 at St. Louis, a union of the three conferences was formed, in an association styled "the Catholic Educational Association of the United States." At the present time there are three departments, the College, School and Seminary Departments;

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and in time as the movement of organization progresses other departments will probably be formed. The association aims to provide for the widest possible union of Catholic educational interests, and at the same time to arrange that each special department and interest shall have every opportunity to confer on its own special problems and promote its own ends. The general organization is based on the unity of principles which binds together all Catholic educators. Its declarations are and should be the united sentiment of Catholic educators on questions involving the principles of Christian education in their application to the conditions of American life. The declaration of such a body of Catholic educators, united in one general association, must be received with consideration and must have a profound influence. The association also considers the general phases of the problem of education. There is nothing more useful for the educator than to come out from his own special department and take a view of Catholic education as a whole. At the same time nothing is more necessary. The college teachers and the seminary teachers will find that many of their difficulties have their origin in the parish school. A high standard of scholarship among the students of Catholic colleges must be based on an adequate training received in the parish schools. The college teachers have given time and attention to the science and art of education, and the parish schools of the various dioceses should have the benefit of their scholarship.

The seminary teachers would also find their difficulties much lightened by giving attention to the work of the parish school, which is the basis of our educational system. The pastors who conduct the parish schools need to take into consideration the problem of higher education. The whole life of a child is to be viewed by the one who conducts a parish school, and not merely the few years he spends in learning the essential branches. No pastor conducts a parish school as it should be conducted, unless he considers the education that his boys and girls will receive after they leave his school. He ought to have a deep interest in Catholic higher education, and indeed, it may be said with truth that Catholic higher education is dependent on nothing so much as on an intelligent interest on the part of the pastors.

The union of Catholic educational interests always seemed desirable but for a long time was looked upon as scarcely possible of attainment. The interests are varied, diverse, and to a great extent competitive. But no matter how great the diversity, it is clear that all Catholic institutions from the seminary to the elementary school, are united on the broad principles of Catholic education. An individual or an institution speaks with a feeble voice, but the united voice of the Catholic

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educators of the country which finds expression in such an organization as the Catholic Educational Association will command the attention of all.

The Catholic Educational Association movement has already done a great deal for the cause of Catholic education. At the annual meetings there are found educators from California, Massachusetts, Texas. The meeting of many workers in a great cause is always a source of inspiration, and an incentive to enthusiasm. Men who are pursuing the noble ideals of Catholic education awaken to a sense of their great force as a united body in such gatherings. The country has not yet given adequate recognition to the scholarship of our educators because we have been isolated and have not made ourselves felt as an active, assertive, united force in the educational life of our country. Our leading educators are in every sense the peers of the leaders of secular education, and the union of our forces gives strength and prestige to those who lead in our work. The Association has inspired in our people a sense of the power that lies in the Catholic system. The difficulties we must contend against do not seem so formidable when our forces are united in meeting them.

The questions discussed at the meetings have been of a very practical kind and the opinions presented have had their due influence. Through its annual meetings the College department has done a great deal to create order and uniformity in our colleges, and to raise their standards. A better understanding among the colleges has been promoted, and the cause of Catholic higher education has been advanced.

There is no doubt that the movement for the organization of parish school work has been greatly promoted through the meetings of these associations. Papers on the most practical subjects have been read and discussed and the ideas and plans suggested in these annual discussions have found acceptance in many places.

The seminaries have been brought into closer touch with the colleges and schools through the annual meetings of the association. The education of the clergy is an object of the greatest solicitude to the Church, and it is clear that the education of the seminary as we have it in the United States is based on that of the school and the college.

The problem of the High School is a theme of frequent discussion. Its importance is fully recognized, and each year it is a subject for new discussion. There has been a great advance made, and the problem of Catholic higher education for Catholic young men is coming to be regarded as our most pressing educational problem.

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The field of higher education cannot be abandoned to secular institutions. The Church is not a follower but a leader, and must leave her impress on the intellectual life of the age. The High School question is but a phase of the larger problem of Catholic higher education and must engage the attention of all Catholic educators for years to come.

The work of the association has also made an impression on the secular world. There never was a more opportune time for the presentation of the Catholic principle of education to the non-Catholic world in America, than at the present moment. The leaders of American public life realize that respect for property and regard for the principles of morality are the only secure foundations of the social order. There are many threatening elements in our social and political life, and thinking men in America recognize the Catholic Church as a great conservative power in the social order. A system of education which ignores the teaching of virtues is not a benefit to the republic—it is more a menace than anything else. There is no secure basis for the teaching of morality except religion. These are the principles which the Church has been defending since the beginning, and the present moment seems the time for their re-vindication. A movement that brings Catholic educators together and presents the Catholic side of education in firm, clear and conciliatory declarations will gain many friends for religious education among those outside the Church.

The Catholic Educational Association can do much to combat the socialistic disposition of the American states in the matter of education. A study of the tendency of modern legislation in the United States shows an unmistakable movement in the direction of state monopoly of education. The causes and the effects of this need not be analyzed here, but it is clearly the duty of educators to be up and doing while there are forces at work, unconscious it may be and perhaps not hostile, but forces, nevertheless, actively operating, that in time would lead to the extinction of our system. Universal state education is but a step to universal state religion, and certainly neither one nor the other is relished by Catholic educators. That this tendency exists there can be no doubt. A union of Catholic educators in a voluntary association can do more than any other force in America to modify and change it.

The future of the association is well assured. At the first meeting the Archbishop of St. Louis took an active personal interest in its formation. He has followed its progress with sympathy and encouragement. The Archbishop of New York, in whose city the second annual meeting was held, declared that the association should have

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been formed long ago, and the Bishop of Cleveland at the third annual meeting took part in the proceedings of every department, and besides doing everything to promote the success of the meeting and the comfort of the delegates, gave his most cordial endorsement and encouragement to the movement. The Archbishop of Milwaukee has extended a most hearty invitation to the association to hold its fourth annual meeting in Milwaukee and has expressed his intention to have everything ready for a good meeting.

Catholic educators feel more and more the necessity of frequently meeting and of acting as a united body. America is the land of conventions, but there are no men in America who have more important interests to promote or problems to solve than those who are actively engaged in the work of Catholic education. There can be no legislation by such an association, as has been often remarked, but it may also be said there can be no wise and prudent legislation unless it be preceded by wise and prudent deliberation. A good understanding and public opinion are often better than laws, and where this understanding exists many laws may be dispensed with. The Catholic church has been the great educator known to Christian civilization. She must be the great educator in America also. Catholic education is being put to the test. We are not educating as many of our children in the parish schools as we should. We have not the attendance at our colleges that we ought to have. Our people, who in many ways show a noble generosity, have not given sufficient thought to the needs of the most important work of the church—the Christian education of their children. Many of our people are faultfinding and critical. Catholic education in America will not be saved by the glory of its traditions, nor by the truth of its principles, nor by the justice and reasonableness of censures; it will be saved only by its results. In the past the Church has produced the noblest fruits of education in all branches. She can do the same in the present. There is no greater educational force in the United States than the united body of Catholic educators. Nothing but good can come from these meetings. It is the purpose of the Catholic Educational Association to enroll all Catholic educators in the United States among its members, and to promote throughout the entire country the movement of organization of Catholic educational interests and the increased efficiency of our teaching forces.

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REV. JAMES JOSEPH TRAHEY, C.S.C., Ph.D.

We were grieved to learn at the opening of the school year of the untimely death of the Rev. James J. Trahey, a distinguished young alumnus of the Catholic University. The deceased was born at Michigan City, Indiana, in 1875. After receiving the elementary training of his parish school, he entered, in 1893, the University of Notre Dame, and took there the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1899. He then joined the Congregation of the Holy Cross, and in October of 1900 began his theological and postgraduate studies at the Catholic University; he was ordained priest in December, 1903, and in the following June took with high honor the degree of Ph.D. in the Latin Literature Department of the School of Letters, having submitted as thesis an elaborate and erudite philological dissertation, entitled, "De Sermone Ennodiano" (Ave Maria Press, Notre Dame, Ind., 1904).

During the year and a half following Father Trahey served on the teachers' staff at the University of Notre Dame. A few months ago he removed to St. Edward's College, Texas, with the hope that the change of climate might save his fast failing health. But a fatal consumption steadily gained upon him until he yielded up his life in a quiet and holy death on the fourth of September last.

By those who knew him Father Trahey will be remembered for his untiring earnestness and energy. During the two short years of his professional life, and despite a constant sickness and the numerous duties of the priest and professor, he found time to write and publish an interesting and artistic sketch of Holy Cross College, his university home, and a history of the Brothers of Holy Cross; he left a work on Livy almost ready for the press, and gathered the material for a history of education in Ancient Greece and Rome.

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Besides being a classical scholor of high ability and solid attainment, Father Trahey was distinguished for his mastery of English style. He was a teacher admired and loved by his students, an earnest and able pulpit-speaker; above all, a gentlemanly and saintly priest, intensely devoted to the interests of his Congregation. His career of bright promise, lamentably brief as it was, was long enough to make it a model of the Christian and scholar.

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UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Solemn Opening of the University.—The Solemn Mass for the beginning of the scholastic year, 1906–1907, was celebrated Sunday, October 7, by the Rt. Rev. Rector, in the presence of the assembled faculties, students, and members of the various colleges connected with the University. The Rector made an appropriate discourse on the occasion.

Addition to the Board of Trustees.—Mr. John D. Crimmins, of New York City, has been appointed a member of the Board of Trustees of the University.

V. Rev. Charles B. Schrantz, S.S.—Very Rev. Fr. Charles B. Schrantz, S.S., has been appointed President of the Divinity College. Fr. Schrantz comes, after a sojourn of some time at Rome, from St. Charles College, Ellicott City, Md., where he exercised for several years the office of president. The retiring President of Divinity College, V. Rev. Daniel P. Duffy, S.S., goes to St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, as a professor of theology.

The Faculty of Philosophy.—Two new members have been added to the teaching staff of the Faculty of Philosophy, Rev. Dr. William Turner, formerly of the St. Paul Seminary, and Rev. Dr. James J. Fox, of St. Thomas' College at the University.

Librarian of the University.—Rev. Dr. Turner has been appointed Librarian of the University.

Courses in Roman Law.—Among the new courses offered this year in the Law School are one on the "General History of the Roman Law" by Rev. Dr. Thomas J. Shahan, and one on the "Institutes of Roman Law" by Rev. Dr. John J. Creagh.

Lay Students.—It is gratifying to note that this year there is a considerable increase of the number of lay students, especially in Keane Hall.

Rev. Fr. Paschal Robinson, O.F.M.—The Rev. Fr. Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., has been assigned to the Franciscan Monastery at Mt. St. Sepulchre. Fr. Robinson is a very scholarly writer on all subjects pertaining to St. Francis and "Francescana" generally.

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The Dominican Chapel.—The beautiful chapel of the Dominican Novitiate and College is rapidly approaching completion and merits much praise for its artistic finish and complete appointments.

Visit of Dr. Douglas Hyde.—The visit of Dr. Douglas Hyde to the University afforded its professors and students an occasion of welcoming the distinguished gentleman who has done so much for the restoration of the Irish language to its proper place and influence. During his stay in Washington he gave three lectures at the University, on subjects connected with the character and interest of native Irish literature. They were highly appreciated by the large audience that attended all three, as was the public lecture delivered at the New National Theatre in the city, on the nature of the work of the Gaelic League in Ireland. Much credit belongs, for the success of these lectures, to the energy and zeal of Dr. Joseph Dunn, the A.O.H. Professor of Keltic Languages and Literature at the University. It gives pleasure to the University authorities to make known the following letter received from Dr. Hyde:

NEW YORK, June 6, 1906.

My Dear Monsignor O'Connell:

I have just got through with my tour through America and hope to sail for Ireland in a few days. Allow me, before I go, to send you this line to express my gratitude to you for your kindness to me when I was in Washington, and to tell you what a pleasure it was to me to meet you and Dr. Shahan. I enjoyed my stay in Washington immensely, especially the evenings that I spent at the University.

I hope to bring back some $50,000 with me to the cause of the Gaelic League in Ireland, and I am carrying away nothing but pleasant recollections of America, but of no part of it more pleasant than of Washington.

With renewed thanks for all your kindness, believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) DOUGLAS HYDE.

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